

GREEK MUSIC.



مجلس تدریس و تحقیقات اسلامی

05065477A

A musical score for the song 'The Rose Tree'. It is written for voice and piano. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 2/4. The score consists of two systems. The first system shows the vocal melody and piano accompaniment. The second system continues the melody and accompaniment. The piano part features a simple, rhythmic accompaniment with some arpeggiated figures.

The first system of the musical score for 'The Bird Song' consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a melody of eighth and quarter notes. The lower staff is in bass clef and provides a harmonic accompaniment with eighth and quarter notes. The key signature has one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The system concludes with a double bar line.

A musical score for the song 'The Rose Tree'. It features a treble and bass staff. The treble staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The bass staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is written in the treble staff, and the accompaniment is written in the bass staff. The melody consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, while the accompaniment consists of a steady eighth-note pattern.

A musical score for the song 'The Rose Tree'. It features a treble and bass staff. The treble staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody consists of eighth and quarter notes. The bass staff begins with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The accompaniment consists of eighth and quarter notes. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

A P P E N D I X

Page 185. Psallida is mentioned as being the author of a Treatise on the Immortality of the Soul. The subject and title of that work is True Felicity, and it is noticed in page 572.

Inscriptions at Cheronea, given without any emendation, from Meletius, page 341.

Σέξτον Κλαύδιον αὐτόβουλον ὑμάνυμον τῷ Πατρὶ, ἔκτον ἀπὸ Πλουτάρχου, ἀρετὴν πᾶσαν ἐν βίῳ καὶ λόγοις ἐπιδειξάμενον, ἐν τῇ . . . Φιλίσοφον ἐταῶν . . . β' . ἢ πρὸς Μητρὸς Μάμμη Καλλικλέ . . . ι. οἱ Γονεῖς, καὶ αἱ Ἀδελφαὶ τῶν ἡρώ . . . δη . . . β . δ. . . ~

[Ἔῃς δὲ τὸν Ναὸν τῆς Παναγίας ἐν λίθῳ].

Ἀρχοντος Φιλόξενου, μηνὸς ἀλαλκομένης πεντεκαίδεκάτης, ἀλέξων ῥόδωνος ἀνατίθῃσι τὴν ἰδίαν δοῦλὴν Διονυσίαν τὸν τῷ ζῆν χρόνον ἀνάθεσιν ποιούμενος διὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

Ἀρχοντος Καφισίου, μηνὸς Βουκατίου τριακάδῃ, Κρᾶτων Ἀμινίη, καὶ Εὐγίταν Ἰκαρέτου, συνευαρεσούντων καὶ τῶν Υἱῶν, ἀνατίθῃσι τὸ δηλικὸν αὐτῶν κοράσιον Σωσίχαν ἱερὸν τῷ Σέξαπι παραμίναν. Κρᾶτων καὶ Εὐγίταν ἕως ἂν ζῶσιν ἀνεγκλήτως τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ποιήμενοι διὰ τῶν συνεδρίων κατὰ τὴν νόμον.

Ἀρχοντος Διοκλέους τοῦ Σιμμίου, μηνὸς Συνακομοχίου πεντεκαίδεκάτης δεξ [τὰ λοιπὰ διεφθαρμένα].

Ἀρχοντος Πάτρενος, μηνὸς πααθανίου, παρόντος αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀνδροχόου σαμίχου τοῦ Φιλοξένου, ἀνατίθῃσι δῶρον τὰς ἰδίας δοῦλας Καλλίδα καὶ πυθινίν . . . [ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λίθῳ εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλαι πλείεσαι, ἀλλὰ διεφθαρμέναι].

[ἐν ἄλλῳ]. Εὐνόμα ἀμφίλυτος Κριτόλα ἀπουθίας ἀρταμίδει λειδίῃ ἐνπεδωνος
 ἄρχοντος μηνὸς θηλυθίου πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ, παλλὰς Κράτωνος ἀνα-
 τίθησιν τὴν ἰδίαν θεράπαιναν Καλλῶ Ἰερᾶν τῇ ἄρτεμι καὶ τὰ
 λοιπά.

[Ἐν ἐτέρῳ λίδῳ]. Κριτόλαος ἀρισίων.

Κάλλις Καλλιπίδας Ἀρταμίδει λειδίῃ. [ἐν ἐτέρῳ.] χαίροις σωτῆρε, καὶ
 ἐν θνητοῖς ποθητῇ. [ἐν ἐτέρῳ]. εὐχαριστήριον.

[Εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν Παρασκευὴν τῆς Δωριτοῦς, ἐν τῇ πλακὶ τῆς προσκο-
 μιδῆς].

Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Υἱῷ Θεοῦ Τραϊανῆ Παρδικῆ
 Υἱωνῷ, Θεῶ Νερούα ἐγγόνῳ Τίτῳ Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ ἀντι ἐνω εὐσεβεῖ
 σεβασῷ Ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ Δημάρχῳ σεξου ιας τὸ γ
 Υπάτῳ γ Πατρὶ Πιατριᾶς ι γ γ ν π τ.

[Ἐν ἐτέρῳ ἔιδωλον ἀνοῦ ἔχοντι καὶ κυνὸς, καὶ ἐπιγραφὴν], πολυξένης.
 καὶ ἄλλαι οὐκ ὀλίγαι.

The inscription from Stiris is more accurately given in Wheler,
 book iv. p. 323.

Inscriptions at Orchomenos.

It is mentioned in page 270, that these inscriptions would be here
 noticed, but they have been inserted in the Appendix to my fellow-
 traveller's poem, and the stone itself is either on its way to Eng-
 land, or is actually in this country, so that it would be superfluous
 to give them a place in this work, unless I had it in my power to do
 that which it appears may be done, and by giving an accurate copy
 of them, *explain the dialect and restore the metres of Pindar.*
 See Childe Harold, 2d edit. note at the end.

Page 281, mention is made of the supposed tomb of St. Luke of
 Stiris; a reference to Wheler, book iv. p. 332, will inform the reader
 that it was the sarcophagus of some ancient Pagan, whose name was
 Nedymos.

*Inscriptions in the Church of St. George, at Talandios in Bæotia,
from Meletius, p. 346.*

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Ἐνδοξεν τῇ ιερᾷ γερουσίᾳ τοῦ σωτῆρος Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐν κοινῷ σήλην ἀναγραφῆναι, [ἐν τῇ σήλῃ εἶναι τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα]. ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων, ὧν εὐεργετήθη παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ μνήμης ἀγίσης Γούλιος Ἀρισέας. ἐχαρίσατο διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ γερουσίᾳ χωρίδιον σφυλ εἰον πουτι πλεισιογείτωνες ἀπὸ μὲν Ἡοῦς Ἀυριθιάλαμος, καὶ πρὸς Νότον Καλλίσσης κληρονόμων, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρκτου ἀνρ Θεόδωρος. ἀπὸ Δύσεως οἱ ἀρεσκοντες Ὀλμωνίου κληρονόμοι. ἀπὸ δὲ Μεσημβρίας συμ ορος ονιος καὶ οἱ Νικοσεράτου κληρονόμοι ἐπὶ τι φυτεύση τοὺς γερουσίας τὰς καὶ ἀχε αἰώνιον ἀναφέρουτον. ὁμοίως ἔδοξεν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν. καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.

Page 330, contains a description of the bas-relief which is the frontispiece to this volume, and which, on reconsidering the subject, appears to me to be a funeral supper amongst the gods. The serpent is typical of renovated life as well as health, and the cakes ranged along the couch are Eleusinian emblems. Wheeler calls a similar tablet, a representation of Isis and Serapis, book v. p. 406.

Page 377. On re-examination, there is nothing which makes the insertion of this inscription of any purpose, especially as all the inscriptions at Eleusis, as well as at Megara and Ægina, have been copied by Villosion.

Explanation of the Inscriptions from the Panæum at Vary.

<i>At the Landing-place.</i>	<i>On one side of the loose Stone.</i>	<i>On the other side of the loose Stone.</i>
Ἀρχεδημος ο	Ἀρχεδημος η[ο φεε]	[Ἀρχε]δημος η ο φεε
φηραιος, ο νυμ-	αιος και Χολ[λει]	[αιο]ς καπον Νυ[μφ]
φοληπτος φρα-	δες ται[ς] Νυμ[φ]	αις εφυτευσεν
δαισι Νυμφ[ω]ν	[αι]ς οικοδο[μεσε]	
αντρον εξηγε-		
ησατο		

The other words in the inscription do not require any explanation, except the ΑΠΙΟΣ, which Chandler thought part of a word, directing the worshippers where to place the offering.

Page 527. I beg to compare what Belon said of the learning of the Greek monks, with that which Montfaucon advances in his *Palæographia*, p. 438, on the authority of John Commenus the physician, namely, that in the libraries of Mount Athos were many ancient books, treating of every subject and science, and that at the very time Belon travelled, the monk Mathusalas copied the works of Aristotle for his own use*.

The body of Greek Chemists, composed by the monks and other learned persons of Alexandria, and continued at Constantinople after the taking of the city, is in many of the great libraries of Europe. It is to be found in those of the Vatican, the Escurial, of Milan, Venice, and Paris. The copy in the latter library was compiled by Theodore Pelican, a monk of Corfu, in 1478, and being in modern Greek, is, I should think, as early a specimen of the Romæ as the translation from Boccacio or the Belisarius. Fabricius, in the eighth chapter of the sixth volume of his *Bibliotheca Græca*, regrets much that it has not been edited by a person skilled in the language as well as the science.

In this place it may be as well to insert what Cantemir says of the learning of his countrymen:—"We are not to imagine, with the generality of Christians, that Greece is so far sunk in barbarism, as not in these latter ages to have produced men little inferior to the most learned of her ancient sages. To say nothing of times more remote from us, even our days have seen three Patriarchs of eminent reputation for learning; one of Constantinople and two of Jerusalem. He of Constantinople was Callinicus, a very eloquent orator, who, which seldom happens, died in his patriarchate: those of Jerusalem were Dositheus, and his kinsman and successor Chrysanthus, yet, as I hear, alive. For the first, besides other monuments of his

* See l'Academie des Inscript. tom. xxxviii. p. 71.

learning, we have three printed volumes of controversial writings against the Latins. Besides these, there flourished at Constantinople Meletius, Archbishop first of Arta, and afterwards of Athens, a man skilled in all parts of learning, but chiefly studious of those Helmontian principles (or rather those of Thales), which he also explained to me for the space of eight months; Elias Mimati, a sacred monk, a most acute philosopher, and eminent for his knowledge of both dogmatic and scholastic divinity, afterwards Bishop of Messene in Peloponesus; Marcus Larissæus, an excellent grammarian; Metrophanes, a sacred deacon, chiefly studious of poetry, and a happy imitator of the ancients; Licinius, born at Monembasia or Malvasia, philosopher and physician, and both ways eminent. He was chief physician of our court. His skill and experience in the medical art procured him both esteem and authority amongst the Turks. He afterwards left Constantinople, and in his own country was honoured with the title of a Count by the republic of Venice. About a year after he was taken in Monembasia by the Turks, and, as I am informed, publicly hanged in Constantinople for a literary commerce which he had before held with the Venetians. Constantine, son of Ducas, Prince of Moldavia, superior to most in the ancient Greek, and in philosophy a scholar of Spandonius; Andronicus, of the noble race of the Rhangavi, justly praised for his knowledge of the Greek tongue in its purity, and for his reading the Fathers. To these I might justly add, Jeremias Cacavela, a Cretan by birth, a sacred monk, and preacher of the great church at Constantinople, from whom I drew the first precepts of philosophy; Anastatius Condridi, a Coreyean by birth, preceptor to my sons; as likewise Anastatius Nasius, a Macedonian, a man whose eminent knowledge in Greek rendered him sufficiently known both in England and Germany*.”

This is very much in the style of Procopius the Moschopolite's

* Ottoman History, Part I. book iii. p. 92, note 10.

catalogue, and commemorates many of the same men. I conceive Prince Cantemir himself to have been a greater honour to his country than any one of the persons whom he here notices.

Romaic Pronunciation, page 549 of this volume.

The following is a sketch of what appeared to the disciples of Erasmus the classical pronunciation, and, together with some remarks from other sources, is given from the treatises in the Sylloge of Havercampius; chiefly, from that of Mekerchus. The Romaic pronunciation is put opposite to the letters, in the characters of the English Alphabet.

Α = A, sometimes broad and open, sometimes like the *a* in *mate*,
*plate**;

Pronounced always as the Italian A, and the *a* in *vast*, *past*.

Β = V,

Was a labial consonant, like our B, and pronounced as we sound the letters in *Βαμβας* and *Βαμβακω*. It was originally an aspirated P; and the Æolians and Dorians employed it sometimes as a pure or simple aspirate, writing ΒΡΟΔΟΣ for ΡΟΔΟΣ†. The change of the Beta to Veta, originated probably from the necessity of spelling by means of the B, Roman names beginning with a V, which, after the incorporation of Greece in the Roman empire, so frequently recurred, as to induce by degrees an alteration of sound in the original Greek letter. It has before been mentioned, that the Tartars cannot pronounce the B: the early Scythian settlers in Greece may have decided the change in favour of the V. It is evident, that what was

* See Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet, p. 21.

† Analytical Essay, &c. pp. 6, 7.

gained by one letter was lost by another, and when the latter Greeks wanted to spell any foreign word containing a B, they had no other way of representing it but by μ and π : thus, Anna Comnena writes Robertus, *Ρομπαρτος*. When this change took place is not exactly known; the similarity between the labial letters may have occasioned an accidental confusion in early periods: thus, *Octavius*, is on some medals *Οκταβιος*. But long after that period proper names from the Latin were spelt with a B, as is seen in Plutarch, Dion, and other historians, take for example, *Βερῦτος*, *Στραβων*, *Τιβέριος*; and words also from the Latin have the same conformity; *plebis* and *urbano* being spelt, in Theophilus Antecessor. *Institutionib. de Jure. Nat. Gent. et Civil.* *πλέβις* and *εὐρβάνα*. Latin words from the Greek prove the same fact: *boō* made *hoo*, *βάρβαρος* *barbarus*; not *voō* and *var-varus*. An initial V in Roman names was rendered by *ω*, as *Ὀυαλεσιος*, *Ὀυαλῆς*, *Ουιεγίλιος*, for *Valerius*, *Valens*, and *Virgilius*, as if that diphthong had something of the sound of our W. Modern languages, in some words taken from the Greek and Latin, preserve the sound of B, not V. The German and Dutch “bosch,” (a wood) and the French “bois,” are evidently from *βοσκη*; and “blaspheme,” is from *βλασφημεῖν*; as well as the French “embraser,” and English “brazier,” from *ἐμβράζειν*.

The verse of Cratinus,

ὅδ' ἡλιθίος ὥσπερ πρόβατον βῆ βῆ λεγὼν βαδίζει,

shows the sound of the B to have been not V, but like the first consonant in “bleat,” a word itself taken from *βλήχεν*. It may be said, that the Greeks had not the power of pronouncing our B, and that although *va*, *va*, was not so like the bleating of a sheep as *ba*, *ba*, it was the nearest representation of which their alphabet would admit. To which I answer, that as the modern Greeks have in *μπ*, a distinct B, it is nearly a certainty that their ancestors also had that letter, and that the ancient Greeks were supplied with a V, or something very like it, in the sound of their Digamma.

$\Gamma = \text{G}$, except before ϵ and ι , when it is y , and before γ , κ , χ , ξ , when it has the power of n ,

Appears to have been pronounced always hard. The g in “gref-fier,” “glover,” and “engraft,” shows what it was in $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\epsilon\iota\nu$, the original word. Whether it ever had the sound of n , may admit of doubt.

$\Delta = \text{DTH}$, or $\check{g}h$ in *that*,

Is like the D in the modern languages of Europe, and not Th as in Romance, for the Th is represented by Θ . Dionysius also puts it between the T and Θ .

$E = A$, as it is sounded in *pate*, or the E as we read it in *Æschylus*.

Similar to the Italian pronunciation, but sometimes like the short I of the Latins; for *Britanni*, *Domitianus*, and *Capitolium*, are spelt Βρεταννοί , Δομετιανός , and Καπετωλιον . There was no difference in the mode of pronouncing the long and short vowels*.

$Z = \text{Z}$,

Seems to have been equivalent to $\text{z}\delta$ soft, as we pronounce *zephyr*, not to $\sigma\delta$, notwithstanding the assertion of Dionysius in his treatise, $\text{περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων}$ †; for Quintilian (lib. xii.) affirms ζ and ψ to be the most agreeable letters of the Greek alphabet, which will not apply to “*sd.*” *Zoucken* (to seek), *zoomen* (to surround), *zien* (to boil), are evidently from $\zeta\eta\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, $\zeta\omega\nu\nu\acute{o}\epsilon\iota\nu$, and $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$.

$\text{H} = E$.

The vocal sound in *bread*. Mekerchus instances also *meat*, *great*, and *heat*; which shows either how liable pronunciation is to

* See Analytical Essay, p. 21, and Plutarch in his treatise concerning the EI at Delphi, and Dionysius. $\text{Περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων}$.

† Δ πλᾶ καὶ λέγασιν αἰτᾶ, ἥτοι διὰ τὸ σύνδητα εἶναι, τὸ μὲν, ζ , διὰ τὸ, σ , καὶ, δ .—Sect. 14.

change, or that he was not well acquainted with the English. The real sound is decided by Dionysius; and the Erasmians bring a variety of proofs that it was much more open and broad than the Iota: *μηκᾶν*, signifies to bleat like a goat; and *βλήχειν*, to *blat* like a sheep; and if the sound is at all preserved, it should be, as before mentioned, a short A. The Irish, in saying *Jasus* instead of *Jesus*, have preserved the original sound of *ΙΗΣΟΥΣ*, a word which is one of Mekerehus's examples.

Θ = TH, in *thing*.

The same as in the Romæic. The Thoeeter of the Dutch is evidently from *θυγατήρ*. The English excel in the pronunciation of this letter; and the *th* in their own language, as well as the *sh*, is a simple consonant, and should be marked, says Mr. Tooke, by a single letter*. The Copts, the modern Greeks, and ourselves, have alone preserved the real Θ†.

Ι = E.

This letter appears to have been pronounced like our E, and by no means like our letter I, which is diphthongal. Dionysius calls it the last or the inferior vowel, *ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων τὸ ι* and Cecilius, *humilio*, a dwarf. A curious speculation might be instituted respecting the *Ἰωτακισμὸν*, or *πολυϊώτα*, of the modern Greeks, who have resolved the η, υ, ει, οι, and υι, into this vowel. In Henry Stephen's *Apology for the Ancient Pronunciation of the Greek Tongue*, there is an example of the effect which might be produced by this confusion of letters—*Μὴ σὺ μὲν ἔιποις μοι ὅτι ἡ πόλις ξύμπασα σὴ τοῖς λοιποῖς φάξειτο, ὁιονεὶ ποιμήν τῷς θηρίοις. καὶ γυνὴ σὲ τεθνήκει ἰδοὺ σοί, καὶ τρεῖς υἱοὶ ὥστε πρὸς τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν σωτηρίαν χυθῆσθαι δεῖ μετοικήσει ταχιστῇ*; which, according to the present system, would be, *Mi si*

* *Diversions of Purley*, Part I. p. 93.

† *Analytical Essay*, p. 13. I shall take afterwards occasion to notice Mr. Vilhoi's remarks respecting this letter, as well as some other of his opinions on this subject.

*men ipis mi oti i polis simbasa si tis limis phtirito, toni pomni tic tiriis: se yini sou tetniki idi si, ke tris ti: oste pros ten ton lipon sotirian criste di metikisi takisti**. Athenæus (p. 60) says, that only one word in Greek ends in *i*, which is $\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota$. In Romaic it is a common termination.

K = K, but in some districts **CH**.

Always *k* harsh, not only before consonants, but also before all the vowels. The same may be said of the Latin **C**, which is very improperly pronounced like an *s* before *e*, *i*, and *u*. The most ancient **K** ($\Delta\iota$) is a junction of two Gammas†.

A = L.

The same as in the Romaic, and as it is pronounced by the English.

M = M, but together with π has the sound of **B**,

As in Romaic, except that no alteration took place when put before π , as the β was equivalent to **B**.

N̄ = N, but before β , μ , π = **M**.

Also as in the vulgar Greek, and usual pronunciation, but without any exception for the three letters; for if *v* sounded like μ , how came Fabius to say that in Greek no words ended in μ , on account of its kakophony? Perhaps some sciologists have introduced this alteration, seeing that the Latin prepositions *an*, *in*, and *con*, when compounded, change their final letters into *m*.

Ξ = X.

It had the power of *ks* or *gs*: thus $\phi\omicron\iota\nu\iota\xi$, appears from the genitive $\phi\omicron\iota\nu\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, to have been *foiniks*, and $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\upsilon\xi$, which makes $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\upsilon\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, *antugs*.

* P. 400, Sylloge. Altera. tom. ii.

† Analytical Essay, p. 5.

O = O.

This letter was like the Italian O, and had the same sound as *u* in some Latin nouns; Φάβιος and Πωπλικόλας, were written ^{as} represent Fabius and Publicola. Όλκας seems the original of our *hulk*, and *ὄτι* is the *uti* or *ut* of the Romans, who had, as the modern Italians still have, a propensity to pronounce even their own *o* like an *u**. The modern Greeks, and the English in their O, except in words where it is followed by a consonant or mute vowel (as in *mode* and *bode*), have corrupted the sound of the letter†

Π = P.

Equivalent to the P in English, and as it is now pronounced by the Greeks and other nations.

Ρ = R.

Aspirated or pronounced more gutturally than the English R, and in a similar manner to the Welsh. *Rhaidr*, a waterfall, in that language, is derived, it should seem, from ῥέεθρον or ῥέω.

Σ = S.

In which manner it was always pronounced by the ancient Greeks. The sound of the *σ* in *σακκος*, is exactly given in our *sack*. Pindar calls it *κιβδαλον*, *adulterina littera*, and Dionysius mentions that some poets had written whole odes without it‡.

* See Diversions of Purley, Part I. p. 96.

† Analytical Essay.

‡ Έισὶ καὶ οἱ ἀσίσγμυς ὡδὰς ὅλας ἐποίηεν.—Sect. 14. The Orientals write for a trial of skill, poems which they call *gazels*, from which one letter is entirely banished. The Persian poet Giani hearing a *gazel*, in which there was no A or Elif, said it would be better if the poem had no letters at all.

$\dot{T} = \ddot{T}$, but when after ν is made D.

It was like the Latin *t*, and never the *d*; for *Τανταλος* was spelled *Tantalus* by the Romans, not *Tandalus*, and *Αντωνιος* was rendered by the Greeks *Antonios*.

$\Upsilon = E$, or the ϵ in *little*.

The real force of this vowel it is difficult to determine. The Erasmians, and the best living authority for solving questions in Greek archæology, have preferred the French accented *u* *. *Γρύζειν* (to grunt), *ὀλοῦζειν* (to howl), and *κοκκῶξ* (a cuckoo), are words in which the sound was the representative of the sense, and could not have been pronounced after the manner of the modern Greeks.

$\Phi =$ a labial aspirate between F and Ph.

The latter, according to the opinion of Priscian, was the real pronunciation of the Φ ; for although the Greeks, in spelling Latin words in their own characters, made use of it to represent the F, yet they could, in fact, not utter the sound of that letter. Cicero says that they were unable to pronounce the name of Fundanius. The Erasmians thought the F and Φ were the same. I shall not plunge into the labyrinths of the Digamma, nor attempt to examine the pretensions of F, Φ , V, or W, to the sound of that lost character.

$X = CH$; sounded gutturally in the manner of the Jews, the Welsh, and the Florentines.

Pronounced probably in the same way by the ancient Greeks.

$\Psi = PS$ and BS .

The ancient sound of this letter is preserved in the Romaic: $\psiαλμὸς$ and $Ἀγαψ$, are the Greek *psalmus* and *Arabs*.

* Analytical Essay, p. 22.

Ω = O.

Plato in his *Cratylus* and *Phædrus*, Aristotle in his *Poetics*, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, assert that it differs from *omeron* only in quantity; but that this difference was sufficiently distinct, may be observed by Nero's jocose saying of Claudius. "*Teraph cum inter vivos desuisse producta prima syllaba jocabatur*," are the words of Suetonius*. The *ω* was like our double *o* in *moon*:-

The Diphthongs.

AI = Æ.

It should be observed, that if these combinations of vowels had been distinguished in writing only, and not in pronunciation, their name would have been *digraphs*, and not *diphthongs*. With respect to the AI, Terentius Scaurus, in his *Treatise on Orthography*, says that the ancient Latins wrote the diphthong with an *a* and an *i*. Ennius, Lucretius, Martial, and even Virgil, have the *ai* instead of the *æ*. Moschus, in his epitaph on Bion, mentions that the hyacinth is marked with αἰ αἰ, and this flower is striped with black veins, representing the two vowels. Now the interjection of grief is nearly the same in all languages, and has a strong similarity to the *ai*, but none to the *æ*. *Μαῖα* became *Maia*, not *Mæa*, and gave the sound to our *May*. The English, in reading Greek, pronounce this diphthong correctly.

AY = AV, before β, γ, δ, ζ, λ, μ, ν, ρ, and AF before θ, κ, ξ, π, σ, τ, φ, χ, ψ.

This diphthong was something similar to the *av*, as it is pronounced by the Italians. Aristophanes represents the barking of a dog by αῦ, αῦ. The Latins put *aula* and *autsterus* for αὐλή and αὐστηρός, and the

* Lib. vi. in vit. Ner. Claud. Cæs. cap.

Greeks wrote Κλαύδιος Φαῦστος for *Claudius Faustus*, and Μαῦλος for *Pytilus*. It has been objected, that, according to Cicero*, the word *Ca meas* sounded to the ears of Crassus at Brundisium; like *Cave, ne, eas*; but Meckerchius gets over the difficulty, by asserting that the Latin V consonant was like our W, so, that *Cauncas* and *Cave ne eas*, were not very dissimilar.

EI = E.

Pronounced as the *ei*, an *egg*, in Flanders, and the French *ei* in *plein*. It cannot be the same as the *i* in sound, or Cicero, in his letter to Papyrius Pætus†, would not have said that the word βίνει, the imperative of βινεῖν, *cure*, had a different sound from βίνι. An epitaph, of eight lines, discovered at Rome, shows that the old Romans spelt their long *I* with *EI*.

EY = EV, before β, γ, δ, ζ, λ, μ, ν, ρ, and EF, before θ, κ, ξ, π, σ, τ, φ, χ, ψ.

The English pronunciation of EU, approximates to, but does not entirely represent, this diphthong. Εὔρος, Τεύτονες, and Εὐζέβιος, were in Latin, *Eurus*, *Teutoncs*, and *Eusebius*, not *Euros*, *Teftoncs*, and *Efsebius*.

OI = E.

Like the *oi* in the French *soin* and *besoin*, consequently pronounced correctly in the English schools. Had it been otherwise, and like the Romaic *oi*, how could Strabo have spelt Boii, βοῖοι? If *i* and *oi* had been sounded alike, there could have been no controversy respecting the old oracle—

ἤξει Δωρῖακος πολέμος καὶ λοιμός ἀμ' αὐτῷ.

For according to the modern Greeks, the words λοιμός and λιμός,

* De Div. lib. ii.

† Lib. ix. Epist. Fam.

are not to be distinguished from each other in common speech. It must be owned, however, that the whole strength of this argument lies in the word *ὠνομάσθαι*, used by Thucydides*; for if the debate had gone to inquire how it had been written, the whole force of the fact would tend to the contrary side of the question.

ΟΥ = OO.

It was as we read it, and like the same diphthong in our word *plough*. The Latin U represented the two letters o and u conjointly, and *Tullius, Junius, Brutus*, were written *Ταλλίος, Ιουνίος, Βρούτος*. Martianus Capella spells *conticucere* by *κοντικουχερε*. The Latins also, in converting the proper names *Λυκουργος* and *Πλάταρχος* into their own characters, made them *Lycurgus* and *Platarchus*. How this diphthong came to represent the Latin v, may perhaps be understood by sounding the two letters rather distinctly in *Ουάδραν* and *Ουαλέγιος*, according to our method of reading, which will then come very near to the w—on *arrone, warrone*, &c.

ΥΙ = E.

This was pronounced as in the French *huile*, and had the vocal sound in our word *wheel*. If it had been like *οι* and *ει*, which it is in the modern Greek, it would not have been reckoned one of the three diphthongs called *κακόφανοι*.

ΙΥ = EV and EF, according to the rule, for AU and EU.

Sounded as in our schools, as far as respects the separation of, and the hiatus between the vowels. If *ηυ* had been like *ευ*, there would have been no change in making *ἡυχόμεν* from *ἔυχομαι*.

The same observation may be made of ΩΥ.

In order to render the sound of the Italian *ce* and *ci*, or our *ch*, the modern Greeks make use of *τς*².

* Lib. ii. page 81.

In addition to the above account of the Romaic pronunciation of the letters, it is necessary to add, that for the pronunciation of the words, or in order to read after the manner of the moderns, no other rule is required than a strict observance of the accents, the presence or absence of which, determines what we call the quantity of the syllables, in modern Greek; and it should be also mentioned, that the three accents have the same power, and are not to be distinguished from each other in the recital either of verse or prose. The use of the aspirate is equally obsolete with that of the long vowels. An example will convey the clearest notion of the manner in which the best scholars of modern Greece read the first poet and father of their language. The *a* in the following words, is to be pronounced like that letter in *ars*.

Mēnin āedthe Theā Peleīādtheo akelāos
 Oolomānen ē merē akasēs ālge āthekē
 Pollās d' ipthēmoos psakās āedthe proēapsen.
 Erōone, aftōōs, dē clōrea tēvke kēnessin
 Atonase te pāse. Dtheōse d' etelēeto voōlē.

Without entering into the controversy started by the younger Vossius, in his book *de cantu Poematum et viribus Rythmi*, or going the length of that scholar and Henunius, in decrying all those accentual virgulæ, which do not quadrate with the natural quantity of the syllables*, we may with safety assert, that the ancient Greeks, whatever attention they paid to their περισφῆλαι, *tonēs* or *elevations*, did not read the first lines of Homer as they are written above. In a short account of the late Professor Porson†, I find that he was of opinion that Mr. P. a modern Greek of Salonica,

* Primatt's Defence of Greek Accents, p. 408. See Foster on Accents, Introduction, page vi. and page 113.

† London, 1808, printed by Baldwin.

who had also a considerable knowledge of its ancient language, read Homer so as to preserve both accent and quantity, p. 18. Any decision of that great authority would be reckoned oracular; but having inquired of one or two persons full as likely to have collected these detached Sybilline leaves as the author of the pamphlet, I have reason to think that Mr. Porson did never approve of the Romæic rules in reading Greek. Mr. P. of Salonica I have never seen: he may have adopted a new method, but Mr. Psallida of Ioannina, whom I suppose to be equally versed in the language, I have heard recite Homer, and exactly in the usual manner of all the modern Greeks. One might think it sufficient to settle the question, that Tzetzes, who has given in his Chiliads such a lamentable proof of the abuse of accent, was sensible of the depavation of the language, and openly lamented the barbarism of his times, in regard to the corruption of pronunciation and metre, in the introduction to his iambic poem—*περὶ παιδων ἀγωγῆς*. Now it is clear that the strolling muse of which he complains—

. μᾶστις ἀγυριτίδος
Ἴε την ποδων ἐγούθμον ἢ τηρεῖ βᾶσιν.

would never have existed, if accent had not prevailed over quantity to a degree not known by the ancient Greeks (who admitted no such verse), and that consequently the present practice is of a comparatively late date. But of this point I shall say a few words in another place.

The present Hellenic scholars, although they are equally able with Tzetzes to write verse according to all the rules of metre, yet they do not, like him, acknowledge the errors of their recitation, nor are at all aware of that fault, which in fact gave rise to the barbarous poetry of the present day. It is not, of course, meant to be asserted, that the true method of reading Greek is understood by

the scholars of the English or any other university, who, in the recital of either prose or verse, prove, at least by their own practice, that the Greeks had recourse in writing to a variety of signs, of which they made no manner of use*.

Page 550. If the reader should wish to see a very different opinion with respect to the corruption of the Greek language, he will find it in Primatt's fifth chapter on Greek Accents.

In page 559 of this volume, I have stated an intention of giving an extract from Portius's Romaic Grammar, but seeing by the public prints, that a work of a similar nature is about to appear in a volume by itself, and considering also, that those who are curious in such points, may probably have Du Cange's Glossary (which contains the Treatise of Portius) in their possession, I have not thought it necessary to complete or introduce any part of the abridgment. At the same time I deem it advisable to insert from this author, a general outline of the change which the language has experienced in passing from the ancient to the modern Greek..

Id porro nobis in præsens adnotasse suffecerit linguæ istius corrup-

* The accented verse from the Antiope of Euripides, in red and black letters, which was found in the hollow-ways of Resina, March 6, 1743, upon a wall on the angle of a street leading to the theatre of Herculaneum, shows how much those were deceived who considered that accents were not introduced until the seventh century.

ὡς ἔνσο φὸν βάλειναι τὰς πολλὰς χεῖρας νικᾷ.

It is cited by Polybius, lib. i. § 35, and is in Barnes' Fragments of Antiope. See Primatt's Defence of Greek Accents, p. 232. Accents were arranged, and perhaps reduced to more certain rules, by Aristophanes of Byzantium, who lived in the 149th Olympiad, 200 years before Christ, but were not invented, says Primatt (page 37), by that grammarian. Isaac Vossius dates the corruption of sound from the times of Antoninus and Commodus.—De Cantu Poem, p. 28. Ibid. p. 267.

tionem ac depravationem, ut rem leviter et quasi per transennam attingamus, in eo præsertim versari, quodd Græci hodierni literam pro litera ponant, alias addant, alias etiam adimant, terminationes denique nominum passim mutant, verbi gratiâ γ. pro δ. ponunt, ut in γιά, pro δια, pro ν. ut in τυραγνίζειν. Ε. pro ι. ut in ξυλένιος, κριθαρένιος, pro ξυλιγός, κριθινός. Ζ. pro duplici τ. aut σ. ut in ταραίζειν, αλλάζειν. Η. pro ε. ut in πονεϊκός. Α. pro ρ. ut in Πλωρα, Φούλα. Ξ. pro σ. ut in πείραξις. Ξε. pro εκ, ut in ξεχωρίζειν, et similibus. Ο. pro α. ut in διάρθρωσις. Π. pro φ. ut in ραπάνη. vel pro β. ut in εμπάινειν. Ρ. pro λ. ut in αρμη, αρμυρός. Τ. pro Θ. ut in φήανειν. Υ. pro α. ut in ανυμένειν. vel pro φ. ut in ασφύειν pro αφράφειν, έθασε, pro εθασε. Ψ. pro υς. ut in δούλεψις, pro δούλευσις. Addunt et inserunt literas, γ. in παλεύγειν, καίγειν, έρμυγνύγειν. Υ. in στερεύειν, τελεύειν, pro στερεΐν, τελειΐν. Ν. in φέρνειν, σύρνει, άιμαλιώνειν, &c. Demunt literas, ut in βλέμα, αδια, χρία, πνέμονας, πείπερος, τωπαίνειν, ξαναλέγειν, γά, pro βλέμμα, αδεΐα, κρεία, πνέμων, πένθερος, σιωπαίνειν, εξαλαλέγειν, ίνα, &c. Jam verò quoad terminationes, variè illæ à Græcis mutantur. Masculina in ης, efferunt in ας, ut φαυλαδης dicunt pro φαυλητης. Adjectiva in ώδης, in ερδς terminant, ut προμυθώδης, υλώδης, καπνώδης, μυθέρδς, υληιερδς, καπνώιερδς dicunt. Masculina in ης terminationem ab accusativo mutantur, ut αέρας pro αήρ. Masculina substantiva in ων, interdum ex dativo formantur, ut in αχδόνι, pro αχδών: interdum, ex accusativo, ut in αιωνας, πνεύμονας, pro αιών, πνευμión.

Masculina in αξ, υξ, ων, ας, et alia quintæ declinationis nominativum ab accusativo plurali mutantur, ut in πίνακας, λάρυγκας, έλωπας, δαφνωνας, γίγανθας. Masculina adjectiva in ος, vel in ων, sæpe in άρης terminantur, ut in ψαριάρης, άπικρισιάρης, λησιμονιάρης: vel ενιος, ut in ξυλένιος, σιλαρένιος, κριθαρένιος. Quædam masculina in ος, ex tertiâ et quartâ declinatione nominativum habent desinentia in άκι, ut σχοινάκι, μυθαρακι, λυχνάκι, όρθυάκι, ρυάκι, γονατάκι.

Feminina in *η*, in *ι* terminantur ut in ἀγωγή. quæ in ὅτῃς denominati-
 hemina habent ab accusativo, ut in φαυλόγητα, ἀδελφότητα: quæ
 vero in *ς*, sæpe in *ια* deflectunt, ut in κλεψιά, παραλυσιά. vel in *ιον*,
 ut σκάψιμον, χύσιμον, δέσιμον: aut nominativum ab accusativo desu-
 munt, ut in ἀλυσίδα, κονίδα, ψαλίδα. Neutra in *ον* desinunt in *ι* ut in
 ἐργασῆρι, σπεπάρνι, ἀλεῦρι: vel in *ιν*, ut in σιχάρνι, γεράκιν, &c. Dimi-
 nutiva in τριπλός ferè semper efferuntur, ut in ἀγριπλητρίκος, pro ὑπάγριος:
 denique adverbia in *ως*, in *α* etiam desinunt, ut in ἀγρία, pro ἀγρίως,
 &c.

ECCLESIASTICAL GREEK.

Meletius' Account of Albania.

1. Ἡ Ἀλβανία, ἥτοι ἡ Ἀρβανιτία κοινότερον λεγόμενη, εἶναι τὸ Δυτικὸν
 Μέρος τῆς Μακεδονίας, τὴν ὀνομασίαν λαβοῦσα ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν, οἱ ὅποιοι
 δὲν εἶναι ἐκ γένους τῶν Γαλασιῶν, ὥς τινες ὄνται, οὐτ' ἐκ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν
 τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἀλλὰ κατάγονται ἐκ γένους Κελτικοῦ, οἱ ὅποιοι ἤλθον
 εἰς τὴν Γαυρυάν τῆς Γαλιᾶς, εἴτα ἐξ αὐτῆς διέβησαν εἰς τὸ Δυρράχιον,
 κακεῖθεν διεσπάρησαν. Πόλεις λοιπὸν ἀπαριθμοῦνται κατὰ μὲν τὸ σύνολον
 τῆς ἀνω ῥηθείσης Δαλματίας, κληθείσης ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαλμινίου, τὸ ὅποιον ἔτι
 ποτὲ Πόλις μεγάλη, αὐταὶ μετὰ τὸν Κόλπον τοῦ Κάταρο, κατὰ τὴν Ἀκρο-
 θαλασσίαν εἶναι. Ἀντίβαρον, κοινῶς Ἀντίβαρ, Πόλις ποτὲ μὲν Θερόνον
 Ἀρχιεπισκόπου, εἰς τὸν ὅποιον ὑπετέλουν ἐννέα Ἐπίσκοποι. Ὁλχίνιον, τὸ
 ὅποιον πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο Κολχίνιον, καὶ τὰρ Δολτζίνι, Κάστρον ὀχυρὸν, μὲν
 Ἀιμένα χωρητικόν.

2. Μεσόγειοι δὲ Πόλεις ταύτης εἶναι Σκόδρα, κοινῶς Σκούταρι. παρὰκει-
 ται ταύτῃ τῇ Πόλει καὶ Λίμνη, τῆς ὁποίας οὐ σμακρὰν κεῖται Δερίβασον.
 πλησίον τοῦ Δρεῖνου Ποταμοῦ, ὃ ὅποιος χύνεται εἰς τὸν Σάον Ποτ.: εἶναι ἡ
 Δρεῖνόπολις μὲν Θερόνον Ἐπισκόπου, κοινῶς λεγομένη Δρεῖναδὰρ. Θερόνον
 Ἐπισκόπου ἔχει καὶ τὸ Δερίβασον. αὐταὶ αἱ Πόλεις εὐρίσκονται ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξου-

σίαν τῶν Τούρκων, τοῦ δὲ Ἡγεμόνος, ἦτοι τοῦ Πασιὰ ὁ Θρόνος εἶναι εἰς τὸ Σκούταρι, καὶ αὗται αἱ Πόλεις εἶναι τῆς παλαιᾶς Γλιυριδος, τὴν ὅποιαν χωρίζει ἀπὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας ὁ Δρεϊλων Ποταμὸς, λεγόμενος κοινῶς Δεῖνο, εἰς τῇ ὑποίῃ τὸ εἶδος παρᾶκειται ἡ Λισσὸς Πόλις, ἣ καὶ Ἐλισσὸς, κοινῶς λεγομένη Ἀλέσσιο, ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν Τούρκων, καὶ αὕτη οὕσα εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀποχώρησιν τοῦ Γλιυρικοῦ Κόλπου, ὅστις κοινῶς λέγεται Κόλφο οἱ Δεῖνο. ἐνδότεραι δὲ κατὰ τὸ μεσόγειον, εἶναι Σιπάρευτον, κοινῶς Σελατίνα, Θεξιμίδαυα, κοινῶς Δάγνο, μετὰ τῆς Σκιδρας καὶ τῆ Σιπαρύντου εὐρισκόμενον. πλησίον τῇ Οἰμφαλῷ Ὄρει, τὸ ὅποιον κοινῶς λέγεται Παπαδάρος, κείνται Πόλεις ποτὲ, ἡ Ἐπικαρία καὶ τὸ Εἰμινακίον. ἀνάμεταξὺ τῆ Δρεϊλωνος καὶ τῆ Πανύατου τῶν Ποταμῶν, τρέχει ὁ Γκανὸς Πίταμος.

3. Τὸ Δυτικὸν Παρθαλάσσιον Μέρος τῆς Μακεδονίας, τὸ ὅποιον ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τοῦ Δυρράχίου, καὶ λήγει εἰς τὸν Κέλυδνον Ποτῖ, τὸν χωρίζοντα τὴν Μακεδονίαν τῆς παλαιᾶς Ἡπείρου, Ταυλαντιά λέγεται, περιέχουσα τοὺς Ἑλλομιώτας καὶ τὴν Ὁρεστίδα. ἐκλήθη αὕτη καὶ Νέα Ἡπείρος, πρὸς διασῶσιν τῆς Παλαιᾶς Ἡπείρου, καὶ Πόλεις ἔχει ταύτας, Δυρράχιον, κοινῶς Δουρράτζο, Πόλις τὸ πάλαι περίφημος, μὲ Θρόνον Ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ μὲ Λιμένα. ἐκτίσθη αὕτη, μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Τρωάδος, ἔτη 120., εἰς Χερσονήσον, τῆς ὁποίας ῥαδίως δύναται ὁ ἰσθμὸς νὰ κοπῇ, καὶ πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο Ἐπίδαμνος, καὶ Ἐπίδαμνον, ἀλλὰ μὲ τὸ νὰ ἐφάνη Ὀϊωνὸς οὐκ ἀγαθὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ὥσάν ὅπου ἐσημείωνεν ἐπὶ δάμνον, ἦτοι ἐπὶ ζυμίαν ἔχουσι νὰ πηγένουν τὴν, ὠνόμασαν Δυρράχιον. ὁ σμακερὰν ταύτης εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὴν Θάλασσαν ὁ Πανύατος Ποτῖ, κοινῶς λεγόμενος Σπιρνάτζα. Ἐξίβοια, ἡ ὑποία τῶν Παρθυαίων ἦτον, ἔχουσα Ὄρει τῇ αὐτῇ ὀνόματις, κοινῶς λέγεται Κροῖα, Πόλις ταῦν πρὸς τεύουσα, καὶ ὀχυρὰ, εὐρισκομένη κατὰ τὸ μεσόγειον, πλησίον τῇ Λισάνα Ποτῖ, μετὰ τῇ Δυρράχίῳ, καὶ τοῦ Δεβώρου, τοῦ νῦν Δερίβιμ λεγομένου, ὅδὲ Χαλκοκονούλης Κρούαν ταύτην καλεῖ: ἡ Πατεῖς τοῦ περιφήμου Γεωργίου Κασιώτου τῇ Σκενδέρμπει, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Πόλις μεσόγειος τῶν Ταυλαντίων ἦτον ποτὲ ἡ Ἀρμισσα, ταῦν κρηματισμένη, καὶ κοινῶς λεγομένη Ἀλάδα. μετὰ τὸν Πανύατον Ποτῖ: εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ Γόνιον Πέλαγος ὁ ἈΨος Ποτῖ, κοινῶς Κανιόνι λεγόμενος. μετὰ

τούτον ἔιναι Πύργος, Πόλις ποτὲ Παραθαλασσία, καὶ κατὰ τὸ μεσόγειον ἦτον Ταυράντιον, κοινῶς τανῶν Ταμωρίτζα, ἢ κατ' ἄλλους, Μουσαιχία. οὐ πολὺ σμακρὰν τοῦ Πύργου εἰσέρχεται ὁ Κενουσόδς Ποτ· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ Λαῖος Ποτ·, κοινῶς λεγόμενος Βουῦσα, ἐγγὺς τοῦ ὑποίοι ἦτον ἡ Ἀπελλωνία, κοινῶς τανῶν Πέλλινα, κρημνισμένη, Πόλις ποτὲ ἐννομιωτάτη, κτίσμα Κορινθίων καὶ Κερκυραίων, τοῦ Ποταμοῦ μὲν ἀπέχονσα Σταδίοις δέκα, τῆς δὲ Θαλάσσης 60., ἤρθισεν αὕτη εἰς τὰς σπαθὰς τῶν γραμμάτων, εἰς τὴν καιρὸν τῇ Καίσαρος· ὅθεν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐξάλβη αὐτὸς ὁ Καίσαρ Οὐκτάσιος, νέος ὢν, χάριν μὲν ἡσέως. εἰς αὐτὴν ἐχάραττον καὶ ἀργυρὰ νομίσματα. ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀρχεται ἡ Ἐγνατία ὁδὸς, καὶ τελευτᾷ μέχρι τοῦ Ἐβρου Ποτ·, καὶ τῶν Κυψέλλων, εἰς καὶ Μίλιον ἔχονσα σήλην. εἰς τὴν Χώραν τῶν Ἀπολιωνιατῶν εἶναι πέτρα τις, τῇ ἀναδιδοῦσα, Νυμφαῖον καλεσμένη, ὅπ' αὐτῇ δὲ κρηναὶ ῥέουσι χλιαρᾷ Ἀσφάλτου, καιομένης ὡς εἰκὸς τῆς Βώλου τῆς Ἀσφάλτιδος. μετὰ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τῇ Λαῶν Ποτ· ἔιναι Ἀυλὼν, Πόλις παραθαλασσία, καὶ Ἐπίνειον ποτὲ, καλεῖται κοινῶς Ἀυλωνας, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰταλῶν Βαλῶνα, τὴν ἐκυρίευσαν οἱ Βένετοι ἐν ἔτει 1690., ἔπειτα μετ' ὀλίγους μῆνας, διοικηθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων, καὶ κρημνίσαντες αὐτὴν κατέλιπον. μετ' αὐτὴν ἦτον Πόλις παραθαλασσία τῶν Ἑλλημιώτων ἡ Βουλλὶς, ὥσπερ καὶ μεσόγειος τὰ Ἐλύμα, κληθεῖσα ἀπὸ Ἐλύμου τῇ νότῃ Ὑψὺ τῇ Ἀρχίσου. αὐτὴν τινὲς οἰοῦνται νὰ ἔιναι τὰ Κάνινα, Πόλις πλησίον τοῦ Ἀυλώνος εὐερισκομένη κατὰ τὸ μεσόγειον, καὶ ἄλλοι νὰ ἔιναι ἡ Χειμάρρα, ἀλλ' ἀπατώνται, ὅτι ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἡ Χειμάρρα, ἀπεχει 2½ Μίλια. τῆς δὲ Ὁρεσίδος ἦτον ἡ Ἀμαντία, Πόλις παραθαλασσία, ἥτις τανῶν λέγεται Πύργο Π'αγαξέο, μεταξὺ τῇ Ἀυλωνος, καὶ τῇ Ὁρικοῦ, οὐ σμακρὰν τῶν Ἀκροκεραυνίων Ὁρεῶν. ὁμοίως καὶ ἄλλη Ἀμαντία αὐτῆς ἦτον Μεσόγειος, λεγόμενη κοινῶς Ἀβόσμα. ἐκλήθησαν αὗται αἱ Πόλεις ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀμάντων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἐμαφύρορα, οἱ ὑποῖσι μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Τρωάδος, διέβησαν εἰς τὴν Ἡπείρου, καὶ τελευταῖον κατώκησαν τούτους τοὺς τόπους, περὶ τὰ Ἀκροκεραύνια Ὁρεῇ. αὕτη ἡ Χώρα ἐκλήθη Ὁρεσίς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁρέσου, τῇ καταφυγόντος εἰς ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον. τελευταῖον εἶναι ὁ Κέλυδνος Ποτ· ὅστις χωρίζει τὴν Ὁρεσίδα τῆς Μακεδονίας, ἀπὸ τῆς Παλινίας Ἡπείρου λέγεται κοινῶς ὅτος Σαλνίκη.

4. Ταύτης τῆς Ἐπαρχίας μεσόγειοι Πόλεις, παρὰ τὰς ῥηθείδους, ἔιναι καὶ αὗται. Ἀλβανόπολις, ἡ Μητρόπολις ποτὲ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν. Λευκὴ Πέτρα, ἔρημος. τῶν δὲ Ἑσθῆτιων Πόλεις ἦσαν, οἱ Σκαμπεῖς, τὴν ὑπόιαν τινὲς λέγουσι νὰ ἔιναι τὰ Βελάδαγρα, λεγομένη ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων Ἀρναούτ Μπελιγρὰδ, Πόλις τετειχισμένη ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τινὸς Βηνού, μὲ Θρόνον Ἐπισκόπου. ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσιν, ὅτι οἱ Σκαμπεῖς νὰ ἔιναι ἡ Στρέγγα, καὶ τὰ Βελάδαγρα νὰ ἔιναι ἡ Λευκὴ Πέτρα. Δαυλία, πιεζοῦσι πολλοὶ, ὅτι αὕτη νὰ ἔιναι τὸ Ἐλιμπασάνι, Πόλις ὀνομασθῇ, καὶ Ἑμπόριον διάσημον. Δύβομα, κοινῆς Δαυδάσση κατὰ τὸν Μολέτιον, καὶ ἄλλαι, περὶ τῶν ἰποίων ἐν τῷ περὶ Μακεδονίας ἐξοῦμεν. ταῦν ὅμως εἰς ἐτούτα τὰ μέρη ἔιναι Μολίσματα ἀκουστά, Βοσκόπολις, Γυόετζα. καὶ τὰ λοιπά. 3

ROMAIC.

THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST OLD MAN AND THE STAG.

From the Translation of the Arabian Nights.*

Ἐπὶ τῇ ἡ ελαφὸς ὅπῃ βλέπτε, λιγὲι ὁ γερὺν ἡτον ἐξ ἀδελφῇ μου· καὶ τὴν στεφανώδηκα εἰς γυναῖκα μὴ οντος ἡβ', χρόνιον. καὶ ἐξήσα μαζιτῆς τριῶντα χρόνης χωρὶς νὰ ἀποκτήσω μὲν κίμενα τέκνον. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐχωντὰς ἐπιθυμίαν διὰ τέκνα, ἀγῶρασά μιαν σκλαβαν, μὲ τὴν ὑποίαν ἀποκτήσα ἐναντίον, τὸν ὅποιον ἡγάπησα ὑλοψυχῶς,· καὶ ὅταν ὁ ὕισμῃ ἐφθασεν εἰς χρόνης δωδεκά τῆς ἡλικίας τε, ἐγὼ διὰ καποιαῖς μὴ ἀναγκαιαῖς ὑπόδεσσις μελῶντας νὰ μισεύσω εἰς ἐνα ταξίδιον μακρὺνον, ἀφῆσα τὸν υἱὸν μὴ καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῇ εἰς τὴν ἐπισκεψὶν τεττῆς τῆς γυναίκος μὴ, συστάινωίλας τῆς εἰς τὴν ἀγαπὴν τῆς καὶ εἰς τὴν περιποίησιν τῆς, εὖς ὅπῃ νὰ ἐπιστρέψω ἀπὸ το ταξί-

* The accents are omitted in this specimen, as the Romaic accentuation is exactly similar to that of the Ecclesiastical Greek, and it was found a difficult matter to print them correctly from any London press.

διον. ἀλλ' ἡ γυναῖκα μὲ, ὅπῃ εἶχε λαβεῖν φθονον, μίσος καὶ ζήλιαν ἐναντίον εἰς τὸν υἱὸν μὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν μήτέρα τῆ, μετὰ τὸν μισεύμον μὲ αὐτὴ ἔφερε τὸν τρόπον διὰ νὰ πληρωσῇ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς, ἐδόθη εἰς τὴν μαγικὴν τέχνην, καὶ εἰς ὀλίγον καιρὸν τὴν ἐμάθεν· εἰς τοσὸν ὅπῃ με αὐτὴν τὴν μαγείαν ἐμείαμορφώσατε τὸν μὲν υἱὸν μὲ εἰς μοσχάριον, τὴν δὲ μήτέρα τῆ εἰς ἀγελαδάν. ἐπεὶτα κράζει τὸν ζευγῆτην μὲ καὶ λέγει τῆ. ἰδοὺ σὲ παραδίδω τῇτῃ τὴν ἀγελαδάν με τὸ μοσχάριον τῆς, διὰ νὰ τὰ φυλάξῃς ἐξω εἰς τὸ χωρίον διὰ χρεῖαν τῆ οὐσιότητος, κατὰ τὴν παραγγελίαν τῇ αὐθέντος σῆ.

Ὅταν ἐγυρίσα ἔγω ἀπὸ το ταξιδίου μὲ, ἐρευνήσα καὶ ἐρωτήσα διὰ τὸν υἱὸν μὲ, καὶ διὰ τὴν μήτέρα τῆ τὴν σκλαβαν μὲ, πῶς εἶναι. μού ἀποκριθῇ ἡ γυναῖκα μὲ, ὅτι ἦμεν σκλαβα ἀποθάνειν, ὃ δὲ υἱὸς μὲ εἶχε δυὼ ἢ τρεῖς σὺν ἑαυτῇ μηνῶς, ὅπῃ ἐφάθη ἀπὸ το σπιτι, χωρὶς νὰ ἰξυεῖται ὅτε αὐτὴ τι ἐγένεν. ἐγὼ εἰς τέτοιαν εἰδήσιν ἐλάβον μεγαλὴν λυπὴν διὰ τὸν θάνατον τῆς σκλαβας. διὰ δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ἐλάβον κατὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα παρηγορίας, μήπως καὶ τὸν ξαναεἶδω. ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἐξ μηνῶς ἐφθασε καὶ τὸ Μπαϊραμί χωρὶς νὰ λαβῶ καμμίαν εἰδήσιν διὰ τὸν υἱὸν μὲ. τότε ἐπαρηγγεῖλα τῇ ζευγῆτῃ μου νὰ μὲ φέρῃ τὴν πλέον παχύρετραν ἀγελαδάν διὰ νὰ τὴν θυσιασῶ εἰς Κορμπανί. ὁ ζευγῆτης ἐπλήρωσε τὴν προσίαγην μὲ, καὶ μὲ ἐφέρει τὴν ἀγελαδάν, ἢ ὅποια ἦτον ἡ σκλαβα μὲ εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν μορφήν. βλέπω τὴν ἀγελαδάν νὰ κλαίῃ, καὶ νὰ καμνῇ καποῖα κινήματα, ὅπῃ μὲ ἐπερακίνησαν εἰς εὐσπλαγχνίαν διὰ νὰ μὴ τὴν θυσιασῶ. ἀλλ' ἡ γυναῖκα μου ὅπῃ ἦτον παρὼν, ἐμεταχειρίσθη κατὰ τὸν τρόπον καὶ πανουργίαν, εἰς τοσὸν ὅπῃ μὲ ἐκάλεπτε νὰ προστάξω τέλος πάντων τὸν ζευγῆτην διὰ νὰ τὴν θυσιασῇ· τὸ ὅποιον καὶ ἐκαίμεν ὁ ζευγῆτης. ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὅτε τὴν ἡσφάξεν ἐμείνει τὸ πέλξι μόνον καὶ τὰ κοκκαλά, με ὅλον ὅπῃ ἐφαίνετο πολλὰ παχέια. ὅταν λοιπὸν τὴν εἶδα ἐτρίβον καμνὴν, ἐπροστάξα τὸν ζευγῆτην διὰ νὰ μου φέρῃ ἡνὰ καλὸν καὶ παχὺ μοσχάριον νὰ θυσιασῶ, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲ ἐφέρει τὸν υἱὸν μὲ εἰς τὸ σχῆμα τῇ μοσχαιρῇ. τῷτο, ὅτι μὲ εἶδεν ἐνδὺς ὠρμήσε, καὶ ἐπεσε εἰς τῆς ποδῶς μὲ ληγκρίζουίης καὶ κλαίωντας, ὥσταν νὰ ἠθέλε νὰ μὲ φανερώσῃ πῶς εἶναι υἱὸς μὲ, καὶ νὰ μὴ τὸν θανατίσω. ἐγὼ ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἐσωτερικῆς κινήσεως αἱματος ἐλάβον τὸσσην συμπαθείαν καὶ εὐσπλαγχνίαν, ὅπῃ ἀποφασισὰ νὰ μὴ τὸ θυσιασῶ. τὸσσην ἡ φύσις μου ἐκίνησε τὴν καρδίαν

εἰς εἰλεος, ὅπως προσάξω τὸν ζευγῆτην διὰ νὰ το γυρίσῃ ὀπίσω εἰς τὸ ζυγαρι, καὶ νὰ μὴ φέρῃ ἕνα ἄλλῃ. ἡ γυναῖκα μὲ ἐμεταχειρίσθη τῆσδε τροπῆς διὰ νὰ με καθάπαισθῃ νὰ τὸ ὕψισταις διὰ τότε, ὅμως ἐγὼ παύσας σταλθεὶς εἰς τὴν γυναικὴν μὲ, τῆς ὑποσχέσθην διὰ τὸ ἐρχομένον Μπαίξαιμι, διὰ νὰ παύσῃ.

Τὴν ἐρχομένην ἡμέραν ἀπὸ τὴν αὐγὴν ἤλθεν ὁ ζευγῆτης μὲ, καὶ με εἰ-
πὼς διὰ νὰ μὴ ὀμιλήσῃ, καὶ νὰ μὴ φανερώσῃ ἕνα μυστήριον, καὶ λέγει μὲ.
αὐθεντή, ἐγὼ ἔχω μιαν θυγατέρα, ὅπως καταλαμβάνει τὴν μαγειαν, καὶ ἔχ-
θεις ὅταν εἶδεν ὅπως ἐγυρῶσα ὀπίσω τὸ μυστήριον καλῶς με ἐπρόσάξεις, πρῶτον
εἰλάσσει, καὶ ὕστερα ἐκλαύσει. καὶ τὴν ἐρωτήσα τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ μὲ εἶπεν
ὅτι τὸ τὸ μυστήριον εἶναι ὁ υἱὸς τῆ αὐθεντος μῆς, ὅπως ἡ γυναῖκα τῆ ἡ κυ-
κα μῆς τὸ ἐμέταβαλεν εἰς μυστήριον, καὶ τὴν ματρεῖα τῆς ἀγέλαδαν, καὶ
εἰλάσα χαρμίνην, διὰ τὸ νὰ τὸ εἶδῃ ζώντανον. ἐπεὶτα ἐκλαύσα διὰ τὴν
ματρεῖα τῆ, ὅπως ἐβύστασθην.

Ἐγὼ ἀκκωντὰς τέτοια λόγια ἀπὸ τὸν ζευγῆτην, ἐπρόξω εὐλὺς διὰ νὰ εἶδω
τὸν υἱὸν μὲ· τὸν ἀγκαλιάζω, τὸν φιλῶ, ὅμως αὐτὸς ὅεν ἐδύνετο νὰ μὴ ἀπο-
κριθῇ. κραζῶ εὐλὺς τὴν θυγατέρα τῆ ζευγῆτη, τὴν παρκαλλῶ, καὶ τῆς
ταζῶ ὅλα μὲ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, ἀν ἡμπορῇ νὰ μεταμορφώσῃ τὸν υἱὸν μὲ εἰς τὴν
πρωτὴν τῆ μορφῆν. καὶ αὐτὴ μὲ ἀπεκρίθη, ὅτι ἡμπορεῖ, καὶ εἶναι ἑτοιμὴ
νὰ τὸ καμῇ, ὅμως μὲ ὄσω ὑποσχέσεις τοιαύτας, ἡγὼ νὰ τῆς ὁρίσω τὸν αὐτὸν
μὲ υἱὸν διὰ ἀνδρα, καὶ νὰ τῆς ὁρίσω ἐλευθερίαν διὰ νὰ τιμωρηθῇ ἐκείνην, ὅπως
τὸν ἐμεταμορφώσεν εἰς τοιοῦτον σχῆμα· καὶ ἐγὼ τῆς ὑποσχέσθην καὶ τὰ
ὁσὼ ζητήματα. τότε αὐτὴ εἰλάβεν ἕνα ἀγγεῖον γεμάτων νερόν, ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ
ὅποιον εἶπε καποία λόγια μυστικά· ἐπεὶτα γυρίζοντας πρὸς τὸ μυστήριον,
τῆ εἶπεν, ὦ μυστήριον, ἀνίστως καὶ εἶσαι φυσικὰ ἀληθινὸν τέτοιον, καλῶς
τώρα φαίνεσαι, νὰ ἀπομεινῇς παντοῦτε τέτοιον, εἶδε μὴ καὶ εἶσαι ἀνδρώπως
μεταμορφωμένος εἰς μυστήριον ἀπὸ τέχνην μαγικὴν, σὲ προστάξω μὲ τὸ
τὸ νερόν νὰ λάβῃς τὴν φυσικὴν σὲ μορφήν, καὶ τὸ εἶδος. καὶ λεγόντας αὐτὰ
τὰ λόγια τῆ, ἔχυσεν ἐπάνω τὸ νερόν. ὡ τῆ θαύματος ἐν τῷ ἅμα ἐμετα-
μορφώσῃ εἰς τὴν πρωτὴν τῆ ἀνδρώπινην μορφήν. καὶ βλέποντας ἐγὼ τὸν
ἀγαπητὸν μὲ υἱὸν, τὸν ἀγκαλιάσα, τὸν ἐφίλησα, καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν χάραν μὲ
εἶνα ἄλλος ἐξ ἄλλῃ. ἐπεὶτα εὐδὺς ἐμεταμορφώσε τὴν γυναῖκα μὲ εἰς ταν.

την την ελαφον, ὅπῃ βλέπετε· και τὸτο τῆς το ἐξηγήσα εἰω δια να μι-
 ειναι τοῦτον ἀσχήμη. μετὰ ταυτα ὑπανδρευσα τον ὕιον μη με την κορὴν τε
 ζευγίτη κατὰ την ὑποσχέσιν μη. και μετ' ὀλιγον καιρον ὅπῃ εἰσνεβῇ τῇ ὕιῃ
 μη και ἐχρήρευσεν, αὐτος ἐμίσσευσεν εἰς ταξίδιον, και ἕως τῶρα ἐπερασαν
 τοσοι χρόνοι, και καίμειαν εἰδήσιν μη λαμβανωντας δι αὐτον, ἀποφασισα
 να διαβῶ εἰς διαφορῆς ταπῆς εἰς ἀναζητήσιν τε. και μὴν ἐνεμπιστευομενος
 εἰς ἄλλον ταυτην την γυναικα μη την ελαφον, την φέρω μαζί μη ὅπῃ ὑπαγῇ.
 αὐτῇ λοιπον εἶναι ἡ Ἱστορία μη, και ταυτῆς τῆς ελαφῆ. πως σας φαίνεται,
 δὲν εἶναι μια Ἱστορία θαυμαστῇ και παρὰδοξος; λέγει το Τελωνιον. ἐχρεῖς
 ὅλον το δικαίον· ἦν λοιπον δια χάριν σε, χαρίζω ἕνα τρίτον ἀπο το ἐγκλήμη
 τε πρᾶγματευτῇ;

Εὐδης ὁ δευτερὸς γερον ὅπῃ εἶχε τα ὅνα σκυλία ἐγυρῆσε πρὸς το Τελω-
 νιον, και τε λέγει. Θελω νᾶ σε διηγῇθω ἐκεῖνο, ὅπῃ εἰσανεβῇ μετὰξυ ἐμῇ
 και τῶτων των ὄνα σκυλων, και εἰμαι βεβαίος, ὅτι θέλει φάνῃ, πλέον θαυ-
 μασιωτέρα ἀπο ἐκεῖνην ὅπῃ ἠκῆσες· ἀλλ' ὅταν σε ἄρῃσῃ, μὴ χαρίζεις το
 δευτερον τρίτον τῆς συμπαθείας τε πρᾶγματευτῇ; λέγει το Τελωνιον. Θελω
 σε καίμει το ζήτημα. και ἀρχισεν ὁ δευτερος γερον εἰς τον ἀκολουθον τρο-
 πον . . . Ἀλλ' ἡ Χαλιμα ὅταν εἶδε πως ἐπλησίασεν ἡ πῆρα, ὅπῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς
 ἐμελλε να ὑπαγῇ εἰς το προσκυνημα τε, και ἐπειτα εἰς το συμβῆλιον, ἀφῆγε
 την διηγῆσιν. ἡ ὅποια τοσον ἐκίνησε την περιεργειαν τῇ Βασιλείῳ, ὥστε
 ὅπῃ ἐπιθυμωντας να ἀκῆσῃ το τέλος, ἀνεβαλε τον καιρον ἕως εἰς την ἐσχόμε-
 νην αὐριον ἡμέραν. βλέπωντας ὁ Βεζυξης τον Βασιλεα, ὅπῃ δὲν τον προστά-
 ζει κατὰ τον νομον δια θανάτωση την Χαλιμαν, ἐύρισκετο εἰς μίαν ὑπερβο-
 λικην χάραν· ὁμοίως και ἡ φάμιλια τε. ὅλοι τε παλατιν, και ὅλος ὁ λαὸς
 κοινῶς ἐχαιρον, και ἐθαυμάζον την μεταβολὴν μὴν ἰξευροντες την αἰτίαν.

The following specimen is the conclusion of a romance, entitled,

UNFORTUNATE LOVE,

HISTORY THE SECOND,

OF A CORCYREAN DRAGOMAN OF THE VENETIAN EMBASSY AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

The young man, it seems, is deeply in love with Choropsima, whilst Mairam is deeply in love with him. The parents of Choropsima are in opposition to every arrangement. Mairam does her utmost to persuade Andreas that Choropsima is false, and has been seen talking to a young man, the son of a rich Armenian: both she and Andreas are sick at heart with their passion. Mairam sends a letter in verse, with which the specimen opens: Andreas rejects it with scorn: she dies, after singing a song. The Dragoman's servant relates, that, passing Choropsima's door, he heard the music of a marriage-feast: this throws him into fits; but recovering, he sings or rather murmurs some verses, and fainting away, expires, *without having sacrificed to Venus or her son*. Choropsima resolves to live single; and the whole concludes with the praise of true love, and an anathema against hard-hearted parents.

Ἦ Μείριμι δὲ εὐδύς ὅπῃ ἡ γῆσα ἀνεχωρήσεν, ἤτοιμασε τὸ ἀκολυθὸν ῥά-
ζασακι πρὸς τὸν τζελέπη Ἀνδρέα·

Ψυχὴμα Κυρ Ἀνδρέα!

Ἀν δὲν πονῆς κανένα, λυπήσῃ καν ἐμένα,
πῆ δα σε ξεζηθῶ·

Καὶ δὲν εἴχ' ἄλλον φίλον, πῶσον καλῶς σοὶ ὀηλεῖ,
να ξεμυτηρεῖθω.

Ἢ καν τὸν ἑαυτὸν σὲ, λυπήσῃ μοναχὸς σὲ,
πῆ δα με χωρῖσθης.

Καὶ δὲν εἴχεις κανένα, πῶσῃν ὥσαν ἐμένα,
να παρηγορηθῇς.

Μη γίνεσαι αἰτία, μία καθαρά φίλια
να απομακρυνῇ,
 Γιατί αποτυγχάνεις τον τοπον ὅποιαν βανείς,
και θέλεις λυπηθῇ.
 Αυτό σοχάσθαι μένον, πως τῆς ξωῆς τον χρῶνον,
ὅλον εἰς το ἐξῆς,
 Ἐχω να τον περάσω, ἐγώ ὅταν σε χάσω,
με σεναγμῶς οἷεις.
 Ἀνίσως και γνωρίζεις, ὅτι το νταγιαντίζεις,
μετα χάρας κ' ἐγώ,
 Λέγω το πεπρωμένον, ἐτδ' ἦτον γεγραμμένον,
να παῖω να πνίγω.

Αφ' ἧ δὲ το ἐτελειωσε τι ἐβηλωσε και ἐτδ' ανεπαυθῇ ολιγῶν κειμενη εἰς τὴν κλινὴν ὅλην τὴν νυκτα. το δὲ πρῶι εὐδὺς κραζει δια τῆς βυζασσας τῆς τὴν γειτονισσαν και τὴν λεγει, παρακαλω, μητερά μὲ, θέλω σε μείνῃ ὑποχρεως, αν με καμῆς αὐτο, ὅπε δα σε εἰπω. πεσμε, κορη μὲ, τῆς ἀποκρινεται ἡ γειτονισσα, πεσμε. ἡ Μειρεμ ἦν τὴν λεγει, ἐγώ ηκῆσα, ὅτι συχναζεις εἰς το σαράγι τὴ πρεσβεως τῆς Βενετίας, και δὲν ἀμφιβαλλω να μὴν ἱξευρης και τον Δραγμῆμανον τὴ κυρ' Ἀνδρεαν; ἡ γειτονισσα τῆς ἀποκρινεται, μαλιστα, τον γνωρίζω πολλὰ καλά. λοιπον ἀγαπήσσα να τον δωκῆς αὐτο το ραβασακι, και ὕσερον να με φερῆς ἀποκρισιν. ἡ γειτονισσα τὴν λεγει, διατι κορη μωοχι. αὐτο εἶναι πολλὰ ευκολον. και ἐτδ' ἐπῆρε το ραβασακι και ανεχωρησε φιλοδωρηθεῖσα ὑπο τῆς Μειρεμ μεγαλως.

Ἐλθῶσα δὲ ἡ γειτονισσα παραχρημα εἰς τον τζελεπη Ἀνδρεαν τον ἐδωκε το ραβασακι και ἐκοντοσαθηκεν. αὐτος δὲ περνώντας το ραβασάκι και ἀναγινωσκώντας το ἐπὶ τῆς κλινῆς κειμενος ἐδαίμωνισθῇ παρευδὺς, βλέπωντας πως εἶναι ἀπο τὴν Μειρεμ. ὁδεν το ἐξεχισε παρευδὺς λεγώντας τὴν γειτονισσαν τῆς να μὴ πατήσῃ πλέον εἰς τον οὐδαν τὴ και τὴ ἀναφερῇ δια ἐκείνην, ἡ ὅποια ἐγίνε πρῶτη αἰτία τῶ χωρισμῶ τῶ ἀπο τὴν Χοροψιμαν, ὡς τὴ εὐδὺς δὲ ὅπε ἰδε και ηκῆσεν αὐτὰ ἡ γειτονισσα

ετρεξε και τα ανεφερεν ολα την Μειρεμ, η οποια απο την λυπη της και απελπισιαν ελιγοθυμησε, αδυνατησε, ενεκρωθε εχασε τας αισθησεις της ωσαν εκεινη, οπε πιπτει εις αποπληξιν. τρεχει ευθυς η βυζανδρατης την τριβει, την ταραζει, την βρεχει με ξυδι, και ετзи ηλθεν ολιγον εις τον εαυτον της και αρχισε να τραγωδηση το ακολυφτον με μιαν φωνην τοσον σιγανην, οπε μολις ηκηετο.

Ταχ' ανθρωπος εσταθη,
Τα τοσα βασανα με,
Διαστημα δεν διδεν,
Τα πρωτα δεν τελειωνην,
Ολαις η δυστυχiais,
Σε μενα εγενηκαν,
Τα μυθολογημενα,
Νιοβη και Εκαβη,
Μα τι να συντυχαινω,
Κιαυτο δια παιδειαν,
Ομως, ω σκληροτατη,
Δειξε καν απλαγχνιαν,
Αφ' ε με βασανιζεις,
Κακια κ' ευσπλαχνια,
Σπολατε την ξωτην με,
Κιαν πεθαινα μακαρι,

αλλος κανεις να παθη,
νεα και παλαια με;
συχνα πυκνα τα διδην,
κ' ευθυς νεα φυτρωνεν.
πθναι σταις ιστορiais,
εμπρακτως και φανηκαν.
αληθευσαν σε μενα,
υποιος με τη δεν βλαβει.
πε μολις αναπναινω,
να ζω με τυραννιαν.
τυχη θυμον γεματη,
σε λογε με τελειαν.
ζωην τι με χαριζεις,
δεν εχεν συμφωνια.
δεν σ' εχω την δικην μη,
το γνωριζα για χαρι.

Τελειωνωντας δε αυτα τα λογια παλιν ενεκρωθη περισσοτερον απο το πρωτον και λεγωντας δυω φοραις το αχ με αναστεναγμον απο το βαθος της καρδιας εγινε θυσια εις τον εριωτα ελεεινη, πασαδουσα το σωμα της τη μητρι της γη δια την αστοχαστον και χωρις ανταποκρισιν αγαπην της την ερχομενην δε ημεραν ερχεται ο δουλός τε φιλε μας απ' εξω και τον λεγει, τζελεπη απερασα απο το σπητι τε τζελεπη Στεπαναγα και ημησα διαφορα μεθικα οργανα, ωσαν να εινα κανενας γαμος. δεν απετελειωσε τον λογον ο δουλός

και ευθὺς ἐπέσεν ὁ τ'ζελεπη Ἀνδρεας εἰς λειπαψυχίαν, ἐνεκρωθὴ ὅλος ἀπο τὴν ἀπελπισίαν τὴ στοχαζομενος, ὅτι πλεον ἢ Χοροψίμα τὴ ἀπεταξεν. ὁ δὲ ὄλος δὲ τρεχεῖ, τὸν τρεῖβει, τὸν σηκώνει, τὸν βρεχει, καὶ μολὶς ἐδυνήθη νὰ ἐλθῇ ὁλίγον εἰς τὸν ἑαυτὸν τὴ. εἶτα δὲ ἀρχισε νὰ τ'εαγωδήτῃ, ἡ καλλιὸν νὰ εἰπῇ νῦ μὲμνησθῇ τὸ ἀκολοθόν.

Τὸ ἀγγελικὸν σὲ ἦρος,
Καὶ τῶν στεναγμῶν τὸ πληθὺς
Ἡ ζῶημ' εἰν' πλῖα μῦθος
Ἀχ! ἀχ! ἀχ! — — —
Πάντα τὸ κορμὶν' ταράζει,
Καὶ ὁ ἐρῶς μὲ τρομαζει,
Καθε σὲ ματία μὲ σφαζει
Ἀχ! ἀχ! ἀχ! — — —
Τὴν καρδιάμ' τὴν καίμεν,
Καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπελπισμένη,
Δεν ἰξεύει τι νὰ γένῃ,
Ἀχ! ἀχ! ἀχ! — — —

με κατηντήσεν εἰς βυθὸς,
μὴ ἠφάνισε τὸ στήθος.
κ'εμείνα νεκρὸς ὡς λίθος.
— — — — —
ἀπο καθε μικρὸν νάξι.
.. θάνατον εὐθὺς μὲ τάζει.
τὴν καρδιάμ' τὴν ἀρπάζει.
— — — — —
ῥωτῆσαι τὴν τι παθαίνει;
κί' ἀπ' τὸν ἐρωτὰ χαίμεν,
τὸ κερεμὶ σὲ προσμένει.
— — — — —

Καὶ ἀφ' ἃ τὸ ἐτελεκυσεν, ἐπέσεν παλιν εἰς λειποθύμιαν, καὶ μὴ οὐτος τὴ ὤλεθ' ἐκεῖ νὰ τὸν βοηθήτῃ, κατελύθη τὸν βίον τὴ ἐλθελίνως μῆτε τὴ Ἀφροδίτῃ, μῆτε τὴν ὕψιότης θύσιαν προσεσεγκῶν.

Τὴν ἐρχομένην δὲ ἡμέραν τὸ ἐμάθε καὶ ὁ τ'ζελεπη Σίτ'επαναγῆς καὶ ἡ κορὴ τὴ καὶ μετένοησαν ὅτι δὲν ἐπρολάβον τὸ πρᾶγμα. ἡ Χοροψίμα δὲ καταπύλλα ἐλπίετο δακρύουσα. ἀλλ' εἰς ματῶν' ἐπειδὴ νὰ τὸν βοηθήτῃ πλεον δὲν ἠμποροῦσεν εἰς ἀνταμειβτὴν δὲ τῆς πίστεως τὴ ἀγάπης ἀπεφασίσε νὰ μείνῃ καὶ αὐτὴ πιστὴ ἀχρὶ θάνατ' ἀποφευχθῶσα καθε ἐρωτᾶ καὶ ἐξὶ καὶ τατρία ὑπ'ικείμενα, ὑστερήθησαν πάσης χάρις καὶ εὐφροσύνης, καὶ πάσης αἰσθητῆς ἡδονῆς διὰ τὸν πιστὸν ἐρωτὰ, ὅτι εἶχον, καὶ ἐγίναν παραδειγμα μίας καθάρας μὲν ἀγάπης εἰς τοὺς ὕψος καὶ θύγατ'ρας, κακῆ δὲ φερόσιματος τῶν γυναικῶν, οἱ ὅποιοι προέβην τὸν θάνατον τῶν ὀνῶν τῆς τῶν δεισιδαιμόνιων.

Glossary of some Words in the Specimen of a Romaic Romance.

Ραβασακι, a note; τζελεπη, Mister, Signior; ξεμυστηρευθω, I make manifest; νταγιαντιζεις, thou sufferest; βυζαστρα, a nurse; γεκονισσα, a neighbour; πεσμε, tell me; σαξαγι, the palace; ξυδι, vinegar; παναι, i. e. πῶς εἶναι, where are; γεματη, full, filled; σπολατε, bid farewell; σπητι, the house; καταντησεν, has reduced; κορμιμ, my body; ναζι, affliction, movement; ταζει, promises.

The title of the book containing the Romance, is as follows :
 “The Effects of Love, or Ethicoerotic History, with *Political* Songs. Put together in the vulgar dialect for the gratification and delight of Young Gentlemen; and dedicated to the Most Noble Archon, Magior, &c. &c. Stephen Yvanoviki—Vienna, 1792. From the Hellenic Press of George Ventote.”

ROMAIC ECHO SONG*.

Ἡ'χὼ πέμψ τάχα ποῖον,	εἴν' ἐκεῖνα τὸ παιδίον	
Ὅπῃ ῥίπτει ἑλευθέρως,	σαῖτιαῖς εἰς καθε μέρους ;	
		(Ε'ΡΩΣ)
Πέμ' ἀλήθεια εἴν' ἐκνήνο,	πῶς οἱ μῦθοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων,	
Ὡς ἑράνιον τὸν λέγων	μὲ θεὸς συγκαταλέγων ;	
		(λέγει)

* That the metre of this song may more distinctly be seen, it has been thought advisable to insert the accents, although, for the reason before given, those marks are omitted in the Romaic specimens of any considerable length.

Μὰ ἔιν κάμνει πᾶν τὸ τραῦμα· ταῖς καρδαῖς ὡς μάλα θαῦμα,
 Ως ἡ ἀκανγώδης βάνμη πᾶ καθ' ἕνα ἀποκάμνει,
 (κάμνει)

Ἀράγε τί προξενεῖν, εἰς αὐτὸ ὅπῃ κινεῖν;
 Πάντοτε νὰ μάς πειράζῃ, καὶ ποτὲ δὲν ἡσυχάζει.
 (χαρίζει)

Εἶναι κι ἄλλη τυραννία, καὶ χειρότερη παιδεία,
 Ἡ ὥσαν αὐτὴ κάμμία, γὴν σκληρότητα ὁμοία;
 (μοία)

Ποία εἶν αὐτὴ εἰπέ την, πανταχῶ φανέρωσέ την,
 Γιὰ νὰ μάθῃς τὸν φονεῖα, πάδες καὶ φθορᾶς γονεῖα,
 (νεῖα)

Καὶ αὐτὴ γὴν τυραννία, τί λὲς νᾶχῃ συντροφίαν,
 Ὅπῃ πόλεμος ἀν' λάχῃ, νὰ μὴν πάκῃ κᾶν μονάχῃ.
 (νᾶχῃ)

Καὶ ποῖον σύντροφον νὰ ἔχῃ, γιὰ νὰ ἡμπορεῖ ἀντίτῃχῃ
 Τόσον ὅπῃ νὰ θαυμάζῃ, ὁ καθ' εἰς ν' ἀναγεννάζῃ
 (νᾶζῃ)

Τώρα πέμει ἕνα σίχον ὅσα πρότερον μὲ ἦχον,
 Εἰς τὸν σίχον τὸν καθ' ἕνα εἰς τὸν σίχον τὸν καθ' ἕνα
 (ἕνα)

Νὰ ὁ σίχος ἀπεκρίθῃ, παριυδὺς ἐσιχυεργήθῃ.
 Εἴως λίγων κάμνει χάζι, μία νῖα νᾶχῃ νᾶζι.
 (νᾶζι)

The Romance and the Echo Song are a complete specimen of the modern Greek, such as it is spoken at this day, with all its contrac-

tions, combinations of words, and other barbarisms. The following pages will convey a more favourable notion of the style to which the learned of the Romaic writers are able to raise their degraded language.

THE SPEECH OF PHORMIO.

From the Romaic Thucydides.

Βλεπων τον φοβον, ω ανδρες στρατιωται, τον οποιον εχετε δια το πλεθους των πολεμιων. σας εκραξα δια να σας πληροφωρησω, οτι δεν πρεπει να φοβησθε τα μη αξια φοβη· καθοτι αυτοι οι πολεμιοι, πρωτον μεν επειδη ενικηθησαν προτερον παρ' ημων, και εν ταυτω επειδη γνωριζησι και αυτοι, οτι δεν εχουσι τα αυτα προτερηματα προς ημας, ετοιμασαν τον πολυαριθμον τωτον στολον, και δεν ετολμησαν να ελθωσι καλ' ημων, επιστηριζομενοι περισσοτερον εις την στρατιωτικην δια ξηρας εμπειριαντων, ωσαν να ανηκη μνον εις αυτες η ανδρα επειδη νικησι πολλακις εις τας πεζομαχιας· εντευθεν στοχαζονται, οτι θελωσι κατορθωση το ιδιον και εις τας ναυμαχιας· τωτο υμωσ εν λογω δικαιω ανηκει τοσον περισσοτερον κατα το παρον εις ημας, υσον εκεινοι καυχωνται εις τον πολεμον της ξηρας· (επειδη κατα την ανδριαν αναμφιβολως δεν μας υπερτερην παντελως) οντες δε εκατεροι εκατερων εν διαφοροις πραγμασιν εμπειροτεροι, εκεινοι μεν εις την τακτικην της πεζομαχιας, ημεις δε εις την εμπειριαν της ναυμαχιας, επεται να υπερτερωμεν προς το παρον εις την τολμην. και προς τωτοις οι Λακεδαιμονιοι, οι οποιοι δια την ιδιαν δοξαν και υποληψιν εχουσι την ηγομονιαν των αλλων συμμαχων, παρκακισιν εις τον πολεμον της περισσοτερες με βιαν, χωρις να αναδεχθωσιν εκθισιως τον κινδυνον· καθοτι αν δεν εβιαζοντο, δεν ετολμησαν να ελθωσιν εκ δευτερη εις πολεμον, εν ω ενικηθησαν προτερον υφ' ημιον κατα κρατος· μη λοιπον, μη φοβεισθε την τολμην αυτων· πολυ δε περισσοτερον και βεβαιότερον φοβον προξενειτε εσεις εις αυτες· καθοτι και της ενικησατε προτερον, και προς τωτοις στοχαζονται, οτι δεν ηθελετε αντισταθην εις αυτες, αν δεν

ηλπιζετε ἅ κατ' ἐξουσίαν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐκ δευτέρῃ τὴν νικῆν· ἐπεὶ οἱ περισ-
 σότεροι τῶν ἀνδρῶπων, ὅσοι κινῶνται κατὰ τινος, δὲν πισυῇσι τοσόν εἰς τῆς
 καρδίας τὴν τολμὴν (καλῶς οἱ ἐχθροὶ μας ἐν τῇ παρῶντι) ὅσον εἰς τὴν ὑπερ-
 βαλλήσαν δύναμιν· ἄλλοι ὁμῶς, ὅσοι τῆς ἀπαντᾷ με μιαν δύναμιν ὑπο-
 δεστέραν παρὰ πολὺ, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ χωρὶς νὰ εἴναι βιασμένοι, ἀντιπαράτα-
 τονται κατ' αὐτῶν ὡς πληροφρονημένοι βεβαίως εἰς τὴν σθερότητα τῆς καρ-
 δίας τῶν. τὰ ὅποια αὐτὰ φοβούμενοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ μας, περισσότερον μας φοβν-
 ται διὰ τὸ πασάλογος ὑποδεστέρον ἡμῶν ναυτικόν, παρὰ ἂν εἰχόμεν ἓνα
 σὺλον ἀναλογόν πρὸς τὸν σὺλον αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τοῖς πολλὰ σφατοπέδα εἶδα-
 μεν νενικημένα ὑπὸ μιᾶς ὀλιγωτέρας δυνάμεως, πολλακίς μεν διὰ τὴν ἀπει-
 ρίαν τῆς τακτικῆς, εὐδοτε δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν δειλίαν· τὰ ὅποια εἶναι ὀλο ἐλατ-
 τώματα ἀλλοτρίᾳ παντέλως τὴν σήμερον εἰς ἡμᾶς. ὡς τοσόν ὄγω, ὅσον το
 ἐπ' ἐμοὶ δὲν θέλω συγκροτήσῃ τὸν πόλεμον μέσα εἰς τὸ ξένον, μήτε θέλω
 πλεῦσῃ εὐδὸν τῇ κόλπῃ· καλῶς γινώσκω, ὅτι ἡ ξενόχωρία δὲν συμφέρει εἰς
 ἓνα μικρὸν σὺλον ἐμπειρὸν καὶ ἐλαφρὸν εἰς τὸν πλὴν, νὰ νικηταὶ ἐναντίον εἰς
 ἓνα πολυαριθμὸν καὶ ἀνεπιτήδειον ναυτικόν. ἐπεὶ μήτε νὰ ὑμνησῇ τις εἰσ-
 βαλλὼν κατὰ τὸ δεῖν δὲν δύναται, μὴ βλέπων μακροδὲν τὴν τάξιν τῶν πόλε-
 μίων· μήτε πάλιν νὰ ἀναχωρήσῃ ὀπίσω κατὰ τὴν κρείαν διὰ τὴν πυκνοτητα
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τὴν ξενόχωρίαν τῇ τάξῃ· καὶ πάλιν μήτε νὰ διαπεράσῃ τις
 διασχίζων τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἐναντιῶν. μήτε πάλιν νὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ ὀπίσω· τὰ
 ὅποια εἶναι προτεγήματα ἑνὸς σὺλου ἐμπειροῦ καὶ ἐλαφροῦ εἰς τὸν πλὴν. ἀλλ'
 ἐπεται ἐξ ἀναγκῆς νὰ καταντήσῃ ἡ ναυμαχία εἰς τὰς πεζομαχίας· τὸ
 ὅποιον συμφέρει μάλιστα εἰς τὸ πολυαριθμὸν ναυτικόν. ὡς τοσόν περὶ τῶν
 θέλων φροντιστὴ ἐγὼ ὅσον τὸ δυνατόν· ἐσεῖς δὲ φυλάττοντες τὴν τάξιν σας
 ἑκάστος ἐπὶ τῶν νέων δεχέσθε τὰς παραγγελίας μετὰ προθυμίας, καὶ μα-
 λιστα ἐν ᾧ τὸ διάστημα, ἐξ ἧς θέλει γενῇ ἡ προσβολὴ τῇ πολέμῃ, εἶναι ὀλίγον·
 ἐπάνω δὲ εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα φιλαξάτε ἀναγκαιῶς εὐταξίαν καὶ σιωπὴν· τὰ
 ὅποια συμφέρει καὶ εἰς παν εἶδος πολέμου, καὶ περισσότερον εἰς τὸ εἶδος τῆς
 ναυμαχίας, καὶ ἐναντιωθῆτε γενναίως εἰς τῆς ἐχθρῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τῶν
 ἀνταρσμένων κατόχων σᾶς· αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα μας παρᾶσταιναι ἓνα με-
 γάλον ἀγῶνα ἢ νὰ στικτωμένην ὁλοκληρῶς τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶν Πελοποννησίων

απο την θαλασσαν, η να καμωμεν τας Ἀθηνας να φοβωνται περὶ σπουτερον να μη ξερηθωσι το βασιλειον της θαλασσης· και τελος παντων αναφερω εις την μνημην σας εκ δευτερας, ὅτι ενικησατε το περισσοτερον μέρος αυτων· και αἱ ψυχαι των νικηθεντων δεν συνηλθισι να εφορμησιν εις της ιδιης κινδυνος εκ δευτερας ὁμοιως με την ιδιαν τολμην και προθυμιαν.

Hist. lib. ii. cap. πθ. p. 209.

A suspicion that I may appear not to have given their due weight to the numerous translations of the modern Greeks, has induced me to insert the foregoing extract from the Româic Thucydides, printed at Vienna in 1805. This work is the composition of Neophytus Lucas, a Greek, who resided, and, as I believe, still lives at Vienna. It is in ten volumes, and besides having the original on one side, and the translation on the opposite page, contains also a subjoined commentary to facilitate the study of the historian. Neophytus has prefixed a dedication in Hellenic to Dositheus, Metropolitan of Wallachia, which commences with an invocation of Phæbus Apollo, and Themis—Καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων ἀξιοῖ, καὶ Θέμις ἡ δέσποινα δικαιοῖ, Πανιερώτατε Δέσποτα, τῆτό σοι τὸ λιτόν. ὅσον ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πόνων, πρηστενεχέσθηναι. The translator has also prefixed a short detail relative to his author, and the excellence of his history; of which the following short specimen will not only show the Hellenic style, but the acknowledged deficiency of the modern Greeks.

Ὅρων γὰρ τῆς ἐν Εὐρωπῇ αλλογενεῖς, ὅσων μὲν ἐπτοηνται περὶ τον συγγραφεα, ὅταν δὲ ἐπιμελειαν και φιλομαθειαν περὶ την βιβλον ἐπεδειξαντο ταυτην, πολλακις εις την εαυτῶν ἑκαστοι, καιτοι ἡκ ευστοχως δι πλειος ὡς αυτοι τῆδ' αἰμολογησαν, μεταφρασαντες γλωσσαν, και εκδοντες ες φως, ησχνηνομην ατεχνως και αναξια επασχον. ειγε των ἡμετερων τοιητον προπατορα εχοντες συγγραφεα, ὅι μὲν αγνοοιεν ὅλως, ειτις ποτε Θυκιδιδης γε-

γονεν εν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰδοτες φοβικῇ συνεχοίντο, ὥστε καὶ χρησθαι ἀμφιλαφίῳ, ἱμαντελιγμον ὄντων ἐν πολλοῖς το πρᾶγμα ὅλως οἰομενοι. εἶδε τινες αὐτὸν τελαχιστον καὶ ἐχρήσαντο, ὅπως ἐπιπολαιῶς καὶ ἐν χρεῶν τοτὸν λόγῳ, ἐδ' εὐτυχῶς, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, ὥστε μηδὲν οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν, μικρὰ δειν, ἀποφρεσθαι πλέον, ἢ μὴ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἔτως εἶπειν, ἐπεχειρήσαν το πρᾶγμα-τος ἀψασθαι.

A note attached to this Preface shows me, that in an enumeration of the learned men amongst the Greeks, should be mentioned a physician, resident, it seems, at Vienna, Silvester Philites, a friend and encourager of Neophytus, who concludes a panegyric of him by exclaiming affectionately, Ἄ Ζεῦ πατερ! τοῖστοι εἰν ἡμῖν δεκά υἱες Ἀχαιοὶ! καὶ οἶδ' εἰ Ὀμηρῶν μᾶλλον ἀξίον περὶ Νεστόροιο, ἢ ἐμοὶ ταῦτα περὶ σε, φίλ' ἑταίρε! δίκαιον εἰη λεγεσθαι.

Besides the Thucydides, I take the opportunity of mentioning, that there is in Greece, though rarely to be met with, a spirited translation of the Gierusalemme Liberata, and that a Romaic Epictetus with notes, has the character, with a friend of mine in whose judgment I must have every confidence, of being a very creditable performance. I have also now before me Æsop's Fables; Erophile, a pastoral drama, by George Chortachi, a Cretan, *the Coryphæus of poets*, printed at Venice in 1772; and the new Robinson Crusoe; all of them belonging to the Hon. Frederic North, whose collection of Romaic books at Zante, Constantinople, and England, amounts, as I understand, nearly to a thousand volumes. Notwithstanding, however, the number and the merit of the Romaic literati, in spite of the large schools of Constantinople, Ioannina, Aia-Balè, Nea Moni, and Kidognis, and with a due respect for the labours of the Venetian and Austrian presses, I must repeat my original assertion, that *there is no diffusion of knowledge in Græce.*

When Mons. Villoison was at Athens he discovered an inscription, which he showed to the *dascalos* or schoolmaster of the city, who

assured him that it was not in the Greek language; first, because he himself could not read it; and, secondly, on account of its making mention of certain games called Nemean, which never were heard of in ancient Greece*.

Page 573. To the notice of the libraries in the Levant, I should add, that a Greek of the name of Mano, who has a house near Buyukdere, on the shores of the Bosphorus, has a very valuable and large collection of books, partly there, and partly at Yassi.

In addition also to what I have asserted of the language and literature of the modern Greeks, I beg to subjoin, that in saying that the Romaic was not an established tongue until a century after the Turkish conquest, I mean distinctly, that the actual language of the Greeks of the present day cannot be traced higher than that period. The Body of the Greek Chemists in the King's library at Paris, written in 1478, which I presume to be as old as the translation from Boccacio, or the Belisarius, whose date I do not know, is said to be written in the vulgar tongue; but the Iliad in trochaics, of which I have seen a much earlier copy than that of Pinelli (mentioned by Harris), dated in 1528, and edited by one Nicolaus Lucanns, is also said in the programme to the volume, to have been written *formerly in the vulgar tongue*—

ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΙΑΙΑΣ ΜΕΤΑ. ΒΑΘΕΙΣΑ ΠΑΛΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΚΟΙΝΗΝ
γλώσσαν νῦν δὲ διορθωθεῖσα, καὶ διατεθεῖσα συντόμως καὶ κατὰ βιβλία,
καθὼς ἔχει ἡ τῇ Ὀμήρου βίβλος, παρὰ Νικολάν τῷ Λακάνῃ. κ. τ. λ.

Mr. Harris has by some inadvertency dated the Pinelli Homer one hundred years too early, having put 1540 instead of 1640 (α. χ. μ.); and he says that the work was probably some centuries earlier, which may be collected also from the above-quoted phrase. Since then that

* L'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xlvii. p. 308.

style in which the trochaic Iliad is written; is called by Nicolaus Lucanus *the vulgar tongue*, it may be necessary to see whether the composition is altogether *Romaic*, or only that depraved language which bears more resemblance to the Hellenic than to the present Greek. An insertion of a few lines from any portion of the work, will show that the Iliad is not written in *Romaic*; and it will be quite conclusive to observe, that the editor in 1528 prefixed a glossary, in which certain *hard* or *Homeric* words contained in the poems, are explained in the common dialect*: so that what was *κοινή γλῶσσα* at one time, was to be rendered at another in the vulgar tongue, in order to become intelligible; a plain proof that the words *κοινή γλῶσσα*, were used by the contemporaries of Nicolaus Lucanus, to signify that the language was not *Hellenic*. At the same time I must avow, that the trochaic Iliad uses the auxiliary verbs in the composition of the future and past tenses, and dispenses with the simple infinitive; a circumstance which leads me to suppose, notwithstanding the opinion of Mr. Harris as to its antiquity, that it was written after the time of the Chiliads. The grief of Achilles for the loss of Patroclus, is told in the following strains. Antilochus exclaims,

Ωμοι Ἀχιλλεῦ ἀκῆσέεις
 ἦτις νὰ μὴ ἔιχε γένη,
 εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀποδαμένος,
 ὁ θῆσὺς ἔλαβε ἑκταρ,
 οἱ ἀργεῖοι εἰς ἐσένα,
 τὸν δὲ ἀχιλλέα τότε

νῦν κακίστην ἀγγελίαν
 κεῖται Πάτροκλος ὁ φίλος
 καὶ τὰ ἔλαμπρα σε ὄπλα
 νῦν πιστεύω νὰ τὸν φέρουν
 λέγει ἀντίλοχος τοιαῦτα.
 σκότος καὶ μεγάλη λύπη

* Καὶ ἐπειδὴ εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ δὲ τῇ βίβλῳ πολλαὶ λέξεις δεινὰι, ἥγουν ὁμηρικαί, ἐγένετο καὶ πῖναξ, ἐν ᾧ πῖνακι, ἐνρῆσεις ταύτας τὰς ὁμηρικὰς λέξεις ἀπλῶς ἐξηγημίνης.—Programma to the Homer.

τὸν ἐσκέπασε τὸν ἄθλιον
 μετὰ δύο τι δέ σ' αὖ χέρ' αἶ
 καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κονίξει
 ὅταν ἦσαν λυπημένοι
 τὸ ὠραῖον πρόσωπό σ' αὖ
 τὴν ξανθὴν τε δὲ κόμην

οἱ αὐτὸν τὸν σύντροφόν τε
 ἐκ τῆς γῆς χῶμα λαμβανέ
 ὡς ἂν ἔιχασι συνήθειαν
 κ' εἰς τὴν χῆν καλίσας τότε
 ἦσ' ἔχυνε κ' ἐμολυνέτο
 ἐξάνισπα διὰ τὴν λύπην.

Such poetry may be thought worthy of the vignette accompanying the description,



and would be almost understood by a Greek of this day. But the reader will discern a difference between the style and language of these verses and those of the Romance, and, until a sight of the *Belisarius*, or any other book of early date, shall make me alter my opinion, I must revert to my original position, that the Romance may be supposed to have assumed its present form somewhat about a hundred years subsequently to the Turkish conquest.

POETRY.

Page 578. The generality of the Romaic poems are in the fifteen-syllabled measure, or divided into eight and seven syllables, and so composed of stanzas of four lines instead of distiches, but exactly of the same metre. This kind of verse was originally designed for tetrameter iambic catalectic; and Forster in his Essay on Accent and Quantity (p. 126), has selected two specimens of similar verses from Aristophanes and Terence.

Ὡς ἡδὺ καὶ νῶϊς πράγμασιν καὶ δεξίῳις ὁμιλεῖν
καὶ τῶν καθεστώτων νόμων ὑπερφρονεῖν δύνασθαι.

Nam si remittent quippiam Philumenæ dolores
Quot commodas res attuli? quot autem ademi curas.

Of which the Latin is the best and closest, and the same as these English verses :

I'll climb the frosty mountains high, and there I'll coin the weather ;
I'll tear the rainbow from the sky, and tie both ends together.

Primatt goes further than Forster in his defence of accents, and contends that the Greek acute had a lengthening power belonging to it. How otherwise could Plautus have read Φίλιππος and Φαίδρωμος. Philippus and Phædrömus? How could Ovid have said,

strictumque Orionis ensem,

except that he obeyed the antepenultimate accent of Ὠρίωνος? Ausonius also makes idōlä, ērēmūs, and tētrāgōnō, dactyls, because ἰδῶλα, ἔρημος, and τετράγωνος, had their antepenultimates long. The English, in saying St. Helēna, and idēa, are not regulated by the

former quantity of those words, but by the accentuation; /s are the Italians in their pronunciations of words ending in *ia*, as *philosophia*. The metre of all the modern European languages is a metre of accent, not quantity.

To this it may be some sort of a reply, that we know from the experience of our language, that accentuation, or *stress*, the effect of it, varies according to whim and fashion. The word *mankind*, which, in Pope, is equally long in the last and first syllable, is in several poets prior to his age, long only in the first. A few years ago every one pronounced nabob as it is given in the Rumbold epigram, ending

“ And sternly answer’d *nd-bob*.”

There is no reason to suppose, that although the rules for accentuation were more certain and defined than our own, they were not occasionally affected by any of the circumstances which change our pronunciation; and if the Greek poets had followed the accents, or had allowed their acute to have a lengthening power, is it not likely that in some words there would have been a difference between the writers of different ages? Would not there have been a few instances of a syllable which is long in one being short in another, or *vice versa*? Besides, since the known effect of an obedience to accentuation produced the Chiliads of Tzetzes, how came it, if accents had always a similar force, that none of these verses were written in former ages? It is true, that Dionysius has talked of that faulty species of poetry which is similar to prose*, but it by no means appears from this, that there was amongst the ancient Greeks a separate sort of vulgar poetry, like the political verses. The critic alludes rather to that poetry, which as Aristotle says of the verses

* Μηδὲς καὶ ὑπολαμβάνετω με ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι κακία πειράματος ἡ καλεχμένη Λεγοῦσθαι δοκεῖ τις εἶναι, κ. τ. λ.—sect. 26.

of Empedocles, resembled Homer's *only in the metre**; or to those *versus senarii* of the comic writers, of which Cicero has observed in his Orator, that they are so like discourse, that the number and verse can *scarcely* be perceived. He does not say that they have not verse or number; and Horace, talking of the same poetry, tells us how it differs from prose—

pede certo

Differt sermoni sermo merus.

The scholiast on Hephæstion, has been adduced by Forster, to prove that the *στίχος λογοειδής*, was a species of political verse; but I shall observe, that the instance brought by this writer, convinces us to the contrary—

Ἰππες καὶ ξανθὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα.

This is prosaic, but nothing to the purport of the vulgar poetry of the Chliads; nor would any proof, except the finding of several consecutive lines, in which the accent regulated the metre, be sufficient to establish the antiquity of the measure in question.

It would be tedious to give specimens of the various Romanic metres, which are diversified according to the tunes and dances to which the poetry is applied. The charm of a gingling rhyme is never neglected; and most of the fifteen-syllabled songs, even when not divided into quatrains, in the manner of the English distich before quoted, rhyme at the eighth as well as the last syllable. By the following *cotzakias*, which I have translated literally, we may judge of the taste of the modern Greeks, and from the last stanza, shall, I think, form no unfavourable opinion of it.

* Οὐδὲν γὰρ κοινόν ἐστιν Ὅμηρῳ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ, πλὴν τὸ μέτρον.

COTZAKIAS.

Τὸν ἠρανὸν κάμνω χαρτὶ
 Τὴν θάλασσαν μελάνι
 Νὰ γράψω τὰ πισμάτικα
 Καὶ ὅλα δὲν μὲ φθάνει

If all the ocean were of ink,
 And paper all the skies,
 Should I attempt to write my woes,
 They never would suffice.

Ἵσως θάρρῃς κ' ἂν μ' ἀρνηθῇς
 Πῶς θενὰ κιτρινίσω
 Γαροφαλάκι θαγενῶ
 Δία νὰ σὲ δαιμονίσω

You hope, when you deny me thus,
 To make me wan with woe ;
 But I, thy passion to provoke,
 Like violets fair will grow.

Κυπαρίσσοι μὲ ὑψηλὰ
 Σκύψε νὰ σὲ λαλήσω

My lofty cypress, hear me speak,
 And bend thy head so high ;

Ἐχὼ δύο λόγια νὰ σ' ἐπῶ
 Καὶ ἀπὲ νὰ ξεψυχήσω

Two words alone I ask, and then
 Will be content to die.

This specimen of the alternate verses of the modern Greeks, which they repeat for a continuation, and with no other connection than that they all have some reference to love, is inserted in Dr. Pouqueville's account of the Morca, which contains also one of the songs which are sung by the leaders of the Romaïc dances, and repeated after the choryphæus by the whole string of the performers. At each verse or *strophe*, as Dr. Pouqueville calls it, some change takes place in the figure or footing of the dance. He gives it the name of the Romaïc *Ranz de vache*.

Κόρη μαλαματένια μὲ
 Καὶ μαργαριταρένια μὲ

My maiden of gold! my beautiful jewel*!

Κάμνεις τοὺς νέους καὶ χαίρουνται

The young all delighted, thy presence survey ;

Τοὺς γέροντας καὶ τρελαίνονται

The aged entranc'd, look their wisdom away.

Κάμνεις καὶ μὲ τὸν ὄρφανόν
 Πιάνο μαχαίρι νὰ σφαγῶ

I too must despair, as I find thee so cruel ;
 Then bring me a dagger, a lover to slay.

* Μαργαριταρένια μὲ, literally, *of pearls*. Hibernice, *my jewel*.

Σιωπ' ὀρφανὲ μὴ σφάζεσαι
Καὶ ἀπ' ὁμορφιῶν μὴ νοιάζεσαι.

Κ' ἐμεῖς νὰ βαῖ τὴν φέρομεν

Τὴν κόρην ὅπῃ ξεύρομεν

Peace, pitiful boy, why tell us of killing?
These charmers should ne'er be the cause
of thy sorrow:

We'll bring thee another, since this is
unwilling,

Another much fairer and kinder, to-mor-
row.

The copy in Pouqueville has many faults, and appears to have been taken down by some one unacquainted with the Romaic pronunciation, or, it is very probable, by a Greek ignorant of the spelling of his own language. I should mention, that a great many words which are in common use, are not contained in the Romaic dictionaries. Βοῦ and νοιάζε are not in Ventote*. One might almost suspect them to be the French *vous* and *ennuiez*. It is nearly impossible to make out some of the words, through the barbarous contractions and unions with which they are obscured. The θα, which is sometimes joined with the next verb, seems the sign of the future tense, as θα γενῶ, I will become.

I shall leave every one to make his own comments upon the specimens of the Romaic before given; but I cannot help noticing Mr. Villoison's opinion on this subject, as that learned person has paid a critical attention to the language, not only in the libraries of the French capital, but in the Levant, where he travelled with Mr. de Choiseul Gouffier, and was sent upon a mission by Louis XVI. in search of MSS. Mr. Villoison, in the researches which he read at the French Academy of Inscription on the 12th of May, 1772, delivers a decided opinion, that the Romaic is but a dialect of the ancient

* The dictionary does not include these words; it contains, however, the definition of that hateful animal a Tory. Tory—Ὀνομα ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ τῶν ὁπαδῶν Καρόλου Β. νῦν δὲ τῶν ὁπαδῶν τῆς Ἀυλῆς. Tory—In England, the name for the partizans of Charles II., but now of a partizan of the court.

Greek*; and he enlarges upon the utility of paying more attention to it than had yet been bestowed upon the language. For the study of Hellenic manuscripts, a knowledge of the Romaic is indispensable. "Souvent on trouve," he says, "dans un manuscrit Grec, une date, un remarque, qui indique son âge, l'original d'après lequel il a été copié, le nom de celui qui l'a transcrit, ou de ceux à qui il a appartenu, et le lieu où il a été découvert: c'est en Grec vulgaire que ces particularités qui peuvent être de conséquence sont écrites."

Following up his notion that the Romaic is a dialect of the Hellenic, he brings as proof, that some ancient roots may be discovered in the vulgar tongue of the modern Greeks, which are not to be found in the extant works of the ancient writers. In Hesychius, Suidas, Eustathius, and the Etymologicon Magnum, *νεγός* and *νηγός* signify *humid*. *Νηρεός*, *Νηρηίδες*, and *Νήριον*, a *sea-god*, the *water-nymphs*, and a sort of plant which, according to Dioscorides, grows in marshy places; all these, as well as the two adjectives, were originally formed from *Νεγόν*, *water*, the modern Greek word; so that the line in Lycophron, *εν χθονός νηγοῖς μυχοῖς*, does not mean *in terræ humilibus*, as usually translated, but *humidis recessibus*. The extreme antiquity of many Romaic terms can not be denied. Apollonius in his dictionary, and Hesychius, mention that the word *εγανός*, had amongst the Persians the signification of *royal tents*. Now in modern Greek, *εγανιά* is the canopy of an altar. There is however in French a similar phrase—*le ciel du lit*. Indeed Mons. Bonamy† observes, that the language contains many expressions which could only be derived from the French, and probably from the period of the Latin conquest; and he even thinks the indeclinable participles, such as *γραφοντας*, *λαλοντας*, *writing*, *speaking*, deduced from the

* Alors il n'est qu'un dialecte de l'ancien Grec.—Page 64, tom. lxxviii. l'Académie des Inscriptions, &c.

† L'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xliii. p. 250; tom. xxxviii. p. 61.

same source; a notion successfully combated by Villoison. Mons. Villoison discovered amongst the Tzacones, in Mania, the language of the ancient Dorians, the dialect of Pindar and Theocritus*. The whole body of his proofs I have not seen; but I shall remark, and I trust without presumption, upon one asserted fact relative to pronunciation, on which much stress has been laid. This is the use of the Sigma for the Theta, which is said to prevail amongst the Maniotes.

The speech of the ancient Lacedemonians differed in some respects from that of the rest of Greece, and, amongst other particularities, they pronounced *πάσσεσι σιά* for *πάσδεσι θεά*, and *σιῶν* for *θεῶν*, as may be seen in that comedy of Aristophanes entitled *Lysistrata*. Villoison, it should be seen, advances this fact, not only to prove his general assertion respecting the preservation of the Doric dialect in Mania, but in an argument against the antiquity of the usual pronunciation of modern Greece†. It is nothing, says he, that you prove the modern sound to be like the Laconian; for the Laconian was different from the rest of Greece. Upon which the editor of the memoirs well observes, “Peut être les Grecs seront-ils satisfaits de l’aveu qu’au moins leur prononciation actuelle est la même que celle des anciens Lacons.” It would be well for the argument, if the sound of the Sigma was confined by Villoison to the Mainotes, which, however, it is not; for he allows that the Athenians call their town *Asini*. Now I was three months in Athens, and never heard it so called; on the contrary, the Θ was to my ears a complete *O Th*. The origin of the mistake will soon appear. To prove the antiquity of this *sibilation*, if I may so call it (which, according to his own account, was, we see, not confined to the Laconians), Mr. Villoi-

* L’Académie des Inscript. tom. xlvii. p. 284.

† Ibid. tom. xxxviii. p. 66, note (a).

son quotes Entychius, who died Patriarch of Alexandria in 540, and who wrote a history in Arabic, edited, with a Latin version, by Pococke in 1658.—In this history the Greek *Thetas* are represented by an Arabic *Tse* (Θεοδοσιος, is *Tscodosius*—Θεος, is *Tscos*), which, says he, is equivalent to the English *Th*, and which it may be, but still will have no sound of the Sigma. Since Mr. Villoison does not know how the English of the present day pronounce their letters, he cannot be expected to teach us what sound the ancient Greeks gave to the character of their alphabet. Nevertheless, I was naturally very eager to know the opinion of such a scholar on the disputed point of the pronunciation; and from what I can collect of his way of thinking, in the *Anecdota Græca*, and in the *Memoirs* of the Academy, it appears to me, that he is, on the whole, against the antiquity of the present common method; for he replies to the indefinite praises of De Guys and others on the softness of the Romæic, that such a quality is by no means a proof of its correctness and antiquity—*car adoucir une prononciation est souvent l'altérer*. He does not believe that Crusius, who travelled from the year 1394 to 1427 *, could have heard the words, εὐλόγι μένα Δέσποτα, and ὁ Θεὸς εὐλογεῖται πάναν, pronounced *efflogi mena despota*, and *o theos efflogito senam*; for he might have written it in his own German fashion. This seems to me very improbable: he was writing Latin, and wished to convey in that language the sound of the words to his ears. He agrees that the B had lost its sound in the time of Alexius Comnenus, which it is indeed impossible to deny. In Philip Bounarotti's observations on some fragments of ancient glass vases, adorned with figures (Florence, 1716), it is seen, that the Greek words *πιε* and *ζησης*, are found written on drinking-cups in Roman characters, thus, *pie*, *zcses*. On which Villoison observes, “Si autem Latini H ut iota pronunciassent utique *zcsis* non *zses* scripsissent; unde patet Græcos

* See *Turco Græcia*, p. 11.

recentiores τς H, ut et quærundam aliarum literarum pronunciationem immutasse. Sic eosdem Græcos recentiores constat e capite secundo grammaticæ linguæ Græcæ vulgaris à Simone Portio scriptæ, et ex aliis, sæpe in præantepenultimam et nonnunquam in quintam syllabam rejici accentus, qui a veteribus non longius rejici poterant quam in antepenultimam, si autem recentiores Græci eam pronunciationis partem, quæ in accentibus posita est, corruerunt cur non, et eam quæ ad literas pertinet*." Here follows a long note, which, as Mr. Villoison thinks that he has by it reconciled the very strong arguments on both sides of this vexed question, and as it shows that the present pronunciation is much older than usually supposed, I here insert.

"Nono autem sæculo receptam vulgo fuisse, et passim invaluisse istam pronunciatorem, quæ αι et ε οι et υ confundit, et tot tantorumque mendorum causa fuit, hinc evincitur, quod summus ille Bentleijus, pp. 38, 39, stupendæ illius ad millium epistolæ, ex edit. Venet. in fol. 1733, in qua Joannis' Malalæ chronicon Josephi Genesii de rebus Constantinopoli quatur libris nunc primum editis, subjectum est in publica Oxonii bibliotheca librum reperiisse se observat, antiqua manu notatum, continentem mille regulas de recta scribendi ratione, quarum XL docent, quando αι scribere oporteat et quando ε; totidemque ubi οι et ubi υ; hunc que librum esse Theognosti Grammatici quem laudat aliquoties Etymologici auctor (qui proinde nono sæculo anterior esse non potest) hujusque Theognisti, apud quem ea omnia reperiuntur quæ illi accepta referuntur in Etymologico Magno, ætatem resciri ex præfatione, ejus initium est

... τω δεσποτη μν.

Hinc sequitur nostrum Theognostum qui tempore Michaelis Balti, cujus, dum regnaret, historiam scribebat, vir maturus esse debuit,

* Anecdota Græca, tom. ii. Diatriba, p. 126, edit. Venet. Fratrum Colet. 1781.

non Leoni Sapienti qui multo post, scilicet ab anno 889 usque ad 991 imperavit, sed Leoni Armenio suam dedicasse Orthographiam; in qua cum tradiderit præcepta necessaria ad vitandam confusionem ortam e promiscuo *ai* et *ε*, *ai* et *ο* sono ac usu, hinc quoque colligitur hanc pronunciationem quæ tum invaluerat, et vulgo recepta erat nono sæculo, ubi jam omnia confunderat et permiscuerat, longe anterioram fuisse; quod vel ex antiquissimo patet Alexandrino Codice, e tot monumentis longe etiam antiquioribus, ubi hæ litteræ passim confusæ et promiscuæ usurpatæ sunt, et e Copticarum litterarum nominibus, *vida zida hida. thita, mi ni.* quæ Græcos characteres eorum quæ pronunciationem tunc temporis vigentem, perfecte representant. Imo si meam mihi sententiam exponere liceat, vel apud ipsos antiquissimos Græcos το Η nec *z*, nec *i*, purum proæus sonuisse credo sed hujus quendam fuisse medium inter utramque vocalem sonum, eamque ab utrâque litera tenui intervallo discretum, ac pro variis et locis et hominibus ad hæc aut ad illam proprius accedentem, proinde quæ obnoxium confusioni quam postea invexit incultioris ævi negligentia, quamque nec superiorum ætatum homines imperiti ac rudes omnino vitaverunt, cum illa non offendere posset nisi solas Antiquissimorum Græcorum, eorumque paulo urbaniorum ac humaniorum, teretes et religiosas aures, longo usu, qui postea obsolevit, subactas. Sic apud Romanos qui promiscue scribebant *classcis* et *classes*, *navcis* et *naves*, vicinus esse debebat τῷ *ei*, τῷ *i*, et τῷ *ε* sonus. Ita Cicero de Oratore, lib. iii. cap. xii. (Cotta noster cujus tu illa lata, Sulpici, nunquam imitaris, ut *iota* literam tollas, et e plenissimum dicas, non mihi Oratores antiquos, sed Messores videtur imitari). Sic *fatah* et *damma* Arabica modo *a*, mode *e*, et modo *o*, modo *u* sonant, ac varie pro variis efferuntur locis, ut et multæ recentiarum linguarum ac præsertim Orientalium literæ quarum sonos lævissimum discrimen plurimos, ac omnes fere hospites et peregrinos prorsus fugit. Hæc sola via conciliari posse arbitror firmissima illa argumenta quæ pro utra-

que Græcæ linguæ pronunciatione adeo vexata utrimque asseruntur."

He then goes on to prove that the modern Greeks pronounce the Θ like the ancient, using much the same arguments as are before stated. In some respects, however, he seems to incline to the Romaïc. He found in the yard of a bishop's house at Castri in Lesbos, a sepulchral inscription, in which the XAIPE was written XEPE; and observes, "La confusion qu'entraîne une prononciation beaucoup plus ancienne que plusieurs personnes ne le croient, a occasionné cette faute du graveur*." In another house at Castri, he found ΕΙΣΙΔΙ put for ΙΣΙΔΙ, and at Megara, ΕΙΟΧΕΑΙΡΑΝ and ΝΕΙΚΗΦΟΡΙΔΟΣ for ΙΟΧΕΑΙΡΑΝ and ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΙΔΟΣ†. Without any wish to answer this objection to the diphthongal sound of αι and ει, I shall merely observe, that the date of these inscriptions is not known; and that Isaac Vossius himself, the principal advocate of the ancient *bi-vocals*, allows, that as early as the times of Claudius and Nero, the diphthongs had begun to lose their double power amongst the Greeks, having before lost it amongst the Latins, even prior to the age of Cicero‡. I refer to Primatt's first chapter on Greek Accents, for a hardy defence of the single sounds, in which the reader who has examined the opposite arguments, will find that nearly all the facts relative to this disputed point, are adduced on both sides of the question by the two parties in the contest.

To the detail before given, of Mons. Villoison's notion respecting the language of the Tzacones (which might have been suggested to him by the hint concerning them in Du Cange, inserted in this volume, page 557), I must add, that the same learned person avers, that there are seventy dialects of Romaïc. How this is to be

* L'Académie des Inscript. tom. xlvii. p. 306.

† Ibid. p. 355.

‡ De Poemat. Cantu. p. 16.

proved, according to the usual latitude of the term dialect, I cannot conceive. Symeon Cabasilas, as has been seen, did indeed inform Crusinus, that there were *seventy dialects, and perhaps more*. The variation must be very trifling, to admit of so many diversities.

One of the peculiarities which is observable in the Romæic, is the adoption of generic for specific terms, as well as the use of specific words generically: thus, instead of *ἵππος*, a horse, the modern Greeks say *ἄλλογος*, a brute; and *κίφος*, which Pausanias in his third book informs us was the old Messenian word for a crown, is now an exclamation of success.—The last instance Mr. Villoison might have chosen to call to the aid of his own hypothesis. The adoption of the plural *εἶναι* for *εἶσι*, is well worthy the consideration of the grammarian.

Page 580—

ACADEMIE IONIENNE

Prix Olympiadiques.

Les membres de l'Académie Ionienne rappelant incessamment à leur pensée qu'ils sont des Grecs, ayant toujours devant eux ce qu'étaient leurs ancêtres, pleins du désir de voir les descendants de pareils hommes se rendre vraiment leurs fils, ils ont dit:

Nos pères ont élevé par leur génie un édifice que le temps n'a pu détruire. Ils ont travaillé pour le bonheur des nations. Et, long-temps après qu'ils n'étaient plus, l'Europe leur devait les progrès de l'esprit humain, qui placent ces derniers siècles à côté des siècles de nos pères.

Pour enflammer les âmes du feu qui les fait créer les grandes choses, la Grèce assemblait ses enfants, elle appelait au milieu d'eux les Pindares, les Simonides, les Hérodotes. Sous la sauve-garde des muses elle confiait la gloire des héros à la postérité.

Et pour unique récompense aux applaudissements de ses douze tribus, elle ceignait le front de l'auteur d'un grand chef-d'oeuvre, comme celui de l'auteur d'une belle action, avec un simple feuillage.

Descendants de ces hommes, Vous qui vivez encore sur les lieux qui redisent leur gloire, et Vous que le malheur a dispersés sur la terre, entendez notre voix.

Nos faibles mains vous offrent des prix de l'ancienne Grèce.

Nous n'aurons point à les donner devant un concours de deux cent mille citoyens, nous ferons bien plus encore, nous les décernerons en éscence de toutes les nations et devant la statue du Héros qui nous aime.

Nous nous supposerons en présence de tout ce qui reste encore du peuple Grec, nous nous supposerons en présence de tout le peuple des Français et des autres peuples. Et nous dirons :

Enfants des Grecs, dans l'ouvrage de l'un de vous, nous venons de reconnaître encore le génie de nos pères. Deux mille ans n'ont pû l'éteindre. Nous venons d'en recueillir une étincelle. Puissent vos acclamations, unies à celles de tous les autres hommes être l'esprit vivifiant qui la développe en flamme immortelle.

Quand la domination des Romains, dégénérés, s'éroulait sur ses pieds d'argile, la langue de Cicéron et de Tacite, quoique altérée, n'était point encore méconnaissable dans les anciennes provinces de cet immense colosse. Les états de l'Italie parlaient encore l'idiome du Latium quoiqu'en y mêlant les expressions barbares du vainqueur. Ils auraient pû, peut être, relever leurs dialectes jusqu'à la dignité, jusqu'à la noblesse de la langue latine. Ils suivirent une autre marche, et les doux chants de Philomèle changèrent en accents musicaux la langue majestueuse des monarques de la terre.

Nous portons bien plus haut notre ambition et nos vues. Nous nous adressons à des hommes la plupart sans patrie et nous leur parlons de la gloire de leurs pères ; nous leur disons, que la grandeur et la fierté de l'ame ont leur image dans la noblesse et la fierté du langage, et qu'ils doivent parler un idiome qui les rappelle incessamment à la grandeur, à la noble fierté qui caractérisaient le peuple des héros.

Notre langue est déchue sans doute ; mais, comme les autres langues de l'Europe moderne, elle n'est pas encore méconnaissable dans la physionomie de sa langue maternelle.

Elle s'est déjà relevée de la corruption où des temps d'infortune l'avaient plongée, et les Rigas, les Corais, les Ducas, ont fait des pas marqués dans la route que nous voulons indiquer. Marchez donc sur les traces de ces hommes, dont le beau talent n'est égalé que par la beauté de leurs ames. Faites plus que les suivre, portés par leurs progrès même devancez-les, c'est dans cette noble carrière qu'il est honorable d'être tour-à-tour et le vainqueur et le vaincu.

Ici devenus maîtres de cette philosophie qu'ont perfectionnée les modernes,

vous portez sa science analytique dans l'examen de votre dialecte, vous vous direz bientôt; peu de perfectionnements encore, et le langage corrompu des Grecs modernes deviendra l'un des plus beaux dialectes de l'ancienne Hellénie.

Mais cette même analyse vous dira qu'une langue qui n'ose employer les infinitifs de ses verbes; qui rejette presque tous leurs participes; qui joint à leurs futurs, à leurs passés, à leurs conditionnels des temps superflus, traînants et fastidieux; qui rejette presque en entier un cas de ses noms et ses plus utiles particules; est une langue qui se prive à plaisir de ses plus précieuses richesses.

Enfin elle vous dira, cette analyse, qu'une telle langue n'attend qu'un génie audacieux autant que sage, pour franchir de timides barrières et trouver le secret d'un stile plein de nerf, de concision, de grandeur et d'harmonie; plein du beau caractère des anciens dialectes de la Grèce, et pourtant, si peu différent du parler populaire de Constantinople, de Smirne, et de tout l'Archipel, que dans ces lieux et dans le reste de la Grèce, il puisse être compris avec les plus légers efforts d'attention.

S'il est des écrivains qui aient le courage de marcher dans la carrière que nous leur indiquons, nous osous leur promettre une gloire durable pour leurs écrits en eux-mêmes (car, dit un grand écrivain, c'est la langue qui sauve les ouvrages); et nous leur assurons cette gloire bien plus grande que n'eût aucun peuple du monde, celle de rappeler sa langue dégradée à son antique perfection.

O vous, qui peuplez ces contrées, si pendant plus de quatre siècles un aveugle système fermait vos esprits à la lumière des sciences, des lettres et des arts, cette époque a passé, et ses vils souvenirs tomberont tout entiers dans l'oubli; mais sous l'égide qui vient de s'étendre sur vous, rien ne peut plus borner vos vastes destinées; vous avez en votre main de revivre ou de rester morts pour la postérité: choisissez.

Tous les quatre ans nous présenterons à l'Europe le tableau de ce qu'auront fait les Grecs pour se régénérer, en lui offrant l'analyse raisonnée de tous les ouvrages publiés dans notre langue pendant cette courte période. Quelques olympiades encore, et l'Occident ramené de son erreur dans l'opinion qu'il s'est formée des Grecs, ne les jugera plus les fils barbares de ce peuple qui pût justement traiter de barbares tout ce qui n'était pas Lui.

Il sera beau de voir l'Europe attentive aux efforts d'un peuple qui, terrassé

par le malheur, entreprend de se relever, de lui même, jusques à sa première majesté.

Tous les quatre ans nous donnerons un prix à l'auteur qui, dans le grec moderne le plus pur, aura composé et publié l'oeuvre la meilleure ; et à celui qui, avec un égal talent d'écrivain, aura traduit et publié l'un des beaux ouvrages des nations modernes, et surtout de la Nation Française.

Dans la salle de nos séances nous suspendrons la couronne d'olivier sauvage dont nous aurons ceint le front du vainqueur, et nous inscrirons au dessous, l'olympiade où le prix aura été remporté, les noms de l'auteur, de son ouvrage, de sa patrie, et de l'école qui l'a formé : ce seront là les trophées de l'Académie. En présence des plus grands hommes de la nation, comment rien d'indigne d'eux pourra-t-il jamais sortir de son sein !

Par un Synchronisme heureux, le 15 Août 1807 l'armée Française arrivait à la vue de ces rivages, le 15 Août 1808 l'Académie Ionienne tenait la première des séances solennelles qu'elle avouées à célébrer son bienfaiteur et son protecteur : enfin ce même été 1808 eût été celui dans lequel les Grées, eussent renouvelé leurs jeux olympiques pour la 647^e fois, si les empires, ne mouraient pas aussi, comme l'homme, peu après qu'ils ont brillé.

Partant donc de cette époque, où l'Académie prenait naissance sous l'auspice des Français, les premiers de nos prix seront distribués le 15 Août 1812. Ce sera la première année de la 648^e. olympiade.

Nous n'offrons qu'une réminiscence de ces époques solennelles, nous laissons au temps à développer un premier germe que nous jettons pour la postérité.

Nous donnerons pour prix une médaille. Elle portera l'emblème de l'Empereur des Français avec ses mots ; *NAPOLÉON, bienfaiteur et protecteur* : c'est le cachet de l'Académie. Au revers nous graverons une étoile avec ces mots ; *Au Génie, l'Académie reconnaissante*. Sur le contour de la médaille seront écrits, les noms de l'auteur et de son ouvrage avec le quantième de l'olympiade. La médaille sera de fer ; c'est la monnaie de Lacédémone ; c'est celle de l'honneur et de la vertu, revetue des empreintes de l'immortalité.

Un jour nos majestueuses panégyries renouvelleront leurs vastes concours, d'autres juges nous succéderont dont la gloire fera bientôt oublier la nôtre ; mais leur grandeur même sera notre ouvrage, et ce sera là la gloire que le temps ne pourra nous ravir, et qui nous rendra chers à tous les vrais amis des idées grandes et libérales.

P. S. L'Académie ne jugera que des ouvrages qui seront envoyés à son secrétariat (francs de port) et elle devra les avoir reçus au 1^{er} Mai 1812, pour donner les premiers de ses prix olympiadiques. Pour le premier concours l'Académie recevra les ouvrages de tous les auteurs vivants qu'elle qui soit la date de leur publication.

*A Corcyre, 1^{re} année de la 647^e olympiade,
(Juin 1809).*

*Le Secrétaire pour la langue Française,
Ch. DUPIN.*

ACADEMIE IONIENNE

Enseignement public.

PROSPECTUS.

Le 15 Août 1808, l'Académie Ioniennne fit connaître aux Corcyréens qu'elle allait leur ouvrir des cours gratuits et publics de physique et chimie, d'histoire naturelle, de physiologie et d'hygiène. Elle tint plus qu'elle n'avait promis : à ces premiers cours, elle ajouta celui d'anatomie et d'opérations chirurgicales, que M. le docteur Razis par un mouvement digne d'éloges, s'offrit à professer, quoiqu'il ne fût point encore au nombre de nos collègues.

Un dénuement absolu d'instruments en tout genre, d'emplacements même pour opérer les expériences de chimie et les dissections anatomiques, toutes ces causes ont nui aux premiers cours ouverts par l'Académie. Cependant malgré tant d'obstacles, ces cours n'ont point été faits sans quelques succès.

L'Académie a vu, nous oserons dire avec orgueil, des personnes déjà mûries par l'âge et le travail, des officiers pleins de mérite, et des hommes habiles dans les diverses branches de l'art de guérir, honorer constamment de leur présence les cours de ses professeurs.

Mais en même temps l'Académie a vu avec douleur qu'elle avait fait un vain appel à la jeunesse Corcyréenne, l'Académie n'a point trouvé de pères qui aient chéri l'instruction de leurs fils, et point de fils qui aient senti que l'instruction pouvait être un bienfait pour eux mêmes. Cependant l'Académie avait paru taxer injustement quelques parens d'un vain orgueil, en leur disant, avec ménagement, qu'un amour propre aveugle et mal calculé peut-être, les empêchait

d'envoyer leurs fils à des écoles publiques quelque-elles fussent. Combien l'Académie verrait avec plaisir l'expérience démentir ces assertions qui lui content, et qu'elle s'empresserait d'avouer qu'elle a eû tort de vous faire un reproche, que tout lui donne aujourd'hui le droit de renouveler!

Aux cours de l'année dernière, nous devons ajouter un cours de littérature Grecque, ouvert par notre collègue le docteur Mavromati; c'est un nom qui vous est connu et qui porte avec lui son éloge. Le docteur Mavromati développera les beautés des principaux chef-d'œuvres de vos ayeux. Il fera proprement pour vous un cours National. Il est beau de voir que c'est sous l'égide du Gouvernement Français qu'après deux mille ans de silence, les philosophes de l'Hellenic renouvellent leurs leçons eloquentes.

Cours de Physique et de Chimie.—On s'est borné dans la première année à faire connaître les loix de la physique générale et sur tout de l'astronomie physique, dans laquelle on a pris pour base le traité de l'ancien élève de l'Ecole Polytechnique M. Biot. Cette année la physique particulière, et s'il se peut la chimie, seront développées d'après les leçons de cette même école par ses anciens élèves MM. Augoyat et Dupin.

Histoire Naturelle.—M. le docteur Pierri professera la botanique en général, et spécialement l'histoire naturelle des Isles Ioniennes.

Medecine.—Monsieur le docteur Gangadi professera la physiologie et l'hygiène appliquée spécialement aux habitants de ces contrées, d'après les bases offertes par la nature du climat et la salubrité spécifique des diverses regions de ces Isles.

Chirurgie.—Monsieur le docteur Razis, professera l'anatomie et dans le même temps il fera un cours d'opérations chirurgicales et d'obstétrice.

Belles-Lettres.—Monsieur le docteur Mavromati ouvrira un cours de littérature Grecque, il fera sentir le caractère des divers genres de constructions grammaticales et l'esprit des tours oratoires ou poetiques, il marquera comparativement les beautés dont ils sont susceptibles, avec les défauts qu'on doit éviter pour écrire avec élégance et pureté la langue Grecque. Il passera de ces éléments à la comparaison des auteurs, en cherchant à reconnaître la trempe de leur genie dans le caractère de leur stile, et l'élevant successivement des plus simples études aux plus composées; il parlera tour à tour, des prosateurs didactiques, des philosophes, des historiens, des orateurs: enfin il étendra sa methode jusqu'aux ouvrages des poètes, en faisant sur le stile de la poesie les études qu'il aura déjà présentées sur le stile de la prose.

Au premier Octobre, époque de l'ouverture des cours, l'Académie fera connaître les jours et les heures choisies par ses professeurs pour donner leurs leçons.

*A Corcyre, Août 2^e année de la
147^e olympiade (1809).*

*Le Secrétaire pour la langue Française,
CH. DUPIN.*

Page 583. The History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, written by Dositheus, and printed in 1715, mentions the Seraglio library; and Gregorius Ghika, Waywode of Wallachia, printed at Leipsic in 1772, in two volumes folio, a commentary on the bible, entitled, *τεια των πατερων*, a book which all the Greeks of the fanal assured the Abbé Toderini, the author of the book on Turkish literature, was procured from the same collection by the Prince's ancestors. The story told in the volume which was hunted out of the records of the Imperial library by Villoison, and is given in the eighth volume of the Notice of the MSS. in that collection, which is subjoined to the last edition of the Academy of Inscriptions, printed at Paris in 1810, will account for the possession of any rare manuscript volumes by wealthy individuals or corporations in Greece, and the *σειρα πατερων* is known to have been in the Seraglio library. The words of Monsieur Girardin, in his two letters to the Minister of Louis the Fourteenth, are decisive, especially those of his second epistle. Je me suis, Monsieur, exactement informé de ce qui concerne celle (la bibliothèque) du Grand Seigneur, et je puis vous assurer quelle est sans ordre, et sans catalogue. Les MSS. Grecs ne consistoient qu'en 200 volumes, ou environ; et le Pere Besnier, apres les avoir examinés, n'a trouvé que ceux dont j'ai pris la liberté de vous envoyer le mémoire, qui méritassent d'en être tirés pour la bibliothèque de sa majesté. Tous les autres, mal conditionnés et

qui ne contiennent que des auteurs imprimés depuis long temps, ont néanmoins été vendus sur le pied de 100 livres chacun; ainsi IL N'EN RESTE PLUS DE CETTE LANGUE DANS LE SERRAIL.

The MSS. selected by Besnier, were as follows: 1. All the works of Plutarch, a copy of the thirteenth century. 2. Many of the works of Hippocrates and some others—fourteenth century. 3. The Chain of the Fathers (*σειρα πατερων*)—eleventh century. 4. Homer's Iliad—fifteenth century. 5. The Cassandra of Lycophron, Oppian, Dionysius Periegetes, Ammonius on the Isagoge of Porphyry, and a few other works—twelfth and thirteenth centuries. 6. Many of the works of Plato, and the golden verses of Pythagoras, fifteenth century. 7. The Orations of Dion Chrysostom—fourteenth century. 8. Many works of Xenophon, Plato, Hero, Ptolemæus, Appian, Manuel Phile, and others—fifteenth century. 9. The great Syntax of Ptolemæus—fourteenth century. 10. Some works of Philostratus, Alciphron, and others—eleventh century. 11. The nine books of the History of Herodotus—twelfth century. 12. The annals of John Zonaras—thirteenth century. 13. The Homilies of Jacob the Monk on the Virgin Mary, and some other productions of the same kind—eleventh century. 14. The Chronography of George Syncellus—eleventh century. 15. A voluminous collection of medical treatises, to which are prefixed the Aphorisms of Hippocrates—sixth century. 16. And finally, a Latin tract, *Pauli Savetini Ducensis*, concerning military tactics and warlike engines, with figures—the fifteenth century.

The Abbé Sevin, who was sent by Louis the Fifteenth in search of MSS., was assured at Constantinople, that all the Greek volumes had been burnt by Amurath the Fourth; but how unfounded that assurance was, has been before seen. The Abbate Toderini, a subsequent traveller, gives a list of oriental books in the Seraglio, which a page of the palace was forty days in copying.

The monastery of Patmos was found by Villoison, to contain a better regulated collection of MSS. and printed books, than any other library in the Levant. He saw there a variety of ecclesiastical works, but only a few profane authors, of which he remarks none but the Dialogues of Plato, and a part of Diodorus-Siculus from a recent hand. It possessed, however, an excellent collection of some early editions, although much worm-eaten and otherwise injured. His words are: *On y trouve aussi beaucoup de bons livres Grecs imprimés, et également rongés par les vers; la plupart des bonnes éditions des Peres Grecs, quelques unes des Aldes et des Etiennes, entre autres les Poëtæ Græci Principes, et le Tresor de la langue Grecque de Henri Etienne; l'Anthologie en lettres Majuscules de Lascaris; le Démosthène si précieux de Bernard Feliciani, Venise, 1543, le Suidas de Chalcondyle, l'Euripide d'Alde, enfin plusieurs autres éditions primaires, devenues fort rare, parce qu'elles sont anciennes et sont allées se perdre en Grèce et sur tout dans les couvens de Mont Athos; l'Eustathe de Rome, les Commentateurs Grecs d'Aristote les Commentaires de la langue Grecque de Budée; quelques auteurs Italiens et Latins, comme St. Augustin de civitate Dei.* See the same volume, p. 31.

Page 641. The inscription was copied by Villoison, and is given as follows, in the Academy of Inscription, vol. xlvii. p. 304.

ΤΜΝΩ ΘΕΩΝ
ΜΕΛΗΤΑ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΝ
ΤΟΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΑ ΜΟΥ
ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΛΟΙΜΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΚΑΚΟΥ ΠΕΠΛΥΜΕΝΟΥ.

Page 660. Plates 39 and 40, of Part II. of the Ionian Antiquities, contain a view of the Gymnasium at Ephesus.

Only ACCEN

RENSI ET, remains of the inscription on the arch on Mount Prion.

Page 704. Phanodicum quod attinet, id nominis (ut crediderim) raro alibi observatum. Peroportune tamen occurrit apud Scholiastem Apollonii Phanodicus historicus, Deliacorum auctor; Idem que, ut videtur a Laertio semel atque iterum laudatus, tanquam de tripode, sapientis dicto, deque Thalete et Biantē scriptor*.

It is possible, that some persons not smitten with the love of antiquity, may be surprised that a treatise of great learning, and no inconsiderable length, and so much and such repeated attention have been bestowed upon a memorial which, translated word for word, from Chishull's Latin interpretations, is as follows:

1.

Of Phanodicus I am (i. e. the Hermæan statue) the son of Hermocrates of Proconesus. And I the bowl, and the stand of the bowl, and the cover, to the Prytaneum gave as a memorial, to the Sigeans; but if any thing I should suffer, to take care of me I will command the Sigeans. And he made me, Æsopus, and his brothers.

2.

Of Phanodicus I am, the son of Hermocrates of Proconesus. The bowl truly, and the cover of the bowl, and the stand, to the Prytaneum gave he, to the Sigeans.

Page 706. There was, however, a Sigéum in the times of the Christian Emperors. *Revixit tamen seculis Christianis et sub metropoli Cyzicena Episcopatus honore floruit†.*

* Chishull, Inscriptio Sigea, p. 32.

† Sigea Inscriptio, p. 2, Lond. 1728.

Page 749. The seventh plate in the second volume of Banduri's *Imperium Orientale*, gives a bird's-eye view of the straits of the Dardanelles, the sea of Marmora, and Constantinople. When it was taken is not mentioned in the plate, but it was after the building of the castle of Koum-Kale in 1659. In this view some old walls are put on Cape Sigéum; other ruins, called *Ruins de Troyc*, are seen underneath, on the left bank of a river, apparently the Mendere, which is called Xanthus or Scamander; and the stream, now the Thymbrek, is named the Simois.—This notice is of so much importance, that I regret much that it is not inserted in the text.

Page 757. I am desirous of propping up my own scepticism on the subject of the Troad, by the authority of no less a person than Chishull, who visited the country in the year 1701, and who says of the site of the city—"But still we must be cautious of pointing out and distinguishing the very place; since in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, we are assured by Strabo, that there remained not the least footstep of ancient Troy to satisfy the curiosity of the most searching traveller. So vain are the accounts of our modern *journalists*, who pretend to have seen the walls, the gates, or other ruins of Troy: that which now remains, being nothing but the rubbish of New Ilium, or of that city once attempted there by Constantine*."

Pompey's Pillar. Page 870.

The inscription on Pompey's Pillar is given by Sebastian Erizzo, and, as Mons. Villoison has observed, evidently more exactly than in most other copies—

OCT. CAE. AUG. FLAV. CIAN. FAB. FIL. CLA. FRON.

* Travels in Turkey, p. 35.

Flavius Ciannidius commanded the Claudian legion when Augustus gained the battle of Philippi, and he it was that erected the column, to commemorate the arrival of that conqueror on the shores of the Bosphorus*.

The Corinthian Column in the Seraglio. Page 948.

“ In relation to this inscription (*Fortunæ Reduci ob devictos Gothos*), the medal of Belisarius may be observed, on the reverse of which are the words **DEVICTIS GOTHIS**.

“ On the opposite plane of the basis is this religious device :

IC	XC
NI	KA †

* L'Académie des Inscript. tom. xlvii. p. 315.

† Chishull's Travels in Turkey, p. 46.

EXPEDITION TO THE DARDANELLES.

THE following notice of the enterprise which, under the above name, has been the object of so much obloquy, may serve to change the opinion of those who have hitherto imputed the objectionable parts of the measure to the misconceptions of Lord Grenville's ministry.

It seems that the English fleet, having passed the straits on the 19th of February, came to an anchor at ten o'clock on the morning of the 20th at Princes' Islands, eight miles to the south of the Scraglio Point. This anchorage had been recommended in a dispatch addressed to Mr. Secretary Fox by His Majesty's Ambassador to the Porte, Mr. Arbuthnot, so early as the 29th of September, 1806*. The ships, however, might have taken a position less distant from Constantinople, for the Endymion frigate, after they anchored, moved to within a little more than four miles of the town, and the squadron itself might have got still nearer, if it had stood on towards the city, instead of dropping down to the Islands. One of the advantages originally proposed by the Ambassador, as likely to be gained by this position, was the cutting-off the communication between the two continents, and so starving the city into submission†. It may be now of no service to ask, how such an object could be obtained by a force stationed in the sea of Marmora, when the whole canal of the Bosphorus was in possession of the Turks; for, without examining into the wisdom of such a project, it is certain, that when the expedition sailed, it was not a slow siege, but active

* See No. 5, Papers presented to the House of Commons, pursuant to their Address of the 16th of March, 1808.

† No. 5, Papers, &c.

operations, which were to be undertaken against the town*. The nearer therefore the fleet could be stationed to the city, the more imposing would be its menace, and with the greater facility might open hostilities have been carried into effect.

The dismissal of the General Sebastiani, and the surrender of the Turkish fleet, with a supply from the arsenals, was to be demanded; and Lord Collingwood recommended, that only half an hour should be allowed for the deliberation of the Porte. His Lordship was justly desirous of losing no time by negotiation; but he was not aware that the Turks are the most dilatory people in the world, and would be driven by such a demand of impossible promptitude, to the bravery of despair. There were two extremes to be avoided, the one just mentioned, and the admission of such a negotiation on the part of the Turks as could only be intended to gain time. It appears by Lord Collingwood's order to Admiral Duckworth, that these demands were to be made "when the squadron was disposed in such stations as to compel compliance;" but it is not exactly known whether the actual proposal was made to the Porte. The *Endymion* had charge of the Ambassador's dispatches to the Grand Vizier when she left the fleet at anchor; but as our force was not at that time in *such a situation as to compel compliance*, it may be presumed the real terms were not therein decisively stated. The requisition respecting General Sebastiani was, however, either actually conveyed to, or understood at, the Divan.

On the 21st, the day after the anchoring, Isaac Bey, a minister of the Porte, arrived with a flag of truce. Mr. Arbuthnot, whose opinion was to guide the Admiral as to the necessity of commencing hostilities†, and with whose advice and assistance the whole affair

* Lord Howick's Letter to the Lords of the Admiralty, No. 1, Papers presented to the House of Commons, ordered to be printed 23d March, 1808; Orders from Lord Collingwood to Sir John Duckworth, No. 2, Papers, &c.

† Orders from Lord Collingwood, &c. Papers, No. 2.

was transacted*, consented to open a negotiation: a letter, containing a project, as a basis on which peace might be preserved, was dispatched through Isaac Bey; and a gentleman of the British Factory, who communicated some of the circumstances to me, went on shore to receive the answer. On the 22d the breeze served, and although some apprehensions were entertained on account of the current, it appears the fleet would have got under weigh, and have attempted at least to work up to join the *Eudymion*, had not the Ambassador "desired that a few hours might be given for an answer to his letter†." Mr. Arbuthnot's dispatch to Lord Howick, dated Malta the 10th of April, 1807, has the expression, that "once for a moment a hope existed that the wind was about to change‡;" but the Commander-in-Chief's letter says, that "for a few hours the breeze was sufficient to stem the current where they were placed."

The negotiation was carried on until the 27th, but from the morning of the 22d the weather was calm, with light contrary winds, and on the 28th it blew strongly from the north.

At the conclusion of the negotiation, the Turks endeavoured to erect a battery on one of Princes' Islands, and in attempting to dislodge them from a convent, owing to misinformation received by the Admiral, an English officer and several marines were killed. The heads of some of them were shown in triumph at Constantinople. The wind continued to blow down the Bosphorus, and the Commander of the expedition was now "*convinced of the utter impracticability of his force making an impression, as at that time the whole of the coast presented a chain of batteries; as twelve Turkish line-of-battle ships, two of them three-deckers, with nine frigates,*

* Vice-Admiral Duckworth's Letter to Lord Collingwood, Papers, No. 7.

† Vice-Admiral Duckworth's Letter to Lord Collingwood, No. 7, Papers, &c. p. 16.

‡ Papers presented to the House of Commons, pursuant to their Address of the 16th of March, 1808, No. 9.

were with their sails bent, and apparently in readiness, filled with troops; and as 200,000 soldiers were said to be in Constantinople*,” and he was also of opinion, “that he might have coped with the batteries alone, or with the ships, if they came out of port, but not with them as described, so as to be afterwards able to repass the Dardanelles.” Accordingly he weighed anchor on the morning of the first of May, and after standing off and on to see if the fleet would give him battle, bore up, and arrived on the evening of the 2d off Pesquies Point (Abydos), where the squadron anchored. The next morning the Dardanelles were again forced, but with a loss which was reckoned very severe, and which being added to the failure of the expedition, has not yet been effaced from the mind of the English public.

Such is the simple detail of the expedition itself, as far as it is recorded in the official papers delivered to Parliament. Let us now look into the origin of these unfortunate operations, and endeavour to collect to whom their conduct and issue are fairly to be ascribed.

It has generally been supposed that the circumstances under which His Majesty’s Ambassador, backed by the letter of Rear-Admiral Louis, commanding a squadron of three line-of-battle ships off the Dardanelles, recommended the passage of an English fleet to Constantinople, were materially altered by the three weeks which elapsed from the date of Admiral Louis’s letter, to the actual passage of the Dardanelles†. On this ground, and this alone, as far as I can judge, has the odium of the failure of the expedition been thrown upon the Cabinet at home. Whether this delay was imputable to the King’s Government, will be seen by the dates of the several dispatches: Mr. Arbuthnot’s letter, finally announcing that “the time might

* Vice-Admiral Duckworth’s Letter, &c. Paper No. 7, p. 16.

† Nos. 7, 8, 9, of Papers presented to the House of Commons, pursuant to their Address of the 16th of March.

shortly arrive when His Majesty would be obliged to act hostily against the Turkish empire*,” was received at Downing-street on the 9th of November. The orders to Lord Collingwood to detach the squadron to act against Constantinople, were sent on the 22nd of the same month, and given by his Lordship to Sir John Duckworth on the 13th of January; but previously to this period, in consequence of some differences between the British Ambassador and the Porte, which were adjusted, Sir Thomas Louis, with three sail of the line and two frigates, was sent to the Dardanelles, in pursuance of instructions from Lord Collingwood dated the 22d of November, which squadron, “if the Ambassador thought it necessary and proper,” was to appear before Constantinople†. Sir Thomas Louis, in a dispatch to Mr. Arbuthnot, dated the 26th of January, off the Dardanelles, told the Ambassador, “that he might depend on the squadron’s proceeding to Constantinople, in spite of opposition on the part of the Turks, whenever he might think such a measure necessary, as he was confident of performing that service with facility‡.” To this opinion Mr. Arbuthnot referred His Majesty’s Ministers in his dispatch to Lord Howick§. If therefore the service could have been performed at that time, and the Ambassador, who had the sole direction of the operation, did not command such an appearance of the fleet before the capital, the English Ministry are surely to be absolved from all blame of unnecessary delay; and if more than three weeks from the date of Sir Thomas Louis’s letter of the 26th of January, were gained by the Ottoman Government||, the reason why a circumstance so fortunate for the Turks was suffered to occur, when a squadron competent and ready to prevent it was under the Ambassador’s order,

* Dispatch, No. 5.

† Papers, Inclosure No. 2.

‡ Second Inclosure in Paper No. 9.

§ Paper, No. 9.

|| Dispatch from Mr. Arbuthnot to Lord Howick, Paper No. 9.

is not to be demanded of the Cabinet at St. James, but the bureau diplomatique of Pera.

The true point of enquiry will be seen also by a view of the transactions on shore immediately preceding, and during the period of, the expedition. On the 29th of January the Ambassador and his suite, together with every individual of the British Factory, were invited to dine on board the *Endymion* frigate at anchor in the harbour of Constantinople. As they were sitting at coffee after night-fall in the cabin, they found the ship under weigh. Her cables had been cut. The assurance that they had been saved from certain destruction, did not prevent the merchants, who had left their counting-houses open, and even their papers exposed, from earnestly intreating to be allowed to land and abide the event. The story now told at Constantinople is, that a few strong words hastily delivered at the Divan by the Secretary of Legation, Mr. Wellesley Pole*, who during the long period of the Ambassador's unfortunate retirement from public business carried on all the political intercourse between Great Britain and the Turkish empire, occasioned a hint to be dropped, that a repetition of such a menace conveyed in such a manner, would be answered by the opening of the Seven Towers; and at the time of the Ambassador's flight from the capital, not only imprisonment, but death, and "the most severe tortures that malice could invent†," were

* The Turks had interfered with the governments of Wallachia and Moldavia, in a manner which was judged a violation of their treaty with Russia: Mr. Pole, in terms which his better judgment would disapprove, threatened the capital with twenty sail of British line-of-battle ships, and was so far thought to have gained his point, that Mr. Arbuthnot reported that the negotiation had taken a favourable turn (No. 6, Papers, &c.); and the recommendation of the Russian Minister Italinsky, conveyed to Count Woronzow at London, procured the Secretary, unless I am much mistaken, a pension of eight hundred pounds per annum, *for having risked the character of England in behalf of another power, with whom in a few months she was in open war.*

† Rear-Admiral Louis's Letter to Lord Collingwood, Paper No. 5.

understood to await all the English at Constantinople, should they be seized as hostages, and should the fleet fire upon the forts or the capital. Whether these apprehensions were well founded I cannot myself determine, but they were not credited at the time by the English residents, and are now the subject of universal ridicule. Mr. Arbuthnot, however, by his sudden departure, certainly removed one of the obstacles, which in case of the seizure of his person, might have impeded the operations of our forces; and as he joined the squadron off the Dardanelles on the 31st, no such change could have taken place in the state of defence at the Dardanelles during the interval from the 26th to that day, as could prevent the squadron from proceeding to Constantinople. The delay then must have originated either from the state of the wind or the advice of the Ambassador. Rear-Admiral Louis does indeed in his letter of the 5th of February to Lord Collingwood, seem to have changed his opinion delivered ten days before, and to have thought that a greater force was necessary to accomplish the purposes of the expedition*; but the facility with which the passage was made, and circumstances afterwards known of the state of public feeling at Constantinople, would make it appear, that his apprehensions were unfounded. The additional force under Sir John Duckworth arrived on the 10th of February, and the Ambassador declining the invitation to return with the Capudan-Pasha in the *Endymion* to Constantinople, the squadron sailed through the Dardanelles, as before described, on the 19th of the same month.

On the appearance of the fleet before the capital, the Grand Signior was convinced of the necessity of submission: he sent for General Sebastiani, whom he had for some time admitted to a familiarity of intercourse never before witnessed between a Sultan and an Ambassador, and said, that, however reluctantly, he must require his immediate departure. The General acquiesced in the decision, and

* No. 1, Papers relative to the Expedition to the Dardanelles

taking his leave, retired to the French palace, where he burnt all his papers, and made every preparation for quitting the capital. The horses were saddled in the court-yard. At this time the principal ministers of the Porte were dressed in their official robes, and the state-barges were in readiness to convey them to the fleet, with offers of entire compliance with the British Minister's demands. Yet the whole population of Constantinople, ignorant of their incapacity, and fired with indignation, rushed to arms, and the gentleman who went on shore with the flag of truce assured me, that the whole Seralio Point, the shore, the walls and the houses, were completely hidden, as it were, beneath a panoply of moving weapons. Such a species of defence would, had the town been attacked, have only increased the carnage and consternation of the besieged. The ships of war in the harbour were at once manned with a promiscuous crowd of soldiers, sailors, and citizens: the Sultan Selim was filled with not less than three thousand men: they demanded to have the fleet led against the infidels, but at the earnest prayers and intreaties of General Sebastiani, were detained by the Sultan's orders, and saved, as he avowed, from inevitable destruction. At the moment that the Turkish Government had decided upon submission, and the French were on the point of flying from the city, the advice of the Spanish Resident, who thought that no very active operations were decided upon by the commander of the squadron, persuaded a trial at negotiation, the darling but unsuccessful passion of the English people*.

* "*Never was there any treaty between the French and English,*" says De Commynes, "*but the French always outwitted them; insomuch (as I have been told) the English have a common proverb with them—That in all, or most of their battles and conflicts with the French, the English have the better, but in their capitulations and treaties they come off still with the loss.*"—Book iii. cap. viii. We have dropped the proverb, which may not perhaps be less applicable to us than to our ancestors, who, it must be confessed, had no great reputation for capacity, as the same author in another place has these

It was hoped that time might be thus gained until all the guns were mounted on the Seraglio walls, and batteries erected which might at least have an imposing appearance, but above all, until the setting in of the north east wind secured the inactivity of the fleet.

When the flag of truce arrived on shore on the 22d, every artifice was employed to gain time, and the bearer of the dispatches was detained for many hours with pipes and coffee, and repeated invitations to dine and participate in a variety of ceremonies with the ministers of the Divan. This gentleman incessantly pressed, the Turks assiduously protracted, the answer, but both the one and the other expected each moment to hear of the advance of the squadron from Princes' Islands, as the wind was then southerly, and was by those on shore thought strong enough to bring up the ships to the Seraglio. Had the English fleet weighed anchor and stood towards the city on that morning, there had been no war between Great Britain and the Porte. The Grand Signior would have chosen between the two alliances—the Turkish Ministers would have hastened to their barges, and the French Embassy to their horses. As it was, it was presumed that the English had not decided upon what measures they should pursue: the emissaries of our enemies advised a protraction of the negotiation, and at the same time assisted the Turks in forming every possible species of defence. It was, however, never intended that the Turkish fleet should quit the port and fight the squadron. What the Ambassador had reported in his dispatches of the 15th and 27th of January, was perfectly true, that notwithstanding the "ships were called in readiness for sea, seamen of no

words: "*Before the King of England took shipping, he sent to the King of France one of his heralds called Garter (a Norman born), with a letter of defiance, so well contrived, and in such excellent language, I can scarce persuade myself any Englishman writ it.*"—Book iv. cap. v.

kind could be found to man them* ;” and it is not possible, that in the course of a month the case should have been so much altered, as to render the Ottoman fleet an object of just reliance to the Turks, or of reasonable fear to the English Admiral, who, notwithstanding his report, must have known their real inefficiency. This naval superiority rendered a bombardment of Constantinople at all times, when the wind served, practicable, in spite of any land defences ; and as a dozen shells would have set the whole city in a blaze, it was so fully expected that the squadron would remain at anchor until the first fair wind should enable them to commence hostilities, that when, on the 2d of May, the English ships were no longer visible from the town, it was some time before the fact of their departure, and of the abandonment of their enterprise, was credited at Constantinople !

An inclination to avoid what might possibly look like the gratuitous censure of any individual, has prevented me from inserting some details, in which the immediate agents in the above proceeding would appear certainly to very little advantage ; nor would I have said so much on the subject, if the blame attached to the whole plan and conduct of the Expedition had not been, with the height of injustice, laid solely to the charge of the Ministers composing at that time the British Cabinet ; and if that opinion had not been, in a great measure, founded on some expressions contained in the last dispatch from the Ambassador, dated at Malta, after the failure of the attempt†.

This last circumstance, together with the consideration that the Ambassador owed his appointment to, and has since been ranged amongst, the political opponents of the accused Ministers, may be

* Papers, Nos. 7, 8, presented to the House, &c. pursuant to their Address 16th March, 1808.

† See No. 9, Dispatch from the Right Hon. Charles Arbutnot to Viscount Howick, dated Malta, 10th April, 1807, received May 29th, by Mr. Secretary Canning.

urged in reply to the only remaining charge which can be made against those statesmen, namely, that the employer is answerable for the actions of the employed. It is true that Viscount Howick, in a dispatch to Mr. Arbuthnot, conveyed to him the King's approbation of his conduct*. But it must be recollected, that this approbation was consequent upon the Ambassador's report of his own measures, in which it was not to be expected that he should include the sallies of his Secretary (the true cause of his own unfortunate misapprehensions), and which were not duly appreciated until the breaking out of the war. It was impossible for the Cabinet of London to be aware, that at the moment Mr. Arbuthnot reported so favourably of the interview between the new Reis Effendi and Mr. Pole, the circles of Pera were amusing themselves with the immoderate triumphs of the youthful diplomatist. When the Ambassador saw his Secretary galloping down the streets of Buynk-dere, waving his hat, and crying victory, it was not perhaps very probable that it should be suggested to him, that in a short time afterwards he himself should retreat no less speedily through a back door, from the palace of Pera to the port. The domestic calamity, and very serious illness, which rendered the Ambassador "incapable of paying due attention to any part of his public business†;" and the nonnage of his substitute, may be some excuse for the mistakes which caused the rupture between Turkey and Great Britain; but the delicacy which prevented the arraignment of the agents by their employers, cannot operate upon the impartial and unconcerned spectator, nor absolve him from the duty, however insignificant may be his efforts, of disclosing such a portion of facts not generally known, as may counteract the imputation cast upon great public characters without the slightest foundation or pretence for blame.

* Papers, No. 6.

† See the above Paper, No. 9.

With the persuasion that a more decisive menace would, on the appearance of the fleet, without any hostility, have effected the purposes of the expedition, we may feel many regrets, that other measures had not produced a different termination of the affair; but as the war was not prevented, we cannot surely lament that we did not, by the rapid conflagration of a wooden city, cause the certain destruction of an immense defenceless population, and the massacre of all the Christian subjects in the capital, which was expected and threatened at the time, and which the power of the Grand Signior, in opposition to a multitude of armed fanatics, might have been unable to prevent.

It may be some consolation, under our discomfiture, to believe, what every thing I could gather on the spot induced me to suppose, that there was not an intelligent man in the empire, who thought that those who had burst through their redoubtable Dardanelles, were intimidated by the cannon on the mouldering walls of the Seraglio, or who attributed the safety of the capital to any other motive than forbearance, and a disinclination from having recourse to unjust extremities.

ALBANIAN LANGUAGE.

I have asserted the Albanian to be an unwritten language, which, as far as the Albanians themselves are concerned, is the case in every part of the country which came under our observation; but it appears, that an attempt was made about the beginning of the last century to reduce it to rule, and embody it in a grammar, by a member of the Society for propagating the Faith, who seemed fully aware of the nature of his task, and called it, indeed, *a new sign in the grammatical heaven.* The book, which is now before me, has the following title: *Osservazioni Grammaticali, nella lingua Albanese del P. Francesco Maria da Lecce, Min. Oss. Rif. Espresfettò Apostolico delle Missioni di Macedonia dedicate agli eminentis: e reverendissimi Signori Cardinali della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fede. In Roma, Della Stamperia della Sag. Congr: di Prop. Fede, 1716.* Any one, from a perusal of the grammar, might conceive it to be that of a written tongue; but a sentence of the prefixed notice to the reader, would undeceive him, for there it is said, that the Albanian people dispersed through various provinces and kingdoms, *not having the written knowledge of their own idiom*, expect with impatience the present work, that they may behold, as in the purest chrystal, their proper image. *E quei popoli Albanesi dispersi per varie provincie e regni, non avendo la notizia scritturale de proprio idioma, aspettano con impazienza la presente opera, per osservare, come in chiarissimo cristallo, la propria imagine.* From the concluding sentence of this preface, it appears that father da Lecce directed his grammatical observations to those Italian religious who were destined to the service of the mission: and to them, I believe, it has been confined, for, as is before said, I never heard of the Albanian as a written tongue. The

grammar was composed for the previous instruction of the young missionaries, and to prevent a catastrophe that had before frequently occurred, the return of many of them from Albania, in despair of acquiring without any master, a competent knowledge of the language. Some characters must have been, however, in use amongst the missionaries previously to the date of this attempt, for the Padre talks of an Albanian alphabet as in existence in his time, and as formed, with the exception of five letters, of Roman characters. His words are, *Le lettere appo gl' Albanesi sona 28, la figura delle quali e la medesima che quella de Latini, eccetto cinque, come nel seguente alfabetto si mostra, a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, x, y, z, Ɔ, ƆƆ, ɛ, ε, λ.* Whether in the bishoprick of Butrinto, in Dalmatia, Calabria, or amongst any other Roman Catholic Albanians, these characters are in use, I am not qualified decidedly to say, but I never heard of them in the course of our journey. Four of the additional letters are representatives of sounds which are found in the Romaic, but not in the letters of the language of the Padre Francesco. Ɔ is a Romaic *della*, pronounced *dth*; ƆƆ is the Greek Θ, of which the Italians are altogether ignorant, calling it *seta*; ɛ is sounded as the modern Greeks read that diphthong, which is shorter than the Italian *u*, but so little different from it, that another character was scarcely necessary to express its signification. λ is the Greek lambda, as we pronounce it, and the addition of this letter to the Italian *c*, seems unnecessary, as only one *l* is sounded by the Albanians; but ɛ is sometimes stronger than either the Romaic *z* or English *z*; and after repeated trials with our Albanians, I am not sure that it is quite correctly represented by *dz*. As the Padre was so attentive to the insertion of the additional sounds, he might have taken notice of five which cannot be represented by any of his or our single letters, but which the Albanians pronounce so simply, that they can hardly be called diphthongs:

these are the *m* and *n*, and *g* and *f*, and *k*, prefixed to another consonant; the two first of which the modern Greeks have made use of in spelling words derived from other languages, but have dropped their sound. Thus, although in Romaic *μπάμπας*, is *barbarous*, and *νράννο*, *danno*, yet if those words were Albanian, the *μ* and *ν* would have a half sound, such as I know not how to figure by any written example. As for the combinations of consonants, they are in this tongue productive of words which an English mouth must find it no easy task to produce.

The Turkish, Romaic, Latin, Italian, French, and English languages, seem to have had a share in the composition of several of the Albanian words and phrases. As might be expected from the instability of an unwritten tongue, the speech of one part of the country differs materially from that of the other quarters of the same region, and the twenty-four dialects of the ancient Asiatic Albania, may be equalled in number by those of the modern European provinces. In the country above Tepellenè, a great portion of the words are Turkish; lower down than Ioannina, the Romaic is generally borrowed to supply the deficiencies of the tongue; and on the coast, the Italian is the predominant mixture. Mr. Swinburne, in a passage of his travels, referred to at the end of Letter XIII., has given a tolerably copious list of English words, and those not borrowed from the Greek or Latin, or the prevalent languages of modern Europe, which he declares are to be found representing the same meaning in the jargon spoken by the Albanians settled in Calabria; but only three of all he has enumerated, would be understood by an inhabitant of the country which we visited. The Varanges, or English body-guard, who were employed in the service of the latter emperors, and a corps of whom attended Alexius Comnenus to the battle of Durazzo, are the only British of whose possible communication with the settlers in Greece and Epirus, history makes any

mention ; but if the English and the Albanians could be traced to their original soil, the partial similarity of the two languages might not be considered so singular, as it is rendered by our present limited retrospect into the antiquities of nations. The most striking resemblance is in the present, indicative of the verb *to be*, which is *y* or *ou yam*.

I had collected with considerable pains, a vocabulary of the Albanian spoken by the peasants of Attica, and should have given it a place in this Appendix, if the Grammar of Da Lecce had not fallen in my way. From comparing the two specimens, I find the language of the Attic and Epirote Arnoot to be the same, although with a certain discrepancy, which may be well attributed to the variety of its dialects, and to the different impressions which it has received in the many regions inhabited by this dispersed people.

The Missionary declares in the commencement of his book, that the Albanian coincides in phrase almost entirely with the Italian—*la lingua Albanese conviene quasi in tutto nella frase con la nostra Italiana*. He was evidently talking of those who were inhabitants of, or confined upon, the territories of the Venetians, or the Calabrian Arnoots. He would not have made the same remark relative to the natives of Delvinaki and Tepellenè. A great portion of the phraseology of the Italinized Albanians (if I may use the word), is possibly very similar to that of the Milanese or Tuscan peasant ; but the truth seems to be, that in the naked Arnoot may be discerned the visible remains of an ancient language which no longer exists*.

* Nous ne parlerons pas ici de certaines langues peu étendues, reste visible d'un ancien langage qui ne subsiste plus, ou du moins de quelques anciens dialectes si fort altérés qu'il est difficile d'en démêler l'origine.—Telles sont dans notre occident, les langues Basques, Galloise, et Flandoise ; telle est au voisinage de la Grèce, celle des Albanois, ou Montagnards de l'Épire. Nous avons un dictionnaire de cette dernière langue, et il semble qu'elle ne soit qu'un mélange de plusieurs langages différens.—Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, tome 18, p. 69.

Da Lecce, however, appears to have taken much pains in putting together this grammar; and I shall give an abridgement of the performance, with scarcely any remarks on his arrangement or precision.

[To prevent the necessity of making use of the strange characters given in the grammar of Da Lecce, Z will, in the following abridgment, be represented by its equivalent, an English d in the Roman character; Z Z by a Greek Θ ; e by dz in the Roman character; λ by an English l; and e by ou, also in Roman letters.]

In the Albanian language the articles are not prefixed, but added to the nouns; they are, *a*, *e*, *i*, *t*—*i* is the masculine article of the singular number, *e* of the plural, except in anomalous nouns, when it is *te* or *t*; as *guri**, the stone; *gurete*, the stones; *frati*, the brother; *fratinit*, the brothers; *a* is the feminine article in the singular number, and *t* in the plural; as *dzogna*, the lady; *dzognat*, the ladies. The singular article of neuter adjectives and pronouns, is *te*, as,

	<i>Imiri,</i>	<i>Emireia,</i>	<i>Temirete,</i>
	<i>Bonns,</i>	<i>Bona,</i>	<i>Bonum;</i>
And	<i>Emi,</i>	<i>Emcia,</i>	<i>Temte,</i>
	<i>Mens,</i>	<i>Mea,</i>	<i>Meam;</i>

except the demonstrative pronouns *this* and *that*, which, as well as the proper names in the singular number, have no article. The declensions of nouns are three. The first declension makes the genitive case terminate in *se*, as *sdogna*, *sdognese*, the lady, of the lady. The second declension has the genitive in *it*, as *dzot*, *dzottit*, the gentleman, of the gentleman. The genitive case of the third declension, ends in *at*, as *barku*, *barkutt*, the belly, of the belly. *Pape*, a pope, is thus declined: *papa*, the pope; gen. *papesc*; dat. *papese*; acc. *papene*; voc. δ *pape*; abl. *prei papet*; plu. *papet*, popes, *papete*, the popes; gen. *papetet*; dat. *papetet*; acc. *papete*; voc. δ *papet*; abl. *prei papese*. It is a general rule, that the vocative is the same as the nominative without the article, and that the genitive and dative cases are alike in both numbers. *dzogne*, a lady, with the article in the nominative, is *dzogna*; gen.

* The Albanian words are to be read according to the Italian mode of pronunciation.

dzognese; dat. *dzognese*; acc. *dzognene*; voc. ò *dzogne*; abl. *prei dzognet*; and in the plural *dzogne*, ladies, is *dzognæ*; gen. *dzognævet*; dat. *dzognævet*; acc. *dzognat*; voc. ò *dzogna*; abl. *prei dzognase*.

The letter *t* may be taken from the ablative singular, and it may be adjoined to the ablative plural. Thus, instead of *prei paictoret*, may be said, *prei paictore*, from the advocate; and *prei paictorascit* will signify, from the advocates, as well as *prei paictorasc*. The Padre then gives a neuter noun, which seems irregular; *croue*, head; *crouet*, the head; gen. *crese*, of the head; dat. *crese*; acc. *crouet*; voc. ò *croue*; abl. *prei ercie*, or *prei erciat*, plu. *crena*, heads (*κρῶναι*); *crenat*, the heads; gen. *crenatet*; dat. *crenatet*; acc. *crenat*; voc. ò *crena*; abl. *prei crenase*, or *crenascit*. This noun, when applied to the name of a title or office, such as head of the church, is turned into the masculine gender.

The Second Declension, Genitive in It.

Dzot, master or sir; *dzofti*, the master; gen. *dzottit*; dat. *dzottit*; dat. *dzotne*, or *dzone*; voc. ò *dzot*; plu. *dzottinij*, masters or sirs; *dzottinijte*, the masters; gen. *dzottinijvet*; dat. *dzottinijvet*; acc. *dzottinijte*; voc. ò *dzottinij*; abl. *prei dzottinijsc*. There are four other examples of masculine nouns, each of them having their plurals similar to those of the above substantive, but varying in their singular number. Their accusative cases are formed by the addition of *n* to the definite nominative, and shortening the penultimate vowel, ex. *grat. cussaari*, the robber, accusative *cussarin*; *mescetaari*, the priest; accusative *mescetorin*.

The grammar gives thirteen examples of anomalous nouns belonging to this declension; but the irregularity of ten of them consists, as appears to me, in the nominative plural; for in other respects they are declined like the former example; *prist*, priest, makes *pristinit*, priests, *gardina*, cardinal, *gardinaii-gruum*, grain; *grunte*—*helb*, barley, *helbina*—*giarpen*, serpent, *giarpagne*—*gilpan*, a needle, *gilpagne*—*drappen*, a hook, *drippagne*—*duchien*, a foundery, *dugagne*—*scetratt*, a bed, *scetrellina*—*sepirt*, a spirit, *sepirtina*. The remaining three, *brevial*, breviary; *ungil*, evangelist; *missal*, napkin, make their plurals, *breviaj*, *unjii*, *missaj*, but vary in the other case from the foregoing nouns; they are declined as follows: *missaj*, napkins; *missaite*, the napkins; gen. *missaiet*; dat. *missaiet*; acc. *missaiete*; voc. *missai*; abl. *prei missaise*.

The Nouns of the Third Declension,

Are all declined like *fik*, fig; which makes *fiku*, the fig; gen. *fikut*; dat. *fikut*; acc. *fikun*; voc. ò *fik*; abl. *prei filut*; plu. *ficchie*, figs; *ficchiute*, the figs; gen. *ficchiet*; dat. *ficchiet*; acc. *ficchiute*; voc. ò *ficchie*; abl. *prei ficchiute* or like *bark*, belly, in which noun the plural is different from that of *fich*, making the nom. indef. *barchi*; the nom. def. *barchiute*; gen. *barchiet*; acc. *barchiute*; voc. ò *barchi*; abl. *prei barchiese*.

Nouns Adjective.

All the four instances in the grammar are similar to the following example of, *ilum*, *bléssed*; and from it a general rule may be extracted, which will serve for any adjectives beginning with a vowel, the only kind noticed by the author

Singular			
	Masculine.	Feminine	Neuter.
N.	Ilum,	Elume,	Telume.
Nom. def.	Ilumi,	Elumeia,	Telumete.
Gen.	Telumit,	Selumese,	Telumit.
Dat.	Telumit,	Telumese,	Telumit.
Acc.	Telumun,	Telumene,	Telumete.
Voc.	ò Ilum,	ò Elume,	ò Telume.
Ablat.	Prei selumit,	Prei selumet,	Prei selumet.

Plural.			
	Masculine.	Feminine.	Neuter.
N.	Telumc,	Teluma,	Like the feminine
Nom. def.	Telumtc,	Telumat,	
	Telumevet,	Telumavet,	
	Telumevet,	Telumavet,	
	Telumtc,	Telumat,	
	ò Telumc,	ò Teluma,	
	Prei selumisc,	Prei selumasc.	

Pronouns.

I.	Of me.	To me.	Me.	From me.
<i>U, unc, unaj.</i>	<i>Mue.</i>	<i>Mue.</i>	<i>Mue.</i>	<i>Prei meie.</i>
We.	Of us.	To us.	Us.	From us.
<i>Nu.</i>	<i>Neve.</i>	<i>Neve.</i>	<i>Ne.</i>	<i>Prei pesc.</i>
Thou.	Of thee.	To thee.	Thee.	From thee.
<i>Ti.</i>	<i>Tou.</i>	<i>Tou.</i>	<i>Tou.</i>	<i>Prei teie.</i>
Ye.	Of ye.	To ye.	You.	From ye.
<i>Yu.</i>	<i>Yue.</i>	<i>Yue.</i>	<i>Yu.</i>	<i>Yusc.</i>
Of himself.	To himself.	Himself.	From himself.	
<i>Veti.</i>	<i>Veti.</i>	<i>Vetehen.</i>	<i>Prei veti.</i>	
Of his very self.	Dative.	Accusative.	Ablative.	
<i>Vetivetiut.</i>	<i>Vetivetiut.</i>	<i>Vetevetehen</i>	<i>Prei vetiveti.</i>	
<i>Or, oueti,</i>	<i>oueti,</i>	<i>ouetchen,</i>	<i>pre oueti.</i>	

The possessive pronoun *em, mine*, is declined like the adjectives in every respect, except that the nom. plural, neut. is *tem*, not *teme*; out *thine*, is irregular; nom. sing. out, *iote, tat*; nom. def. *onti, ioteia, tatt*; gen. *tit, ssate, tit*; dat. *tit, ssate, tit*; acc. *tanden, tandene, tatt*; abl. *prei silit, prei sate, prei sote*. In the plural, the neuter and feminine are the same. Nom. *tetuu, tetua*; nom. def. *tetuute, tetuat*; gen. *tetuvet, tetuavet*; dat. *tetuvet, tetuavet*; acc. *tetuute, tetuat*; abl. *prei setuusi, prei setuasc*. His is *itij*; hers *etije**

Sing. nom. def. *itinaj, ctija*; gen. *tetijt*, or *tetinaj, essai*, or *essaine*; dat. the same as genitive; acc. *tetijne, tessaine*; abl. *prei setijt, prei sescut*. *Tetij*, his, and *tatija*, hers, in the plural are declined like regular adjectives. *Tetij*, his, in the neuter singular, with the article, makes *tetijte*. The other cases are the same as the masculine in the singular, and as the feminine in the plural, number.

Oun, ours, is thus declined: Nom. *oun, jone, tane*; nom. def. sing. *oune, jona, tanele*; gen. *tounit, sanese, tine*; dat. the same as genitive; acc. *tunen, tancne, tanele*; voc. the same as nominative; abl. *prei sounit, prei sanc*

* It must be remembered, that the Italian *j* is pronounced like *y*.

or *sonc*, *prei sine*. In the plural, *tane* masculine, and *tona* feminine, are declined like adjectives: there is no neuter plural.

Onj, *yours*; nom. sing. *onj*, *tuej*, *tai*; nom. def. *onij*, *tueja*, *tatt*; gen. *tonit*, *ssuej*, *tonit*; dat. the same as genitive; acc. *taina*, *taine*, *tattne*; abl. *prei souit*, *prei sole*, *prei son*; plu. nom. *ait*, *tnei*; nom. def. *taite*, *tnoit*; gen. *tooniet*, *tuivret*; dat. the same as genitive; accus. *taite*, *tnoit*; ablat. *prei setonescit*, *prei sesnase*. The neuter the same as the feminine. The pronouns demonstrative *kou*: this—is thus declined: Nom. *kou*, *kio*, *keta*; gen. *ketij*, *kessai*, *ketij*; dat. the same as genitive; acc. *kète*, *kètè*, *ketà*; ablat. *prei kessi*, *prri kessoie*, *prei kessi*; nom. plu. *ketà*, *ketò*, these; gen. *ketounc*, *ketounc*; dat. the same; acc. *keta*, *ketò*; abl. *prei kessise*, *prei kessose*. The neuter the same as the feminine.

Ai or *aou*, that—is declined exactly the same as *kou*. These two pronouns are declined with substantives, but the ablative case is then made *kesso* and *asso* in both numbers. *Juctimi* or *jouctemi* alone, and *tirter*, another, are declined like adjectives, as also is *isil*, such. *Nìlogn*, or *ndonagni*, some one, is irregular in the neuter gender and the plural number.

Nom. *ndogn*, *ndogne*, or *ndogno*, *ndogne*; gen. *ndognamij*, *ndognesc*, *ndognai*; dat. the same; acc. *ndognunin*, *ndognane*, *ndogne*; abl. *prei ndonagnit*, *prei ndogne*; nom. plu. *dissa*, *dissa*; gen. *dissavet*, *dissave*; dat. the same; acc. *dissa*, *dissa*; abl. *prei dissu*, *prei dissu*: neuter the same as feminine.

Numerals.

Gni, one, declined.

Nom. *gni*, *gniani*, *gni*; gen. *gnanit*, *gnianese*, *tegnai*; dat. the same; acc. *gnanin*, *gnomene*, *gni* or *gnia*; abl. *prei gnait*, *prei gnanet*, *prei gni*.

Nota.—Che non ha plurale: per cagione, che uno di sua natura è singulare. F. M. da Lecce.

Dou, two, declined: the same in all genders.

Nom. *dou*; gen. *douue*; dat. the same; acc. *dou*; abl. *prei dououse*.

Trè, three, makes *tri* in the feminine and neuter, and is not declined, except with *prei*, the sign of the ablative case. "One of the two men," is *iddouti*; one of the two women, *eddoute*; and the two vowels are applicable in the same manner to the other numbers. *Pari*, the first, with its feminine *pàra*; *douti*, the second, and the feminine *douta*, are declined like substantives.

The Verbs.

It would exceed my limits to give any thing more than a short sketch of the verbs, of which the grammar treats at great length. There are ten conjugations of regular verbs. Those of the first conjugation have their infinitive in *uam*, the indicative in *ogn*, the past tense in *ovu*, *mekenducm*, to sing; *kendogn*, *kendova*.

2. Conjug. infin. *onem*; pres. indic. *egn*; past, *eva*, *me scerboucm*, to serve, *scerbegn*, *scerbeva*.

3. Conjug. infin. *une*; pres. ind. *ign*; past, *a*, *me lidune*, to tie, *lidign*, *lida*.

4. Conjug. infin. *aam*; pres. ind. *agn* or *aign*; past, *ana*, *me baam*, to do, *bagn*, *banu*.

5. Conjug. infin. *re*; pres. indic. *r*; past, *a*, *me marre*, to take, *mar*, *muora*.

6. Conjug. infin. *e*; pres. indic. *el*; past, *a*, *me celle*, to open, *celle cel*, *la*.

7. Conjug. infin. *im*; pres. indic. *i* or *ign*; past, *va*, *me pïim*, to drink, *pi*, or *pign*, *piva*.

8. Conjug. infin. *um*; pres. indic. *e*; past, *una*, *me vum*, to put, *ve*, *tuna*.

9. Conjug. infin. *em*; pres. indic. *egn* or *ign*; past, *eva*,—*kien*, to drink, *kiegn*, *kieva*.

10. Conjug. infin. *anc*; pres. indic. *a*; past, *a*—*me ngrane*, to eat, *ha*, *hangra*.

I have made two or three alterations from the book before me, as the examples were such as to show that the rules were ill-constructed, and the reader may observe that the above division might be simplified and otherwise improved.

The verbs active are conjugated with the auxiliary verb *me passunc*, to have, whose tenses are as follows:

Pres. indic. *une kam*, I have; *ti kee*, *ai ka*, *na kcmi*, we have; *yu kini*, *atù kàne*.

Past imp. *une kesc*, I did have; *ti kiscgnie*, *ai kiset*, *na kiscgnime*, we did have; *yu kiscgite*, *ata kiscgine*.

Perf. past, *unc pacc*, or *puccia*, I had; *ti patte*, *ai pat*, *na patme*, or *pame*, we had; *yu pute*, *ata patne* or *pane*—I have had, is made by adding *passunc* to the pres. indic.; and, I had had, by adding the same to the past tense.

The future is formed by adding *me passune* to the pres. indic. as *une kam me passune*, I will have, or I am to have.

Fut. condit. *nde puccia*, if I may or shall have; *nde pace*, *nde past*, *nde paccim*, if we may, &c. *nde pacci*, *nde paccin*.

Pres. imper. *ki ti*, have thou; *keet ai*, let him have; *kemi na*, have we; *kini yu*, *kene ata*.

The Italian future imperative is formed by putting *me passune* between the verb and pronoun of the indicative present, as *ke me passune ti*.

The optative present and imperfect is formed by adding *scen te* or *scen te*, to the past imperfect indic. as *scen*, or *scen te kesc*, that I might, or, I would have.

The optative past imperfect is the same as the future condit. present, with the pronoun subjoined, and the *nde* taken away, as *puccia une*, that I may have at some time.

The optative past perfect, *scen te k'em passune*, *k'esc*, *k'et*, *kemi*, *keni*, *kenc*.

The optative preter-plu-perfect the same as the present optative, with the addition of *passune*.

The optative future, the same as the optative past perfect without the *passune*.

The conjunctive present, *chi une te k'em*, the same as the *k'em* in the optative present perfect.

The conjunctive past imperfect, *chi une te kesc*, the same as the *kesc* in the optative present and imperfect.

The conjunctive perfect past, *chi une ti k'em passune*, the same as the conjunctive present.

The gerunds, *une tue passune*, I having; *une tue pas passune*, I having had; *chi une te kesc passune*, makes the Italian *conciusiache io havessi avuto*, and *une ndè pas kesc passune*, make *se io havessi avuto*—*cur te k'em*, when I shall have, *cur te k'esc*, &c. *cur te k'em passune*; when I shall have had, &c. *nde puccia passune*, If I shall have had.

Infinitive present and imperfect, *me passune*, to have.

Perfect, *me passune passune*, to have had; *kam per te passune*, I am to have, *ke per te passune*, &c.

Participle, *passes*, or *I passune*, or *i passune*, has, or he or she who has.

Supine, *passune*, had.

Me kenduem, to sing, is thus conjugated.

Present tense, *une kendogn*, I sing; *ti kendòn*, *ai kendon*, *na kendojenti*, we sing, *yu kendòne*, *ata kendòine*.

Imperfect, *une kendògnete*, I did sing; *ti kendognie*, *ai kendònt*, *na kendògneme*, we did sing; *yu kendògnite*, *ata kendògnine*.

Past, *une kendòra*, I sang; *ti kendòre*, *ai kendoì*, *na kendùeme*, we sang; *yu kendùete*, *ata kendùene*.

Past perfect, *une kam kendùem*, I have sung, &c.

Plus.-quam.-perfect, *une pace kendùem*, I had sung.

Future, *une kam me kenduem*, I will, or I am to sing.

Future conditional, *ndè kendofscia*, if I shall sing; *nde kendòfsc*, *nde kendofst*, *nde kendofscim*, if we shall sing; *nde kendofsci*, *nde kendofscin*.

Imperative present, *kendon ti?* sing thou, same as indicative present.

Imperative future, *kè me kendùem ti*, in Italian, canterai tu—*ka me kenduem*, &c.

Optative present and imperative, *scèi te kendògnete*, would that I might sing; *seri te kendognie*, &c.

Past perfect, *scèi te kèem kendùem*, would that I had sung; *scèi te kesc kendùem*.

Preter pluperfect, *scèi te kesc kendùem*, would that I should have sung; *scèi te kiscgnie kendùem*.

Optative future, *scèi te kendogn*, *dio voglia che io canti*, *scèi te kendoisc*, and the same as the present indic.

Conjunctive, *chi une te kendogn conciosiache io canti*, and the same as the optative future.

Gerund, *une tue kenduem*, I singing.

Past imperfect conjunctive, *chi une te kendognete conciosiache io cantassi*, or *canterei*.

Imperfect conditional, *une me kenduem*, if I might sing; *ti me kenduem*, *ai me kenduem*, *na me kendùem*, *yu me kendnem*, *ata me kendùem*.

Past perfect, *chi une te kèem kendùem conciosiache io habbiu cantato*, &c.

Gerund, *une tue passùne kendùem*, I having sung, declined with *ti*, *ai*, *na*, *yu*, *ata*.

Pluperfect, *chi une te kèsch kendùem*, *conciosiache io havessi cantato*, &c.

Pluperfect conditional, *une nde par kesé kendùem*, if I should have sung, &c.; or, *une me passùne kendùem*.

Future conditional, *nde pacciu kendùem*, if I shall have sung, *nde pacc.* &c.; or *cuc te kendagn*, when I shall sing; and *cuc te kèn m kendùem*, when I shall have sung.

Infinitive, *me kendùem*, to sing; *me passuue kendùem*, to have sung; *per te kendùem*, to be about to sing.

Participles. *Kaughessi*, he who sings; *kendùem*, sung.

The Second Conjugation.

Me scerbouem, to serve, is formed in every respect like *me kendùem*, to sing; and the only simple tenses which are not composed by the help of the auxiliary verb, are the indic. pres. *scerbegu*, I serve; the imperfect, *scèrbèguete*, I did serve; the past, *scèrbèta*, I served; the future conditional, *nde scerbescia*, if I shall serve. By compounding these tenses according to the rule of the former verb, it will be easy to form the other tenses of *me scerbouem*.

The Third Conjugation.

Me lidunc, to tie, is subject to the same rule* as the preceding verb; the indicative present, is *lidigu*, I tie; imperf. *lidignete*, I did tie; *lida*, I tied; fut. condit. *nde lidciu*, if I shall tie; the present imperative is, however, *lid ti*, tie thou.

But the grammar gives examples of verbs belonging to this conjugation, which are irregular in the indicative present, although their infinitives are in *unc*, and their part tenses in *a*.

Me buitunc, to lodge, makes *unc bùgn*, I lodge; *bùgnete*, I did lodge; *buita*, I lodged; *nde buiscia*, if I shall lodge; *bay ti*, lodge thou.

Me prèkunc, to take or touch, makes *unc perkas*, I touch; *perkisgnete*, I did touch; *prèka*, I touched; *nde prèksca*, if I shall touch; *prèk ti*, touch thou.

Me pouètnue, to demand; *unc poues*, I demand; *puesgnete*, I did demand; *poueta*, I demanded; *nde poueccia*, if I shall demand; *pouet ti*, demand thou.

Me paditunc, to accuse; *unc padis*, I accuse (*ti paditen*, thou accusest) *padignete*, I did accuse; *padita*, I accused; *nde padicriú*, if I shall accuse; *padite ti*, accuse thou.

Me dùsciunc, to love or will; *unc duc*, I love; *dògnete*, I did love; *descia*, I loved; *nde daccia*, if I shall love; *dùci ti*, love thou.

Me ndègune, to sit; *une ri*, I sit; *ri gnète*, I did sit; *ndègniù*, I sat; *nde ndègnscia*, if I shall sit; *ri ti*, sit thou.

Me mbàitune, to hold; *une mbà*, I hold; *mbàignète*, I did hold; *mbàita*, I held; *nde mbaicia*, if I shall hold; *mba ti*, hold thou.

Me mpoutune, to suffocate; *une mpous*, I suffocate; *mpousgnète*, I did suffocate; *mpouta*, I suffocated; *nde mpouscia*, if I shall suffocate; *mpououete ti*, suffocate thou.

Me britune, to gnaw; *une brè*, I gnaw; *brègnète*, I did gnaw; *brita*, I gnawed; *nde britscia*, if I shall gnaw; *bry ti*, gnaw thou.

Me brittune to bray; *une britas*, I bray; *brittasgnète*, I did bray; *brittu*, I brayed; *nde brittescia*, if I shall bray; *britt ti*, bray thou.

Me ardzunc, to come; *unc rign*, I come; *vìgnète*, I did come; *ersc*, I came*; *nd' arscia*, if I shall come; *eiu ti*, come thou; the tenses of this verb are some of them formed by the auxiliary verb *me kiene*, to be.

Me votune, to go; *une vete*, I go; *vègnète*, I did go; *voita*, I went; *nde ròfsscia*, if I shall go; (*nde vofsc*, *nde vofst*); *vè ti*, go thou; also partly compounded of *me kiene*, to be.

Me mbètune, to remain; *unc jès*, I remain; *jèsgnète*, I did remain; *mbèci*, I remained; *nde mbèccia*, if I shall remain; *itt ti*, remain thou.

In like manner, *me bdècune*, to die, make *une bdes*, I die, &c.

By some accident, the Padre then conjugates in part for the second time, *me prèkune*, to take, and *me ndgeniune*, to sit; but as he himself says, *besides the tediousness of the work, it would require a world of paper to go through the whole of his detail†.*

The Fourth Conjugation, Inf. àam.

Me bàam, to do; *une bagn*, I do; *bagnète*, I did do; *baxa*, I did; *mbàfs-cia*, if I shall do; *banti*, do thou.

Me dàam, to divide, the same as the last verb, except that the indic. pres. is *daign*.

The tenses of these verbs are formed in the same manner as those of the first conjugation, but there are three examples of irregular verbs, which are,

* The author has forgotten, that his anomalous verbs of the third conjugation have their past tenses in *a*.

† Oltre il tedio vi vorrebbe ancora un mondo di carta, p. 130.

Me nuràam, to slay; *une nuràs*, I slay; *nurìsgnete*, I did slay; *muraca*, I slew; *nle nurafscia*, if I shall slay; *nucac ti*, slay thou.

Me rùam, to fall; *une byc*, I fall; *bygnete*, I did fall; *rac*, I fell; *nle rafscia*, if I shall fall; *by ti*, fall thou.

Me pàam, to see; *une sciòff*, I see; *sciòsgnete*, I did see; *pad*, I saw; *nle pascia*, if I shall see; *sciòff ti*, see thou.

The Fifth Conjugation, Infin. r.

Me bdiërre, to loose; *une bdièr*, I loose; *bdièrgnete*, I did loose; *lòbra*, I lost; *nle bdièrscia*, if I shall loose; *bdyre ti*, loose thou.

The Sixth Conjugation, Infin. le.

Me celè, to open; *une cèl*, I open; *cèlgnete*, I did open; *cilu*, I opened; *nle cilscia*, if I shall open; *cèl*, or *cèl ti*, open thou.

Me folc, to speak (irregular); *une flas*, I speak; *flisgnete*, I did speak; *fola*, I spoke; *nle fòlscia*, if I shall speak; *fòl ti*, speak thou.

Seventh Conjugation, Infin. ijm.

Me hìim, to enter; *une hìign*, I enter; *hìignete*, I did enter; *hìina*, I entered; *nle hìifscia*, if I shall enter; *hìim ti*, enter thou.

Eighth Conjugation, Infin. àum.

Me vàm, to put; *une tèe*, I put; *tègnete*, I did put; *vàna*, I put; *nle vufscia*, if I shall put; *tèe ti*, put thou.

Ninth Conjugation, Infin. jem.

Me kùem, to drink; *une kùegn*, I drink; *kùignete*, I did drink; *kùeva*, I drank; *nle kùiefscia*, if I shall drink; *kùiei ti*, drink thou.

Tenth Conjugation, Infin. ane.

Me ngranc, to eat; *une hà*, I eat; *hàgnete*, I did eat; *hàngru*, I ate; *nle hàngriscia*, if I shall eat; *hà ti*, eat thou.

Me zane, to learn; *une zàa*, I learn; *zignete*, I did learn; *zuna*, I learnt; *nle zància*, if I shall learn; *zec ti*, learn thou.

Under this head the grammar includes *me Òauc*, to say; *une Òòm*, I say (*ti Òue*, *ai Òot*); *Òòsgnete*, I did say; *Òàsc*, I said; *nle Òàscia*, if I shall say; *Òùc ti*, say thou.

On the mountains of Scutari, they say *me* ③àsciunc, instead of *me* ③àne.

Me prèem, to cut off; *une* perès, I cut; *perisgnete*, I did cut; *pèreva*, I cut; *nle* pcrefscia, if I shall cut; *perè ti*, cut thou.

Me blèem, to buy; *une* blèe, I buy; *blignete*, I did buy; *blèva*, I bought; *nde* blèfscia, if I shall buy, *bli ti*, buy thou.

Verbs Passive.

The verbs passive are conjugated by the assistance of *me kiene*, to be, which is thus formed.

Indicative Present.

Une jam (or *yum*), I am; *ti jèc*, *ai asct*, *uà jèmi*, *ja jni*, *atà jànc*.

Une jèscete, I was once; *ti isegnìe*, *ai iscte*, *nà isegnime*, *ju isegnite*, *atà isegnine*.

Une kiese, I was; *ti kiè*, *ai kiè*, *nà kième*, *jà kiète*, *atà kiène*.

Une kàm kiene, I have been; or *jam kiene*, *ti jèr kiene*, *ai asct kiene*, &c.

Une pùcc kiene, I had been; *ti pàtte kiene*, *ai patt kiene* (see verb *me passune*, to have).

Une kàm me kiene, I will be; *ti ke me kiene*, &c. &c.

Une nde kiofscia, I, if I shall be; *nde kiöfsc*, *nle kiöst*, *nde kiöfscim*, *nle kiöfsci*, *nle kiöfsein*.

Ji ti, be thou; *jète ai*, *jèmi nà*, *jani jà*, *jànc atà*.

Kè me kiene ti, be thou shalt; *ka me kiene ai*, &c. (see verb *me passune*).

Scèi te jèscete, that I may be; *scèi te isegnìe*, *scèi te iscte*, *scèi te isegnime*, *scèi te isegnite*, *scèi te isegnine*.

Kiofscia une, let me be; *kiofsc ti*, &c.

Scèi te kèem kiene, that I may have been; *scèi te kèesse kiene*, &c.

Scèi te kescete kiene, if I might have been; *scèi te kiscegnìe kiene*, *scèi te kisèt kiene*, *scèi te kiscignime kiene*, *scèi te kiscegnite kiene*, *scèi te kiscegnìe kiene*.

Scèi te jèem, that I may be about to be; *scèi te jèsee*, *scèi te jete*, *scèi te jèmi*, *scèi te inì*, *scèi te jènc*.

Chi une te jèem, would then that I might be; (conciosiache io sia), *chi ti te jèsee*, &c.

Une tue kiene, I being; declined *ti tue kiene*, &c.

Chi une te jèscete, (conciosiache io fossi), *chi ti te isegnìe*, &c.

Une me kiene, if I might be, &c.

Chi une te jèem, or *te kèem kiène* (conciosia che io sia stato), *chi ti te jèsc kiene*, *chi ài te jète kiene*, &c.

Une tue passune kiene, I having been, declined with *ti*, *ai*, *nà*, &c.

Chi une te kèscete kiene, would then that I might or should have been; (*conoscia che io fossi, e, sarei stato*), &c.

Nde pas kescete kiene, if I might have been, &c. *une me pàssune kiene*.

Cur te jèem, when I shall be; *cur te jèsce*, &c.

Cur te kèem kiene, when I shall have been, &c.

Nde pàccia kiene, or *nde kiofschia kiene*, if I shall have been.

Me kiene, to be; *me kiene kiene*, to have been.

Une kàm per te kiene, I am about to be, &c.

Me kiene, of being, and, to being; *tue kiene*, being; *tue kiene kiene*, having been.

Kiene, been, and sometimes *kiennunc*.

To form the passive verb, it is only necessary to add the participle to the tenses of the verb *me kiene*, to be; as *unc jam dàsciune*, I am loved, &c. The active participles are formed by changing the last letter of the infinitive mood into *esi*, and taking away the first syllable, as *me sckrùem*, to write, particip. *sckrùesi*, writing; except the verbs of the third conjugation, which change the last three letters of the infinitive into *esi*, as *me lidunc*, to tie; *lidesi*, tying; feminine *ledese*.

The passive participles are formed by taking away the first syllable from the infinitive, and adding an *i* both to the beginning and end of the word, as *meu lezùem*, to be read; *i lezuemi*, read; feminine *e lezueme*. The participles active are declined like nouns substantive, the participles passive like nouns adjective.

The grammar gives some examples of reflexive verbs, or verbs passive intransitive, of which the infinitive is formed, by adding *u* to the *me* prefixed to the infinitive of verbs active, as *me bàam*, to do; *meu bàam*, to be done oneself. The indicative present is formed by adding *em* to the imperative active, or taking away the last letter from that tense, and adding *hem*, as *ban ti*, do thou; *une bànem*, or *bahem*, I do myself.

Bànem or *bahem*, I do myself.

Unc bànem, *ti bane*, *ai banet*, *na bàncme*, *ju bàni*, *atà banen*.

Une banesc, I did do myself; *ti bàascgnie*, *ai bàncchi*, *nà banseim*, *ju bàncsite*, *atà bàanscine*.

Une a bàasc, I did myself; *ti u bàane*, *ai u baa*, *na u bàame*, *ju u bàute*, *atà u bàane*.

Une jam bàam, I am done, &c. &c.

Une kàm meu bàam, I was done, &c.

Nd'u bàafscia, if I shall do myself; *nd'u bàfsc*, *nd'u bàft*, *nd'u bàfscin*, *ndu bàfsci*, *nl'u bàfscin*.

Bàanu ti, do thou thyself; *banet oi*, *bàncmì nà*, *bànni ju*, *bàncn atà*.

Meu, or *me u bàam*, to do oneself; *me kienè bàam*, to be done oneself; *me kienè kienè bàam*, to have been done oneself; *per tì bàam*, by doing oneself.

Impersonal verbs are also in use in the Albanian language, and are composed of the third persons of the tenses which would belong to the verbs if they were active or reflective.

Me rescinnè, to snow, makes *rêscen*, it snows; *rêscut*, it did snow; *rêsci*, it snows.

Me roam scie, to rain; *biè scii*, it rains; *bytè scii*, it did rain; *ràa scii*, it rained.

Me bumbulriem, to thunder; *bumbulòn*, it thunders; *bumbulòi*, it did thunder.

Me pelchionem, to please; *mi pèlchièn*, it pleases me; *ti pelchièn*, it pleases thee; and so on with all the pronouns—*me pelcienè*, it did please me, &c.

Me dimbtionè, to grieve; *mi dembet*, it grieves me; *mi dimbtè*, it did grieve me, &c.

Meu dàsciunè, to be needful; *duhèt*, it ought; *duèhite*, it was needful, &c.

Me à dùkunc, to seem, to appear; *mi dùket*, it appears to me; *mi dùkchi*, it did appear to me; *m'ù duk*, or *m'ù dukti*, it appeared to me, besides, *banet*, it is made, and several other verbs.

The grammar in the next place considers the particles, which are placed instead of pronouns, before, together with, and after the verbs. The examples given, are,

Mi die v. s. illustrissima una lettera.

Midua dzottinìa jote e ndricine gni lèttrè.

Ti hò tante volte ordinato di parlar poco.

Ti kam kach herë urdenùm ne fole pak.

Ne diè in quel giorno quaranta sferzate.

Nà dàu nd'at ditte kàttre dseth te ruamet.

Ci disse: dover passare di là dal mare.

Ne Qà per l'u skùm per te detit.

Vi piacque, o signori, ascoltarci.

V. pelchicu, o dzottinù jue nà ndlèm.

Gli portò un canestrino di frutti dal suo giardino.

I peruni gni setporttedze pemese preci bacit se vete.

Lì venne in pensiero di partirsi.

Jràa nde mend me sekùm.

Dacci fratello il tuo cavallo migliore.

Epuu V'clàa kaalve tande mau temir.

Per unirlo alla cavalleria del rè.

Me e mi àskùm mbe lueriise regit.

Davòvene un' altro più ornato per il papa.

Kam me jù dane gni tieter màa stolissune per pàpene.

Guardatevi però di manifestare, che sia il mio.

Ruchii prò me kaledzùm, se aset emi.

Guardici Dio, di no ubbidirti.

Riditua Hony, mos me te ndiguem.

Se ne vadino dunque con Dio.

Sekòni prà me tenedzòne, or te sekòine prà me Hony.

The *te* in the two last examples seems to be that which, in the Albanian of Attica, is generally the sign of the infinitive mood.

Prepositions.

Nde, in, with a nominative case; *ndai*, near, with nom. and acc.; *perpàra*, before; dat. *cundra*, against; dat. *ze*, or *kete*, from this side; acc. *Re*⊙, *perchiarch*, about; dat. *preci*, towards; nom. *preci*, from; ablat. *jaset*, *por*, besides; dat. *nder*, amongst, between; acc. *ndine*, under; dat. and nom. *per*, through, or for; acc. *affer*, near; dat. ablat. *seciandrese*, according; dat. *per te*, or *te*, beyond; acc. *per mbi*, or *mbi*, above; nom. acc. *ndier*, up to; nom. and dat. *me*, with; acc. *pàa*, without; acc. *mbe*, in, and to; acc. and nom. *tek*, or *te*, from; nom. *m*, from, ablat. and acc. as *aset m' juse*, it is from you; *u* from, ablat. as *ntcje*, from thee. *Pò* and *a* are called by the Padre verbal prepositions; the first of which is used with the present and imperfect tenses of the indicative mood, as *po tign*, I come, or *cise pò bân dzotti*, what does the master? and the second serves for all the tenses of the indicative mood, as a sign of interrogation, as *eh Frank à pò tien Marku*? Here, Frank, is Mark coming?

Adverbs.

Sod, today; *dic*, yesterday; *nde minghies*, this morning; *mbramene*, this evening; *sonde*, this night; *nèssere*, tomorrow; *nessere heret*, tomorrow

morning; *mbas nêssere*, the day after tomorrow; *te nêssere*, two days after tomorrow; *pora die*, the other day; *nde kete ciàs*, at this instant; *nde kèle sahat*, or *nde kèle ore*, or *nde kèle kohe*, at this hour; *tasc*, or *taseti*, now; *pak here*, a little ago; *ndogn here*, one time; *here here*, sometimes; *gi@here*, always, every time; *as gni here*, no time; *caur*, or *ascuur*, never; *heret*, in good time; *voue*, late; *prei mies ditte*, near mid-day; *prei mbrane*, about the evening; *nde mies ditte*, at mid-day; *ndier se*, until; *dissa here*, at some time; *at here*, immediately; *perpara*, before; *bassandai*, for the future; *parandài*, for the past; *sin viett*, the past year; *para viett*, the year beyond; *mott motti*, from time to time.

The reader will have observed, that the greater part of the above adverbs are in fact only nouns with the preposition prefixed.

Adverbs of Place.

Ketu, here; *kakà*, there; *etie* or *aton*, beyond; *kendi*, from there; *andir*, from beyond; *per te @ouer*, across; *per brignete*, by the side; *ku*, where; *termal*, upon; *siperi*, above; *màa valt*, more above; *ndène*, beneath; *poset*, below; *màa nk@ell*, lower; *ketu pari*, from here beyond; *kessainde*, from there beyond; *aton pari*, thither beyond; *assaide*, beyond farther; *mbrend*, within; *iaset*, without; *vend*, this place; *vendassit*, from this place.

Adverbs of Quality.

Mire, well; *keceh*, badly; *mirefil*, truly; *ditscim*, learnedly; *marriset*, ignorantly; *hiescim*, lightly; *hiaure*, beautifully; *fortscim*, strongly; *triminiscit*, bravely; *urtiset*, prudently; *diekecehist*, cunningly; *cussariset*, like a robber; *tinedze*, secretly; *vdob*, or *kolai*, easily; *fuctire*, difficultly; *lumscim*, happily; *diemeniset*, devilishly; *parapscte*, on the reverse; *mpare*, to the right; *fratiniset*, brotherly; *priftiniscit*, priestly; *buiariset*, nobly; *dzot-tiniset*, gentlemanly; *Talianiset*, or *Latiniset*, Italian-like; *Arbeniset*, Albanian-like; *Turchiset*, Turk-like; *giauriset*, foreignly; *mbale faccie*, covertly; *fsechas*, hiddenly; *katundsiset*, rustically; *keceh*, worse.

Adverbs of Quantity.

Scium, much; *schimb* or *sciùm*, very much; *tèpere*, too much; *pak*, little; *pakdz*, a very little; *mengù*, less; *fort*, or *fortscim*, or *màa fort*, all toge-

ther; *giatscim*, at length; *schurtscim*, shortly; *sàa*, as; *ekθscim*, deeply; *scium*, or *gni alii*, a great deal.

Adverbs of Negation.

Mò, or *mos*, or, *nuk*, or *ia*, or *s*, or *as*, not and no; *asgiad*, or *araghij*, or *asperbe*, or *aspak*, nothing, by no means, &c.

Of swearing: *per teudzouc*, by God; *per bukt*, by my bread; *per kroupt*, by my salt. *Examples*, says the good father, *which I deem sufficient, that I may not in this place give to the heedless, rules for swearing.*

Besides the above, there are other adverbs, such as *asctu*, so; *evò*, yes, yes; *burdene*, eh, eh; *dzotonu e dzuset*, please God; *paa hiir*, luckily; *postu fàt*, in spite; *per dàune*, by force; *per duàne*, for shame; *fat mirc*, good luck; *fatoss*, fortunately; *ora e dzedza*, lucky hour; *deh urò*, hold up; *me dzembre te mirc*, or *dzembre e meri*, cheerfully.

The grammar adds various exclamations, as *tindieft dzot ouni miscieriere*, God pity you; *hangrete huiku*, may the ~~wet~~ cat you; *hangrete giarpene*, may the snake bite you; *hangresc mune*, or *gni mutt*, let him eat dung; *te paccia scudose*, *zelaa*, health, brother; *te jam tràem zelaa*, I am at your feet, brother; *e bafscia Turk*, *nde mos te vrerascia*, make me a Turk if I don't kill you; *e bafscia kàur nde mos te perescia crouet*, make me an infidel if I don't cut off your head; *I kù à*, or *aset*, whose is it? *kusc a chi*, and *te kuitàiane*, whose are they? *te ziiat jane*, what are they? *cisc bau*, what does he do? *cisc dochc*, what does he want? *perse erdi*, why does he come? *bau asctu*, do so; *mas ez àtiò*, away from there; *cia ketà*, come here; *ez aton*, go thither, *sekaθò*, quickly; *per te cpeit*, at once; *morente*, speedily; *tue e lesciùem*, with all haste; *ez si te pèchien*, go where you please; *do ferk do kaadal*, fast or slow; *urdenò dzot*, at your will, Sir; *leppe suddan*, command me, Sir; *bùrdene*, willingly; *per te θàcr*, by the contrary; *kà gnià kà gnià*, one by one; *ingrat*, or *imieri*, or *I paa fut*, or *imierki*, miserable wretch; *I uobek*, or *I vorfeni*, or *I paa gicia*, poor fellow; *I paa printe*, *I paa veludzouc*, without parents, without brothers; *zitto*, silence; *mos ban zàa*, don't make a noise; *cintrò* or *durò*, stop; *mos schruè màa kessosc*, write no more about it.

The interjections are as follows: *I paa scirch*, peerless; *i lumi un per touou*, happy I through thee; *epòr*, *haidc*, *hiechui*, *piec*, way; *zeme sod*, alas; *afferim*, *brè*, *brè*, give me joy; *hè hè keech per mùè*, bad for me; *ecch i m di dzot*,

oh great Lord; *hñai*, *lhai*, *laabdia*, adverb of wonder; *huv*, *keechiaan*, of contempt; *hei*, *sod*, *e sod*, of fear; *imieri*, *i miezkil*, miserable, unlucky, I; *trettu*, off, off; *huide drech*, go to the devil.

The Conjunctions.

Do, or; *mos*, or *io*, not; *unc*, I also; *praa*, then; *perse*, because; *per atà*, for that; *prasctu*, for this; *prò*, however; *nde*, if; *nde mos*, if not; *tasci*, now; *ndere*, whilst; *io menguas*, never the less; *giau mengu*, by no means the less. *E* is a kind of explicative, which has the meaning of "and," as *e ascctu dzotti em*, and so my Lord.

The grammar, in the next place, makes some observations on the concords.

Several nouns singular require a verb plural, as *ketu ianc prifti*, *e frati*, here are the priests and brothers.

Nouns governed by *ver*, *active*, are put in the accusative case, as *pò ju lutem me lutine tenedzone* *Her mite*, I intreat you to pray to the Lord for me.

Adjectives, pronouns, and participles, agree with their respective nouns substantive in gender, number, and case.

When one substantive follows another, the second of the two is in the genitive case, and if the first is masculine, an *i* is inserted between the two nouns; if feminine, an *e*, as *kaali i Pietrit*, the horse of Peter; and *scetepia e Pietrit*, the house of Peter.

In the plural, all the genders admit the letter *e*, as *kualte e Pietrit*, the horses of Peter; and *scetepijte e Pietrit*, the houses of Peter.

In the instance of staying in a place, going to, and passing through a place, it seems, *te* is put instead of *e* in the singular number, as *ri nde scetepij te Pietrit*, I stand in the house of Peter, &c. and when the first noun is in the plural number, or both nouns are in the plural number, there is no intermediate syllable; but when the first is singular and the second plural, the *te* is used. (The examples, which I do not thoroughly understand, apply to neuter nouns).

When two substantives are preceded by the prepositions *in* or *with*, the intermediate syllable will be *te*, as *nde fiji te ietese*. In the end of life; *me ndime te Tinedzot*, with the help of God.

After the preposition *to*, understood or expressed, the intermediate syllable is *e*, as *teladzenet e Pietrit*, to the brothers of Peter; and after the preposition *from*, *se* is used, as *prei scetepiet se Pietrit*, from the house of Peter.

The grammar concludes with observations on the letters of the alphabet, the comparison of adjectives, a table of the numbers, and a notice of the forms of salutation. The first detail concerns the application of the characters, and the place in which, generally speaking, they are found in the words of the language. Under the head of superlatives, partitives, and comparatives, the Padre gives the following examples, which may serve also to shew in some measure, the syntax of the sentences.

<i>Pascia asct màa i degni i gioutettese,</i>	The Pasha is the most worthy of the city.
<i>Pali ghittet s'amese,</i>	Paul is like unto his mother.
<i>I' besdissun i katundà asct Kecchiani,</i>	The fool of the town is Kecchiano.
<i>Leem per ketè pune,</i>	Born for such a work.
<i>Pa m'èppini gui tràa dièt palammese,</i>	Give me a beam of ten hands long.
<i>E due ghian gnaì pircike, dò gioums palammì.</i>	I want it half a hand broad.
<i>Ti icè mua i deliiri, se Gioni.</i>	You are more innocent than John.
<i>Scin Mihhild asct màa i fort, se Luzzi ferri.</i>	St. Michael is stronger than Lucifer.

The Numbers.

<i>Gni, or gnia</i>	1	<i>Kaa gni kaa gni</i>	One by one.
<i>Dou</i>	2	<i>Kaa diett</i>	By tens.
<i>Trè, or tri</i>	3	<i>Kaa gni cint</i>	By hundreds.
<i>Kattre</i>	4	<i>Kaa gni mije</i>	By thousands.
<i>Pèss</i>	5	<i>Gni mijvìet perpara souet</i>	A thousand years before
<i>Giasct</i>	6	<i>te linedzot iane, si gni</i>	the eyes of God, are
<i>Scatt</i>	7	<i>ditte, ki schò.</i>	as one day which is
<i>Tette</i>	8		gone by.
<i>Nand</i>	9		
<i>Diett</i>	10		
<i>Gni mbdièt</i>	11		
<i>Dou mbdièt</i>	12		
<i>Gni dzett</i>	20		
<i>Gni dzièt e gni</i> ...	21		
<i>Tri diett</i>	30		
<i>Kattre diett</i>	40		
<i>Gni cint</i>	100		
<i>Gni mije</i>	1000		
<i>Dou mije</i>	2000		

Salutations.

The Albanians have several forms of salutation: from the rising of the sun to three hours afterwards, they say, *mire nestrascia*, or *nestrascia mire*, good morning. From the third hour to mid-day, *mire minghiessi*, a form derived from the time when the shepherds make their cheese, and signifying, as it should seem, *good cheese-making to you*; a polite and intelligent mode in the intercourse of a pastoral people.

From mid-day to evening, *mire ditte*, good day.

From evening to sun-set, *mire mbe chindie*, or *mire mbrama*, good evening. From sun-set during the night, *natta e mire*, good night.

The answer to a single person is *mire se erde*, well he is come; and to more than one, *mire se vini*, well ye are come.

They have also some *sata* which have a reference to the place and situation of the person addressed. To a man in his own house they say, *mire mbe scetepij*, well at home; or *mire se v ghiecc*, well may you find yourself. To a person at work, the address is *mire mbe pune*, well at your work; or *puna e mbara*, good end to your work. When sitting, or walking in the shade, *mire mbe hic*, well in the shade; or *mire mbe cunvend*, well met. When the saluted are resting in the sun, the phrase is, *mire mbe dieli*, well in the sun.

The salutations to men of authority are, *jù ughiatt ieta sultan*, long life to you, master—*jalemi dzottinii suoci*, God save your honour. The answer to which is, *mire se vien*, *mire se vini*, or *mire se erde*, he is welcome, ye are welcome, well come back.

This abridgment of the Albanian grammar is given rather as a literary curiosity, than as a means by which the language might be attained; nevertheless the reader may have received sufficient instruction by it, to be enabled to understand the following address, which is prefixed to the work of *Da Lecce*, and which, if he considers it worth while, he may exercise his ingenuity in attempting to construe, as far as the words have occurred in the grammar, without the help of a translation.

Arbenorit.

Arbenner i dasciuni ket' gramatiken e shkruva io per dzottinii tande, ki di maa fort, e maa nk'ieet, se une: per utà Fràtini, ki viine per se largu me i à scerbouem. E persè ket nde dec te Romesc skane liàber te ghiuse sate: pune

emire asct, ki maa pare ta marrene vese kaha. Nde te pechieft hessapi i kessai
 lettre (te lutem) me fale Tinedzott, se dà mùc scendetne me inbaruem kach punne,
 nde mos paccia mire rièscpitune fialate ndliema: persè luttova, sàa mùita, me i
 vum ~~nan~~ hile, sicundrese m' i fali dzottouni, me te dzilhe pacc jeten' e giatt, e
 te pou~~du~~ene.

The only portion which I will extract of the Attic Albanian,
 are three stanzas of a song containing the exclamations of a despair-
 ing maid.

De ricksa tema kquash be gropa fargalissa
 Tete coombesema bundi tema pustròh me sissa.

If I die a virgin, bury me under your &
 When you go to your repose, I shall rest ~~in~~ beneath your bosom.

Vdekea athe me savanosna.

A pastai me metasnosa.

I am dead, and they have wrapped me in my winding sheet.
 Now it is thy sorrow for my death.

Vdekea athe de klish me kialu.

A pastai rovne te kligu.

I am dead, and they have borne me to the church-yard;
 There they have begun their lamentation.

In these verses there is a turn of thought and expression very si-
 milar, as it strikes me, to that taste which is considered the charac-
 teristic of Oriental poetry. If any one would wish to see a happy
 imitation of the same style, he will find it in a lively, and, it should
 seem, a faithful picture of the manners of a people, between whom
 and the Albanians there are many affinities. I allude to a romance
 by *Madame la Comtesse des Ursins et Rosenberg*, called *Les Mor-*
laques, printed in the year 1788, and dedicated to the Empress
 Catharine. The Morlachs are noticed in the opening of Sir G.
 Wheler's *Journey from Venice to Constantinople*.

The Albanians of Attica are no less devotedly attached to music and dancing, than their fellow countrymen of Epirus. On or about the 20th of April, the peasants flock from all the neighbouring villages to Athens, and dance round the Temple of Theseus, for the greater part of a day, which concludes with every demonstration of merriment. The vicinity of this city is on stated days crowded not only by Albanian, but other dancers; for in March, the Turkish women assemble in the groves of Angele-Kipos, and lead along a wild chorus, resembling the orgies of the Menades, during which any male intruder would assuredly be torn to pieces. The Greek women are admitted spectators of the scene, and they also have their separate sports near the fountain Callirrhoe. It would require the pen of Juvenal to describe the fatal effects of these secluded mysteries, for the rites of the *Kona Dea* were not less innocent.

I fear that the favourable opinion expressed in the course of the volume, of the females of the Levant, must be taken with some reserve, or at least that it does not entirely apply to the women of Athens. No less than four divorces took place in that city in the year 1810, on account of irregularities which, although they may perhaps be charged upon their system of manners, the men are not willing should pass without punishment. The wife of the Disdar of the Acropolis, was severely chastised by her husband, for cutting off all her hair, which was red, and highly esteemed, as too sincere a token of the same preposterous passion.

The following translation of a Romaic love-song, which is given in Dr. Pouqueville's volume on the Morea, has just been transmitted to me by my friend Lord Byron; and I have only to regret, that it did not arrive in time to be inserted in its proper place in the Appendix.

I.

Al! Love was never yet without
 The pang, the agony, the doubt,
 Which rend my heart with ceaseless sigh,
 While day and night roll darkling by.

Without one friend to hear my woe,
 I faint, I die beneath the blow.
 That Love had arrows, well I knew;
 Alas! I find them poison'd too.

3.

Birds, yet in freedom, shun the net,
 Which Love around your haunt hath set;
 Or circled by his fatal fire,
 Your hearts shall burn, and all hopes expire.

4.

A bird of free and careless wing
 Was I, through many a smiling spring;
 But caught within the subtle snare,
 I burn, and feebly flutter there.

5.

Who ne'er have loved, and loved in vain,
 Can neither feel, nor pity pain—
 The cold repulse—the look askance—
 The lightning of Love's angry glance.

6.

In flattering dreams I deemed thee mine;
 Now hope, and he who hoped, decline;
 Like melting wax, or withering flower,
 I feel my passion, and thy power.

7.

My light of life! ah, tell me why
That pouting lip, and altered eye?
My bird of love! my beauteous mate!
And art thou changed, and can'st thou late

8.

Mine eyes like wint'ry streams o'erflow:
What wretch with me would barter woe?
My bird! relent: one note could give
A charm, to bid thy lover live.

9.

My curdling blood, my madd'ning brain,
In silent anguish I sustain;
And still the heart, without partaking
One pang, extant—while mine is breaking.

10.

Pour me the poison; fear not thou!
Thou can'st not murder more than now:
I've lived to curse my natal day,
And Love, that thus can lingering slay.

11.

My wounded soul, my bleeding breast,
Can patience preach thee into rest?
Alas! too late, I dearly know,
That joy is harbinger of woe.

Simile of a Letter from Ali Pasha of Albania.



As it must appear almost impossible to read the bad writing of the fac-simile, which, however, is not at all more difficult than the common running hand of the modern Greeks, the letter is given in the usual character, each line corresponding with the original, and preserving all its imperfections.

[illegible]

Λαπαγμένε μη Γιακούπεγι Αλιπεγι και ἄλλοις ἀπο-
τους μπηλημπασαδες μη ευρισκεται ἐν τῷ Βραχωρ, μετα-
τον χαιρετισμον μη σας φανερωνω. ὅτι τούτοι οἱ δυο
μιλορδὸι Ἰγκλήζοι Φιλοιμας· ερχονται αὐτὴ δια-
να περασῃ εἰς Μησσολογγι να τους δεχθῇτε μὲ-
κάθε ικραμι και περισκιποιν, και να τους δωσῇτε
ἀνθρωπους αρκετας δια φυλαξεν εἰς τὸν ὁρομον
εἰς εἰς τὸ Μησσολογγι και να μὴν ἀφῇσατε να δοκιμα-
σῃ καμμιαν δυσκολιαν ἐξ ἀπαντος.

1809

οκτομβ

10

Τηλελειτουργία.

στον αγαπητόν μη Ηλασμπέγι Γιακού
 πέγι και βεκιλίζ τε χασνατάρι
 Γιουσφ αγα.

ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

εις Βραχωρ

Translated into English, as near as I can understand it, the letter is as follows; the crossed lines at the top being apparently a postscript.

Jacob Bey you must
send together with them
your brother; the
Director of the treasury
Joseph Aga even without him,
must go with them
as far as Messalonge
without fail.

My beloved ~~Jace~~ Bey Ali Bey and whichever of my Bolu-bash es is to be found at Vrachore, after my salutation, I make known to you that these two English Gentlemen ~~my~~ friends, come hither in order to go to Messalonge. Do you receive them with every respect and attention, and give them men sufficient to guard them on their way as far as Messalonge, and do not let them meet with any difficulty at all.

1809

October

10

TEPELTES (the Secretary's name).

(The direction at the back of the letter).

**To my beloved Elias Bey Jacob
Bey and the director of the treasury
Joseph Aga Health**

Health
Vrathore.

* The usual appellation of every English traveller in the Levant, of whatever rank, is *Μιχαηλός*, the word used in the original of this letter.

The opposite Fac-simile is given as a specimen of writing from the pen of a more careful scribe.

THE END.



AN ALBANIAN.

London, Published by James Cawthorn, 24, Cookspur Street, 1812.

LETTERS FROM ALBANIA,

§c. §c.

LETTER I.

Departure from Malta—Approach to the Gulf of Lepanto, and to Patrass—Passage between the Islands Cefulonia, Ithaca, and Santa Maura, to Prevesa.

SIR,

MY Friend and myself, after a stay of three weeks at Malta, and after many hesitations whether we should bend our steps towards Smyrna or some port of European Turkey, were at last determined in favour of the latter, by one of those accidents which often, in spite of preconcerted schemes, decide the conduct of travellers.—A brig of war was ordered to convoy about fifty sail of small merchantmen to Patrass, the chief port on the western side of the Morea, and to Prevesa, a town on the coast of Albania. The Governor of Malta was so obliging as to provide us with a passage in this ship to the latter place, whence we resolved to commence our Tour.

On Tuesday Sept. the 19th, 1809, we left Malta, and on the following Saturday, at nine o'clock in the morning, we were in the channel between Cefalonia and Zante, and at this time also had our first view of Greece. You will forgive me for being thus particular in my dates, as also for every other kind of necessary egotism. The scene before us made a considerable impression. I could not fail to note every particular of the time, place, and circumstances of such a first view, and I may be perhaps excusable in endeavouring to communicate them to you.

Cefalonia appeared a chain of high rocks to the north, with a few villages scattered at their feet, and presented a prospect of universal barrenness. Zante was a low land to the south. Before us, to the east, were the high mountains of Albania and of the Morea, from which also projected towards us a long narrow neck of very low land, at the extremity of which were to be seen the remains of a fort called, as we were informed, Castel-Tornese.

We had not much wind, and were obliged also to wait for the slow sailers of our convoy, so that it was not until seven o'clock in the evening that we were near enough to see Ithaca, called now Theaki, which then seemed a low land with two small hills to the north-east of Cefalonia. At seven o'clock the next morning we were in sight of the opening of the gulf of Lepanto, and not far from the small islands called Curzolari, near which, and not in the Gulf itself, the battle of Lepanto was fought. The scenery which at this moment presented itself to us, was peculiarly agreeable to our eyes, which had been so long fatigued with the white waste of Malta. To the south, not far from us, were low lands running out into the sea, covered with currant trees of the most lively green; before us were hills crowned to their sum-

mits with wood, and on every other side, except at the opening by which we had come ~~into~~ to this great bay, were rugged mountains of every shape. We were shown the situation of Patrass, but did not advance sufficiently before dark to see the town itself that evening. The following night, the whole of the next day, and the night after, I employed myself in cruising about the mouth of the bay in a boat; but on the 26th, at seven in the morning, was again on board of the brig at anchor off Patrass. Nothing could be more inviting than the appearance of this place. I had approached it just as the dawn was breaking over the mountains to the back of the town, which is itself on the foot of a hill clothed with gardens, groves of orange and lemon trees, and currant grounds that, when seen at a distance, remind me of the bright green of an English meadow. The minarets of the Turkish moscks, always a beautiful object, glittering in the first rays of the sun, and the cultivated appearance of the whole neighbourhood of the town, formed an agreeable contrast with the barren rocks on the other side of the Gulf.

Though we were to proceed with a part of our convoy immediately to Prevesa, we were anxious, as you may suppose, to put foot in the Morea. Accordingly my friend and myself took a walk in some currant grounds to the north of the town, until we were obliged to return by a signal from the brig, which got under way at twelve o'clock. The ship was not long in getting out of the bay, and before sun-set we had a distant view of a town called Messalonge, with a singular-looking double shore at the foot of mountains rising one above the other as far as the eye could reach, which is, indeed, the appearance of all the country to be seen to the north of the gulf of Lepanto.

The next morning we were in the channel, with Ithaca to the left or west of us. This island, which is but of small circumference, and which is, as it were, enclosed in a bay formed by two promontories of the great island of Cefalonia, is not so rough and rocky as the main land to the right. We were close to it; and saw a few shrubs on a brown heathy land, two little towns in the hills, scattered amongst trees, and a windmill or two, with a tower, on the heights. A small rocky island to the north-east, between this island and Santa Maura, is called Töttaco. We made but little progress during this day: indeed the boats of the brig were employed in cutting out currant boats from Ithaca, then in the possession of the French, but not very strongly garrisoned, as you will easily believe, when I tell you, that a month afterwards, when the Ionian Islands were invested by a British squadron, the kingdom of Ulysses was surrendered into the hands of a serjeant and seven men. In the night we saw lights in all the mountains, which they told us were fires kindled by shepherds, whose flocks are not driven down from the hills to the low grounds till the beginning of October, when the autumnal rains usually commence.

On the 28th we sailed through the channel between Ithaca and the island of Santa Maura, and again saw Cefalonia stretching farther to the north. We doubled the promontory of Santa Maura, and saw the precipice, which the fate of Sappho, the poetry of Ovid, and the rocks so formidable to the ancient mariners, have made for ever memorable. On each side of the head-land is a large cave; the shore is very bold, and the height very abrupt, but covered on the top with a green shrub or moss. You will not expect to hear of any remains of the Temple of Apollo.

At seven in the evening we anchored off Prevesa, and the Greek acting as one of the English Vice-Consuls at that town, came on board the brig. His name was Commiuti, or Commi-niuti; he was of a tall and uncommonly handsome person and face, and dressed in the Greek fashion. We had letters of introduction to his brother, which he opened, but could not, I believe, read: he was not, however, the less civil; but with a profusion of compliments, promised to serve us to the extent of his power. We signified to him our wish to view the ruins of Nicopolis, in the neighbourhood of Prevesa, the next day. "You shall go there with me; I will get breakfast for you at seven o'clock, or eight, or nine," said the Vice-Consul. We told him we preferred being off very early. "As early as your Excellencies please—*dopo la colazione*," added he with a smile, and laying great stress on the last words, as if to show that he knew what we Englishmen liked. Indeed, in my short travels, I have observed, that a notion obtains very generally, of our countrymen being great eaters, especially of flesh, and greater drinkers. Erasmus mentions, that "to cram like an Englishman," was a phrase in his time.

The 29th of September we prepared for our landing at Prevesa, a town opposite the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf, and built on a neck of land in the country formerly called Epirus.

Before, however, you commence our tour with us on the main land, I must crave your indulgence in listening to some previous remarks, by which I shall endeavour to account for, and to excuse, one of the many deficiencies that you will doubtless discover in the ensuing details of our Albanian travels; I mean an ignorance of the exact extent and limits, of the course of the rivers,

of the direction of the mountains, and of the relative position of the ancient and modern cities of Epirus, the very country through part of which we passed. Even a school-boy is ashamed of seeming ill-read in geography. It is, however, I believe, very true, that this country, which has been the scene of so many celebrated exploits, and which was on the borders of, and has not unfrequently been confounded with Greece, has never been accurately described. The accounts of ancient geographers can hardly fail to confuse the reader. In some places they seem to allude to Epirus according to its most ancient state; in others, they talk of the Macedonian division; and sometimes refer to that partition which was made of their conquests by the Romans, and which gave to the districts to the north and north-east, before attached to Illyricum and Macedonia, the name of New Epirus. Ptolemy includes Acarnania and Amphilochia within its limits, which he brings down as far to the south as the mouths of the Achelœus*.

It would be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to give what at any one time were considered to be the actual boundaries of the country in question; and you may have observed, that Greek and Latin authors seem aware how little they were defined, as they make use of the expression, an Epirote people, rather than a people of Epirus. It was natural that a change of masters should cause a change of names; thus the districts of Lyncestis, Pelagonia, Orestis, and Elymia, were, after their reduction by Philip, called Upper, and afterwards Free Macedonia; and some gave that denomination to the country

* Lib. iii. cap. 14.

adjoining, as far as the coast opposite Corcyra*. The coast, as might be expected, has been accurately described; though geographers are not agreed whether to begin their detail from the shores of Dyrrachium and Apollonia, or lower to the south, with Chaonia and the northern extremity of the Acroceraunian mountains: but Strabo, after alluding to the fourteen Epirote nations, allows his inability to show the boundaries of their separate states, which in his time were not to be discerned. He adds in another place, that this country, which, as well as Illyricum, though rough and mountainous, had been formerly well peopled, was at the period in which he wrote, nearly deserted; and that, where there were any inhabitants, they lived in small villages and caves (*ερείπιοις*).

Thus it is that the topography of the interior country has been scarcely attempted; for though the names of many towns have been mentioned, and Ptolemy in particular gives a long list of them, yet as to the real or relative situations of these places little or nothing seems to be known. I confess myself also to have found very little assistance from the perusal of those passages of Polybius and Livy, in which the historians treat of the operations of the Roman and Macedonian armies in this part of the world. The lives of Pyrrhus, Flaminius, and Æmilius, in Plutarch, give some positions, but are equally unsatisfactory. The labours of modern authors, which have illustrated almost every other part of the world, have done nothing towards clearing these difficulties. Cellarius, and Emmius, a much more attentive compiler, only repeat the accounts of ancient

* Strab. lib. vii.

writers. Mons. D'Anville felt, and ingenuously confessed, his want of information; and, on the face of his map, he invites future students to give a more accurate description of Epirus. Mr. Gibbon, to whose luminous pages a traveller in Turkey must always refer with advantage and delight, has declared, that we know less of the country in question than of the wilds of North America*. We want a good map of Epirus, says that historian in another place; an observation which he has verified by his own example, having by a loose expression in more than one place identified that country with Albania.

The same shade which involved this part of Europe in ancient times, seems never to have been dispelled during the middle and latter ages. All that we have, till very lately, known of modern Albania is, that it is a province of European Turkey, bounded to the north and north-east by a chain of mountains called the Black Mountains, dividing it partly from the country formerly called Macedonia, and partly from Servia and Dalmatia; having to the west the gulf of Venice, to the east Macedonia, Thessaly, and Greece Proper; and being terminated to the south by the gulf of Lepanto, or, according to some, the gulf of Arta. This extent of country has been divided by the Venetians, I believe, into Upper and Lower Albania, the first being supposed to correspond nearly with the ancient Illyricum, and the last with Epirus. Some writers, indeed, when speaking of Albania, have alluded only to the former, which they would bound to the south by an imaginary line separating it from the latter country.

I shall have occasion to mention hereafter, that there does

* Note 40, page 457, cap. 67.

obtain amongst the inhabitants a notion of a distinction between the northern and southern parts; but I have never seen a map in which the line of separation is distinctly marked; and perhaps the whole region, even including Acarnania, may be correctly denominated Albania.

As the Mahometans themselves know nothing of geography, and as they divide the territories they possess into many petty governments, with whose limits an European traveller, or even resident, is not likely to make himself acquainted, it would be unreasonable to expect what might fairly be called a modern map of any part of Turkey, especially of such a province as Albania. The uninterrupted barbarity of its inhabitants, and the partial possession of some of its ports by the Venetians, which has introduced a confused mixture of Italian amongst the Greek and Turkish names of towns and districts, have caused such difficulties in the delineation of any charts, that nothing can be more unsatisfactory than those which pretend to assist us in our survey. The best and latest modern map, that of De La Rochette, is full of inaccuracies and deficiencies, and of little or no service to the traveller. The designs or plans of the artist Coronelli, represent only the forts and towns upon the coast, such as they were to be seen during the more flourishing days of the Venetian republic. But the present age, which seems to have favoured discoveries in every art and science, has added also to our knowledge of the modern state of many countries before almost unknown.

The active spirit of two great nations, to whose generous emulation mankind, when they shall have long recovered from the destructive struggles of the mighty rivals, shall be for ever indebted, has in our days explored the remote regions of every

quarter of the world ; and it is to one of the vast military enterprises of the French, that we owe the first attempt at a detailed account of Albania.

In the year 1798, some French officers, and members of the Oriental Commission of Arts and Sciences, returning from Egypt in a tartan of Leghorn, were captured off Calabria by a Tripoli corsair. Of these, Messrs. Bessiers, belonging to the commission, Poitevin, a colonel of engineers, Charbonnel, a colonel of artillery, Guevini, a Maltese inquisitor, and Bouvier, a naval officer, were separated from their companions, and carried to Ali, a Pasha of Albania, who was then encamped at Butrinto, on the coast opposite Corfu, at that time besieged by the Russians and Turks. They were detained, but treated with distinction, and employed by the Pasha for nearly two years, and during that time collected the notes which were afterwards arranged by their friend Dr. Poukeville, and published, together with two other volumes on the Morea and Constantinople, written by the Doctor, who had himself, after his separation from these officers, been confined at Tripolita in the Morea, and in the Seven Towers.

The learned and conjectural part of the book, besides some rhetorical flourishes, from which the compiler most unaccountably considers himself to be entirely free, is certainly the worst portion of the performance, and must, I presume, be laid at the door of the Doctor himself. But notwithstanding all its defects, which are numerous, there is not, that I know, any other book which the traveller in Albania can carry with him or consult. I have accordingly not scrupled to make use of the French account, where it is not contradicted by my own experience and

information, as you will observe if you happen to have Dr. Poukeville's volume at hand.

I am thus explicit with you, in order to anticipate an excuse, should you ever trace me to the source of my information; for as it is my purpose to give you the best account in my power of the country through which we passed, I shall not refuse help from any quarter, but depend upon your kindness for not treating me as a "*fur manifestus*—a detected plagiarist."

My next letter will fairly land us in Turkey.

I am, your's, &c. &c.

LETTER II.

Prevesa—a Description of that Town—The Mouth of the Gulf of Arta—Actium—Short Description and Account of Prevesa—and of the Battle which placed the Town in the hands of the Turks.

SIR,

WE landed at Prevesa during a shower of rain, and with no very agreeable presentiments. The foolish master of an English transport lying in the harbour, had come on board, and told us most dismal stories of the Turks inhabiting the place. He had had a shot fired through his main-mast from some Turkish man of war; and one day, walking in the country, a Turk, to whom he had said and done nothing, turned round and fired at him. He added, that our Resident at the Court of Ali, the Pasha of the country, was preparing to leave Ioannina, the capital, being unable to bear the insolence of the people. We picked our way through several dirty streets, to the house of Signor Commiuti. Few places will bear being visited in a rainy day, least of all a Turk town, and such a town as Prevesa.

We found the streets without flags or stone paving of any kind, resembling dirty lanes, with wooden huts on each side, exceedingly narrow, and shaded over-head with large rushes or reeds,

reaching from the pents of the houses quite across from one side to the other. This contrivance, which must be very agreeable in hot weather, did at this time only increase the gloominess of the place, and added to the inconvenience of walking, as the rain dripped from the dirty reeds, and made the paths more miry. Add to this, the savage appearance of the 'Turks, each of whom carried an immense brace of pistols and a long knife, sticking out from a belt before his waist ; and the accommodation we met with at the Consul's house, which seemed wretched to us who were just fresh from Christendom, and you will not feel inclined to envy our situation.

You will fancy yourself deep in the distresses of some Scottish tourist, if I entertain you much longer at this rate ; and yet, I assure you that, never afterwards during our whole journey, did we feel so disheartened, and inclined to turn back, as at this instant ; and indeed, had the commander of the brig been very pressing, I believe that we should have consented to go back to Patrass, where we were sure of better fire and more comfort with the English Consul-General for the Morea, who resides in that town. The weather however soon cleared up, and we began to feel more resigned to our misery, which is very laughable now, but was then wretched enough.

A circumstance just at that time occurred, which seemed to coincide with the report made by the master of the transport ; for, looking out of the Consul's window, I saw a young 'Turk discharge two pistols over a garden-wall, to frighten some Greek mariners who were dancing and singing to the sound of a fiddle. The sailors, however, continued their sport ; and we soon found that there was nothing malicious or unusual in the playfulness of the young Mussulman.

We dined with the brother of the Vice-Consul; the Vice-Consul himself was absent at Ioannina; when I was not so much struck with the dinner, and the curious way of serving it up, one dish after the other, of each of which they expect you to eat, as with Signor Commiuti being waited upon by his father, an old man, and by one of his brothers. I afterwards found it to be a common practice in Greek families, for those who have no money to be retainers and attendants to such of their relations as are more wealthy; nor does filial affection or obedience prevent a man from exacting the same duties from an indigent parent as he himself would perform, were his father to become by any accident the richer man of the two. An excessive reverence for wealth is the distinguishing characteristic, as it appears to me, of all the inhabitants of the Levant. What could Mr. De Guys, in his silly parallel between the ancient and modern Greeks, have said to such a change of those virtuous customs which would never permit a degradation of the dignity of old age?

After dinner we paid a visit to the governor of the town, who resided within the enclosure of a fort at the lower end of the harbour, in a house belonging to Ali Pasha. We walked through a long gallery, open, as is the custom, on one side, and through two or three large rooms with naked walls, and no other furniture than a low stage running round three sides of the chamber, on which, when inhabited, the sofa-cushions are placed. In one of these barrack-rooms, for that is the name by which you will best comprehend the sort of palace we visited, we found the Governor, who received us with the grave politeness that seems born with every Turk, and who gave us coffee and a pipe; which, I believe, you know is the ceremony customary with the people of this country on the reception of visitors. The coffee is served

up very thick, with the grounds left at the bottom of the cup, always without milk, and, except to travellers, who are supposed to be accustomed to delicacies, without sugar. The cups are very small, not made to stand, but presented in other cups of open work, like our egg-cups or salt-cellars. Tobacco, which was unknown to the Orientals till the middle of the seventeenth century, is now the universal luxury of all the inhabitants of the Levant; but the Turkey plant is not nearly so pungent and strong as that of America and the West Indies, and a habit of smoking it is immediately acquired. The pipes are very long, the heads being made of earthen-ware, and the sticks, when they are best, of cherry-wood. In these the rich are very expensive: they adorn them with amber heads and joints, a pair of which I once saw exposed for sale at two thousand piastres, or more than a hundred pounds sterling.

The Governor could not easily be distinguished from the shabby-looking Albanian guards that surrounded him; some of them sitting down close to him, and the others standing opposite their master, staring and laughing at our conversation. Besides the Governor of the fort, there was here also an Intendant of the Marine, to whom Englishmen generally pay their respects, the port being occasionally the resort of some of our Adriatic squadron, but whom we did not visit, till our return to this place.

Prevesa is said to contain about three thousand inhabitants, of which one-half are Turks. Of these Turks the greater part are Albanians, and are to be distinguished as such by their dress, manners, and language, with all which I shall hereafter endeavour to make you acquainted. The houses of the town are all of wood; for the most part with only a ground-floor; and,

where there is one story, the communication to it is by a ladder or wooden steps on the outside, sheltered, however, by the overhanging eaves of the roof. In this case, the horses and cattle occupy the lower chamber, or it is converted into a warehouse, and the family live on the floor above, in which there are seldom more than two rooms. This straggling town is placed on the longest of one of the extremities of a flat biforked tongue of land, that widens towards the point, and is more narrow about three miles from the end. This narrow part is the site of Nicopolis.

A bay, which runs into the land about a mile, forms the harbour; and the other extremity of the tongue, together with the opposite promontory, on which Anactorium, according to D'Anville, formerly stood, composes the mouth of the gulf of Ambracia, now called the gulf of Arta. This mouth is about half a mile, or a little more, in breadth: Polybius says five stadia, and Strabo a little more than four; alluding to this interior mouth, and not to that of the harbour, which is formed by the point of Prevesa, and the promontory, and which is nearly a mile in breadth. It must be exceedingly difficult for a vessel of any size to work into the Gulf; for there is no deep water, except close to the town, that on the other side being full of shoals and quicksands.

Were it not for the positive authority, that determines the battle of Actium to have been fought within the promontory in the bay that first presents itself on the right hand to a person sailing into the Gulf, I should be inclined to think that the action took place in the sea between Leucadia and the cape of Prevesa. The enormous vessels, of nine or ten banks of oars, in the fleet of Antony, under which, to use the expression of Florus, the

waters groaned, must have scarcely been able to manœuvre in the small basin in the Gulf; and unless the battle was fought without the bay, I cannot understand how the combatants could see the runaway Egyptians steering for Peloponnesus, as Plutarch, in his life of Antony, says they did. They might suppose them making for that quarter, but they could not see them an instant after they had got out of the Gulf, the exit from which is not perceived until you are close to the mouth.

Either a good part of the low land of the promontory opposite Prevesa, has been formed since the days of Augustus, which is extremely probable, or the floating castles of Antony were not so large as is usually conceived. The point is not very important: it is certain that the battle was fought; and that a naval action, for the first and only time in the history of the world, as *Madame de Sevigné* has remarked before me, decided the fate of an empire. *Mons. D'Anville* says, that the name of Actium is not entirely lost in Ario; but I made every enquiry, and could not learn that there was at present a village, or any place so called. The *Signor Commiuti* did inform me, that there was a ruin to be seen on the opposite side of the water, on a spot which we afterwards visited, and saw some trifling remains of a wall built of bricks, placed lozenge-wise, and about five feet in height, and so disposed as to appear to have been circular. I do not know who had put this notion into the head of our Greek, but he called this the wall of the Hippodrome; and the fine flat which it might have enclosed, gives some colour of probability to the suspicion that this was the spot chosen by the youth of Ambracia and Nicopolis for the horse and chariot race, and the celebration of the Quinquennial games, over which the Lacedemonians presided.

The site of Actium itself was lower down in the Gulf, and nearer to the head-land laid down in the maps under the name of Cape Figalo; but there the ground is rough and uneven, and not so well calculated for the course.

It does not appear that there was anciently any town on the site of Prevesa, of which the first notice I have ever seen is, that it was besieged by the Venetian Doria in 1572, but relieved by the Turks from the interior. Since the invention of gunpowder, such a position must have completely commanded the mouth of the Gulf, especially as there is no deep water except on the side of the town. The Venetians, after repeated contests with the Turks, at last possessed themselves of this place as well as of Vornitza, a town in the Gulf, and of Parga and Butrinto, on the coast opposite Corfu. The domain of Prevesa extended into the ruins of Nicopolis.

All these places were ceded to the French by the treaty of Campo Formio; but, during their last war with the Turks, were all abandoned, except Prevesa, which the Engineer Richemont, and the General La Salcette, were ordered to protect. The Pasha Ali, who had for some time kept up a correspondence with the French, appeared at first inactive; but in the end of August, A. D. 1798, some French boats were seized in the Gulf, and the Adjutant-General Roze, then in a conference with the Pasha, was imprisoned. Immediately the French prepared for the event. The municipal guard of the town was organized; arms and ammunition were sent to the Sulliot Greeks at war with the Pasha; and a redoubt with two pieces of cannon was thrown up on the side of Nicopolis. On the night of the 12th November, Ali and his two sons, Moustar and Veli, with a force amounting to about

ten thousand horse and foot, appeared on the mountains immediately above the plain of Nicopolis. At the dawn of day the Albanians were posted on the hills about two miles above the French force, which, instead of remaining to defend the town, had marched to the site of the ruins, and were drawn up in a long line, with the redoubt covering one of their wings.

I had the account from an Albanian who was in the battle, and who confessed that the French force did not amount to more than eight hundred men, and all of them infantry. The Albanians continued some time on the hills, viewing their enemies in front. Their priests, of whom there was a great number, then began to pray with a loud voice, and the soldiers joined them in the holy exclamations. The whole body remained waving their heads, as it was described to me, and as I have myself seen in some religious ceremonies in Turkey, like a vast field of corn, and calling on the name of God with a fervour of tone and action that was soon wound up to the highest pitch of fury; as if with one voice, the word was given, "Out with your swords!" and the Albanian army, both horse and foot, rushed down into the plain. The French artillery began to fire; but, in a short time, both guns and men were overturned by the Turkish cavalry. The rout in an instant became general; and the Albanians entering Prevesa with the French, involved many of the inhabitants in a promiscuous slaughter:—between Nicopolis and the town the plain was strewed with about six hundred dead bodies. Two vessels in the harbour, full of fugitives, cut their cables, and made for Santa Maura; but one of them, from being overladen, or from mismanagement, was swamped, and went down.—Two hundred French, with the General La Salcette, and Mons. Richemont, were taken prisoners, and conveyed to Ioannina.

But the vengeance of the Pasha was reserved for the Greek inhabitants of the town, two hundred of whom were beheaded the day after the battle, in the presence of Ali himself.

The French account accuses both their Sulliot allies, and the townsmen of Prevesa, of having fired upon them during their flight. I did not hear of this treachery, although the charge may be true; but it is excusable in M. Poukeville to shed a tear over his brave countrymen, and to record, in an amiable episode, the desperate valour of the heroic Richemont, and the fate of his friend the young Gabauri, "*connu dans l'armée par sa beauté et renommé par sa bravure.*" The like was never heard of since the days of Nisus and Euryalus.

Since this event, Prevesa has been in the hands of Ali, who has built a fortress at the bottom of the harbour, and also raised a battery at the end of the town, commanding the entrance of the port. It is the chief sea-port town in Lower Albania, and is the continual resort of the Greek boats of the Ionian Isles, which exchange their French and Italian manufactures for the oils, wools, cattle and timber of Albania. But you must be sufficiently acquainted with Prevesa: I will now conduct you to the ruins of Nicopolis.

LETTER III.

*The Ruins of Nicopolis—Preparations for Travelling in Turkey
—The Dragoman—Servants—Baggage, &c. &c.—Sail down
the Gulf of Arta to Salora—The Albanian Guard of Salora.*

SIR,

THE ruins of Nicopolis (which we reached after riding slowly for three quarters of an hour through olive groves, and a large plain of low shrubs) are more extensive than magnificent, as they cover at intervals the breadth of the isthmus, if such it may be called, from the Ionian sea to the gulf of Ambracia: not their shadows, but themselves, stretch from shore to shore. After entering at a breach of a wall, which may be traced round several parts of the plains, and which may be conjectured to have separated the city from the suburbs, we were carried by our guide, the Consul's brother, to what he called the King's house. This is nothing but the remains of a room, on which the paint, of a dusky red and light blue, is still visible, and also a small piece of cornice. From this place we scrambled on through heaps of ruins over-run with weeds and thistles. These ruins are large masses of brick-work, the bricks of which (of that sort, I believe, called Roman tile) are much thinner and longer than those in use amongst us, and are joined by interstices of

mortar as large as the bricks themselves, and equally durable. There is a specimen of this sort at Dover Castle. Some of these masses are standing, others lying on the ground, and there are several spots in the plain so covered with the ruins as to be impassable.

We went through an arched gateway, tolerably entire, in the largest portion of the wall that is yet standing; and going towards the Ionian Sea, came to the remains of a theatre, in which the semicircle of seats, raised about a foot one above the other, is still visible, though destroyed in some places, and choked up with earth. Underneath the theatre are several arched caves, which some one had told our Greek, were the dens of the wild beasts used in the ancient games. But the arena of the theatre could not have been more than twenty-five feet in diameter, and therefore not suitable to such exhibitions. The people, who occasionally clamoured for the introduction of gladiators and beasts as an interlude, would, in so small a space, have been content to do without such spectacles. Indeed the caves appeared to me to be formed by the falling of some of the brick-work.

Proceeding till we came to no great distance from the sea-shore, we came to the ruins of a square building, within which, half buried in the ground, are several marble troughs: these, and the capital of one Corinthian column lying on the ground, and the shaft of another enclosed in a wall, were the only pieces of marble I saw in the ruins; but many have been carried away lately, and employed in the building of the fortress of Prevesa, and some also have been preserved as a present to the English Resident at the court of Ali Pasha.

Turning round from the sea-shore towards the Gulf, we tra-

versed the plain to the north of the wall, which was also included in the suburbs, but is now partly ploughed, and we came to an eminence, at the foot of the hills that terminate the isthmus to the north, not far from the shore of the Gulf. On this we found the remains of a theatre considerably larger than the one we had before seen, and enclosed on every side: I regret to have not taken its exact dimensions. It was of stone, and the semi-circular seats were in many parts entire: a more-learned observer might perhaps have discovered the orchestra, the pulpitum, the proscenium, and all the other appurtenances of the ancient theatre; I must content myself with telling you, that it was the least dilapidated remain we saw in the ruins of Nicopolis. From the eminence on which it stands there is the best view of the plain, and of the bay of Actium; and the tents of Taurus, the general of Augustus, may have been placed on this very spot.

I have before told you, that these ruins being nearly all of brick, presented us with no very magnificent spectacle; and yet such was the extent of ground which they covered—about three miles in length from the sea to the Gulf, and perhaps a mile or more from the side of Prevesa to the theatre last mentioned—that there was something of a melancholy grandeur in the prospect before us. Part of the ruins had been converted into sheep-pens. A solitary shepherd was the tenant of Nicopolis, and the bleating of the sheep, the tinkling of their bells, and the croaking of the frogs, were the only sounds to be heard within the circuit of a city whose population had exhausted whole provinces of their inhabitants. Calydon, Anactorium, Ambracia, the towns of all Acarnania, and part of Ætolia, were stripped of their people and ornaments; but the vanity, a favourite one with conquerors,

which raised Nicopolis by the desolation of the neighbouring states, could not secure for it a long continuation of splendour and prosperity. The Emperor Julian found the city in a rapid decay; and in the reign of Honorius, Nicopolis was the property of Paula, a Roman matron. The irruption of the Goths immediately succeeded; and the city of victory, which was raised by Augustus, may perhaps have been finally ruined by Alaric.

We returned from the ruins by the side near the sea over a green plain, which was the burying-place of the city, as some tombs lately discovered appear to manifest. We passed through the court-yard of a barrack, struck into the olive-grounds, and arrived at the Consul's house, determining to set out for Ioannina the next day.

From Prevesa to Ioannina there are two routes. One of these, taking a north-easterly direction, crosses the plain of Nicopolis, and passes over the mountains belonging to a district now called Loru, from a town of that name, at six hours distance from Prevesa: thence it runs through a valley, and afterwards over rugged hilly ground to Vrontza, a village seven hours from Ioannina. We were advised, being yet unprovided with a guard, not to follow this road, as the country of Loru was at that time not quite safe, and were accordingly directed to take the other route by Arta, which is considered the longest of the two journeys to the capital.

But this is the place to give you some information as to our equipage, and the preparation made by us for travelling in Turkey. This detail, into which travellers seldom condescend to enter, and which may be a little tiresome, would, however, I believe, be useful to you, were you to make a tour in the Levant.

We had been provided at Patrass with a Greek, to serve as dragoman, or interpreter to us; he could not, however, speak the 'Turkish language,' which it is not indispensable to know in Albania, as the Mahometans of the country, for the most part, speak Greek. Doubtless, however, it would have been better to have procured a person acquainted both with the Turkish and the Albanian languages; and as such servants are to be met with at Prevesa, it would have been better if we had delayed to engage any one until our arrival at that town. The professional interpreters, by which I mean those who are in the habit of being recommended to travellers, are mostly exceedingly roguish, and there is no advantage which they will not endeavour to take, especially of Englishmen, who are generally suspected to have more money than wit. There is a Constantinopolitan proverb which runs thus—" *Dio mi guardi dei Dragomani io mi guardero dei cani.*" It is as well to know this, for a great deal depends upon your choice of a dragoman. He is your managing man; he must procure you lodging, food, horses, and all conveniences: must direct your payments—a source of continual disturbance: must support your dignity with the Turks, and show you how to make use of the Greeks: he must, consequently, be not only active and ingenious, but prompt and resolute. Now you would very seldom find a Greek deficient in the former, or possessed of the latter qualifications: in this respect, their very dress is against them. Those who have been in Turkey, know that it is contrary to the nature of things, for a man in the Greek habit to talk in any other than the most submissive cringing tone to a Turk; and on this account it is always preferable to engage a person accustomed to wear the dress of a Frank, a name that in-

cludes all those of whatever nation, who are dressed in the small-clothes, the coat, and the hat, of civilized Europe. Such persons are often to be met with at Malta, or any of the ports of the Levant; they are natives of the islands of the Archipelago, who have lived in the service of foreigners at Constantinople, and know how to assume an air of importance, and even ferocity, in presence of a Turk, with the utility of which a traveller does not become immediately acquainted. The Greek appears to feel himself free the moment he places the hat upon his head, and throws away the cap, which, in our own times, and in another country, was the badge of liberty.

Our dragoman was recommended to us as the most upright of men; but we found him to be one of those servants whose good conduct does not so much depend upon their own probity, as upon the vigilance of their masters. He never lost an opportunity of robbing us. He was very zealous, bustling, and talkative; and when we had him, we thought it would be impossible to do without him; when he was gone, we wondered how we had ever done with him. However, he was a good-humoured fellow, and having his mind intent upon one sole thing, that is, making money of us, was never lazy, or drunken, or out of the way: he was up early and late; for he always slept upon his saddlebags without undressing. His name was George; but he was usually called Mister George—*Kire yorge* (Κύρι Γιοργι).

We had only one English servant with us, who was my Friend's valet; for I was fortunately disappointed the day before I left London, of the man who was to have accompanied me in our travels: I say fortunately, because English servants are rather an incumbrance than a use in the Levant, as they require better

accommodation than their masters, and are a perpetual source of blunders, quarrels, and delays. Their inaptitude at acquiring any foreign language is, besides, invincible, and seems more stupid in a country where many of the common people speak three, and some four or five languages. Our baggage was weighty ; but, I believe, we could not have done well with less, as a large quantity of linen is necessary for those who are much at sea, or travel so fast as not to be able to have their clothes washed. Besides four large leathern trunks, weighing about eighty pounds when full, and three smaller trunks, we had a canteen, which is quite indispensable ; three beds, with bedding, and two light wooden bedsteads. The latter article some travellers do not carry with them ; but it contributes so much to comfort and health, as to be very recommendable. We heard, indeed, that in Asiatic Turkey you cannot make use of bedsteads, being always lodged in the khans or inns ; but in Europe, where you put up in cottages and private houses, they are always serviceable, preserving you from vermin, and the damp of mud floors, and possessing advantages which overbalance the evils caused by the delays of half an hour in packing and taking them to pieces.

We were also furnished with four English saddles and bridles, which was a most fortunate circumstance, for we should not have been able to ride on the high wooden pack-saddles of the Turkish post-horses ; and though we might have bought good Turkish saddles, both my Friend and myself found them a very uncomfortable seat for any other pace than a walk.

Whilst on the article of equipage, I must tell you, that as all the baggage is carried on horses, it is necessary to provide sacks to carry all your articles. These sacks you can get of a very

useful kind in the country. They are made of three coats; the inner one of waxed canvass, the second of horse-hair cloth, and the outward of leather. Those which we bought at Ioannina were large enough to hold, each of them, a bed, a large trunk, and one or two small articles; and they swing like panniers at each side of the horse.

Some travellers prefer a large pair of saddle-bags, and to have a large chest or trunk, which they send round by sea to meet them, or leave at one fixed spot; but this is a bad plan: the saddle-bags will not carry things enough for you; and then to have your wardrobe at any fixed spot, binds you to one route, and prevents you from taking advantage of opportunities. As to sending baggage round by sea, it is a very hazardous experiment: we were detained three weeks at Gibraltar, waiting for clothes which, as we rode from Lisbon to Cadiz, we had ordered to be sent by sea.

A traveller in this country should provide himself with dollars at Malta, in a sufficient quantity to defray the charges of his whole tour in European Turkey. These he will be able to exchange without any loss at Patrass, or elsewhere, for Venetian sequins, which are golden coins, and much more portable. Having lodged your dollars in the hands of the merchant in the Levant, you may take bills, to save you the risk and trouble of carrying money, upon the most respectable Greeks in the towns through which you mean to pass. This is a better scheme than that of travelling with bills drawn upon Constantinople, where the exchange is very fluctuating, and oftener against than for the English merchant. The accounts in Turkey are kept in piasters. When you can get seventeen and a half of these for

the credit of a pound sterling, you may consider the exchange at par.

There are several gold coins current in Turkey ; the smallest of which is a pretty coin, worth two piasters and a half, or in some places a little more. The Venetian zequin varies in value from ten to eleven piasters. Of the money made of silver, much debased, there are pieces of two piasters and a half, of two piasters, and of one piaster : besides these, there are small coins called paras, forty of which go to a piaster, and which are very thin, and not so big as a note wafer. The asper, which is the third of a para, I never saw ; and copper there is none. It is necessary to be cautious in procuring money in Turkey, as from the great variety and changeable value of the coin, and also from the number of bad pieces in circulation, it is a very easy matter to be cheated, and the Greeks are generally ready to do a traveller that service.

Equipped in the manner which I have thought it necessary to premise, we procured a large boat to convey us down the Gulf, as far as a place called Salora, the scale of Arta ; and, on the 1st of October, in the forenoon, proceeded on our journey. We sailed part of the way, being assisted by a strong breeze, the fore-runner of a thunder-storm that was collecting over the mountains to the north ; and were rowed by our six boatmen the remainder of the distance.

The Gulf runs in a south-easterly direction ; and, in what may be called the jaws of it, there is, on the northern side, a large bay, forming the long beach of Nicopolis ; and on the south, the bay of Actium and the promontory of that name, now called Cape Figalo. Beyond Figalo is the other bay, containing in a deep woody recess the town of Vonitza ; and there are many cir-

cular inlets or smaller bays on both sides of the Gulf. The country on every side is mountainous, but less so to the south than to the north, as, near Vonitza, there are low hills and valleys clothed with an agreeable verdure. The prospect, however, is terminated on every side with tremendous rocks; and as the entrance to the Gulf is winding, and therefore not perceptible in many points, the whole expanse of water has the appearance of a large fresh lake, and did indeed put me somewhat in mind of Loch Lomond. A woody island, where there is a monastery, and some small rocks, with which the sea is studded to the east of Vonitza, served to strengthen the illusion.

In two hours and an half we had reached the place of our destination, where we had been informed we should find horses, and be enabled to proceed to Arta the same evening. Salora, about twelve miles from Prevesa by water, on the northern side of the Gulf, was the name of this place; but we were surprised, after having heard that it was the scale or port of Arta, to find that there was only one house there, and a new-built barrack at a little distance.

We landed, just in time to avoid the storm, at a little rugged pier, and put the baggage under cover, at the same time delivering a letter, given us by the Vice-Consul's brother at Prevesa, to the Greek inhabiting this wretched-looking place, which we found was the custom-house. The Greek, who was collector of the duties, was extremely civil to us; but said, that there were only four horses ready, and that we should be obliged to sleep in the adjoining barrack.

After accusing ourselves for not having sent before us from Prevesa, in order to procure horses, we, of course, consented to what

we could not prevent, and were shown into the barrack. This also belonged to Ali Pasha, or, as he is called throughout his extensive dominions, the Vizier, the denomination of every Pasha of three tails: it had only been built two years. The under part of it was a stable, and the upper, to which the ascent was by a flight of stone stairs, consisted of a long open gallery of wood, with two rooms at one end of it, and one at the other. In the single room, which was locked up, the Vizier was accustomed to lodge when he visited the place; but the other two rooms were appropriated to ten Albanian soldiers, placed there to protect the custom-house, which it is of some importance to guard, as Salora is the chief, if not the only scale (to use a Levant phrase), through which the imports and exports of all Lower Albania are obliged to pass, and which levies a duty of three per cent. upon all imported merchandize belonging to a Turk, and of four per cent. upon the goods of the Christian trader.

We were introduced to the Captain of this guard; and, as we passed that evening and the next day and night in the barrack, we had at once an initiation into the way of life of the Albanian Turks. It was impossible for any men to have a more unsavoury appearance; and though the Captain, whose name, by the way, was Elmas, was a little cleaner than the others, yet he was not much to be distinguished from his soldiers, except by a pair of sandals, and a white thin round stick, which he used in walking, and which, like the vine rod of the Roman centurions, is a badge belonging to, or affected by, the better sort of soldiers in Turkey. Notwithstanding, however, their wild and savage appearance, we found them exceedingly mild and good-humoured, and with manners as good as are usually to be found in a garrison.

We put up our beds in one of their apartments, and were soon well settled. Immediately on our entrance the Captain gave us coffee and pipes ; and, after we had dined in our own room on some fish, bread, and wine, he begged us to come into his chamber and pass the evening with him, to which we consented. The only furniture in the soldier's apartment was a raised low stage, like that used in a kennel, and upon this, covered with a mat, we seated ourselves cross-legged next to the Captain. This officer lived in a very easy familiarity with his men ; but had a most perfect controul over them, and they seemed to do every thing he wished very cheerfully.

All the Albanians strut very much when they walk, projecting their chests, throwing back their heads, and moving very slowly from side to side ; but Elmas had this strut more than any man perhaps we ever saw afterwards ; and as the sight was then quite new to us, we could not help staring at the magisterial and superlatively dignified air of a man with great holes in his elbows, and looking altogether, as to his garments, like what we call a bull-beggar.

After walking about in the walled enclosure of the barrack, and enjoying the last rays of the setting sun that were gilding the woody hills and the towers of Vonitza on the other side of the Gulf, we again seated ourselves at the never-failing coffee and pipe, to which the liberality of the Captain had added some grapes, and, by the help of our dragoman, kept up a conversation of some length with the Albanians.

You may suppose that an Englishman has many articles about him to excite the curiosity of such people ; but we found this curiosity, though incessant, to be by no means impertinent or

troublesome. They took up our watch-chains and looked at them, then looked at each other, and smiled. They did not ask a great many questions, but seemed at once satisfied, that the thing was above their comprehension; nor did they praise, or appear to admire much, but contented themselves with smiling, and saying nothing, except "English goods! English goods!" or, to give it you in their Greek, "*πράγματα Ἰγγλέσικα! πράγματα Ἰγγλέσικα!*" A glass of maraschine was given to Captain Elmas, and another offered to one of his men, who refused it, being, as he said, under an oath not to touch any thing of the kind. Is not this self-denial, called kegging by the Irish? Elmas drank seven or eight glasses of aniseed aqua vitæ, and said it gave him an appetite.

About seven, the Albanians made preparations for their supper, by washing hands. Dragouman George said, "If these fellows did not do this they would stink like the Jews."—The Turks think that the Christians stink.

They placed a round table, raised on two strips of wood three inches from the ground, before the Captain, and the men sat round on mats on the floor. The supper was fish fried with oil, which they ate with their fingers out of one dish, and curded goat's milk with bread; but in this second course, they made use of horn spoons.

After supper the Captain washed hands with soap, inviting us to do the same, for we had eaten a little with them. He put the ewer into my lap; but he would not give the soap into my hands, though I was sitting close to him, but put it on the floor within an inch of me. This he did with so singular an air, that I enquired of George the meaning of it; and found, that in Turkey

there is a very prevalent superstition against giving soap into another's hands : they think it will wash away love.

We now smoked, ate grapes, and conversed ; and every thing was much to our satisfaction, except the habit, to which we were not then familiarized, of frequent and most violent eructation from our hosts. The Turks continue at this sport so long, and are so loud, as to make it appear that they do it on purpose ; and I once heard that it is done by visitants as a compliment, to show their host that they have digested his good fare. The Moors of Barbary continue croaking for five minutes. Persons of all ranks allow themselves this liberty (I have noticed it in the divan at Constantinople) without shame or restraint ; but they would look upon an indecency, however accidental, of another kind, as a pollution and an affront.

We retired to bed before ten ; and the Albanians pulling out their pistols from their waist, loosening their girdles, and wrapping themselves up in their shaggy great coats (or capotes), lay down and slept upon their mats.

It rained hard the next day, and we spent another evening with our soldiers. The Captain Elmas tried a fine Manton gun belonging to my Friend, and hitting his mark every time, was highly delighted, and offered to receive it in exchange for his own ; but being informed that it was intended for the Vizier his master, he did not press the bargain.

This day we observed one of the soldiers rubbing, or rather kneading, one of his comrades forcibly on the neck and arms, and pulling his joints. This is the Albanian cure for a cold in the limbs.

We were now quite familiar, and on very easy terms together.

In the evening they laughed and sung, and were in high spirits : one of them, as in other small societies, was their butt, and they made us the instruments of their jokes against him. We were enquiring names : one of them was " Abdoul," another " Yat-chee," and a third we were told to call " Zourlos." This person did not seem pleased with our dwelling on his name, and it was not long before we learnt that we had been calling him " Block-head," the interpretation of the modern Greek word with which we had addressed him.

They finished our entertainment by singing some songs both in Albanian and modern Greek. One man sung, or rather repeated in loud recitative, and was joined in the burthen of the song by the whole party. The music was extremely monotonous and nasal ; and the shrill scream of their voices was increased by each putting his hand behind his ear and cheek, as a whipper-in does when rating hounds, to give more force to the sound. They also dwelt a considerable time on the last note (as long as their breath would last), like the musicians of a country church. One of the songs was on the taking of Prevesa, an exploit of which the Albanians are vastly proud ; and there was scarcely one of them in which the name of Ali Pasha was not roared out, and dwelt upon, with peculiar energy. Ali is, indeed, a very great man, as you will be inclined to acknowledge, if you have the patience to proceed with me on my journey.

LETTER IV.

The Presents customary in the Levant—Route from Salora to Arta—Description of that Town—The Site of Ambracia—Of Ambracus—Departure from Arta.

SIR,

ON Tuesday, the 3d of October, we were up at half past five in the morning; but it was not till eight that we were fairly off from Salora, after having presented our friend the Captain Elmas with what we were told, was the proper sum—twenty piasters. You may be astonished at a present of this kind to an Officer, especially as you may have read of travellers taking about with them cloth, snuff-boxes, guns, pistols, and other articles of English manufacture, in order to repay the liberality of their hosts. But let me observe, that to carry about goods for this purpose is exceedingly troublesome, and quite unnecessary, as the delicacy of no soul in the Turkish empire is to be hurt by a repayment of kindness in hard money. You cannot, it is true, unless you are extremely rich, do this with the Pashas and great men; but to them it is not really necessary to make any present, particularly as the officers of their courts will sufficiently empty your purse. It is a difficult thing to know what to give on different occasions, and this embarrassment is one of the most unpleasant, and perpetually recurring, of any

attending a Turkish tour; but as a traveller has to make these presents every day of his journey, that he is lodged in a private house, and that is generally the case in Turkey in Europe, he must by degrees govern his conduct by something like a general rule. He will very soon learn not to measure his benevolence, by the appearance of satisfaction in those to whom he gives; for a Turk never says "Thank-ye;" and a Greek never cries "Enough." No favours are ever granted in Turkey without the hope, and expectation of reward. This is true of both the Mahometans, and the Christians, and we found it so, before we had been a week in the country.

But we must hasten to set out for Arta. We had ten horses: four for ourselves and servants, four to carry the baggage, and two, for two of the soldiers of the barrack, who were to go with us by way of guard, of which we afterwards learnt there was no necessity, the country between Salora and Arta being quite secure.

Our horses were very small and lean, apparently just caught from grass, and had no shoes, two of them being in milk, and followed by their foals. These, however, were not the regular post-horses, which, as we had no direct order from the Pasha, we were not yet able to procure, but were some that had been hired for us for thirty-five piasters, at a village between Arta and Salora. The post-horses themselves, though shabby-looking things, are generally tolerable hacks, and manage very well in the steep rocky paths they are obliged to traverse.

For the first mile and a half from Salora, the road was in a north-easterly direction, on a stone causeway crossing a marsh, on which we saw flocks of wild swans, and many other aquatic

birds. This marsh, which extends to a considerable distance to the west, and for several miles, with some intervals of cultivation, to the north-west, is partly formed by the waters of a stream flowing from near a village in the hills, called Velistri, and corresponding, according to the Frenchman's geography, with the Acheron. This district, from the plain of Nicopolis, certainly was the country of the Cassopœan Epirotes. At present it belongs, partly to the territory of Arta, and partly to the canton of Loru.

Having crossed the marsh, we came into a green plain of some extent, covered in part with brushwood, and in many places so swampy, that the baggage-horses fell down repeatedly; and, as it rained violently, we had a very slow and uncomfortable ride, until we came near Arta, when the sky cleared, and the sun shone. We had passed one small village about three hours from Salora, and the road, from our leaving the marsh, had been over the plain, which was bounded on every side, except that of the Gulf, by mountains, and which, though cultivated in some spots, appeared to serve principally as a pasture for horses, and bullocks. Our last hour's ride was through a lane pitched with large pebbles, and having hedges on each side, that served as fences for vineyards and olive groves, and gardens of orange, lemon, pomegranate, and fig-trees. Attached to some of these gardens were neat-looking cottages, and the approach to Arta, was in every respect picturesque, and agreeable.

Coming near the town, we passed over a strong stone bridge across the river of Arta, which is in this place of considerable breadth, and very rapid, and which bending round, forms a peninsula. On this peninsula the town stands. Entering the town, we saw on our right hand, a large Greek church in a dilapidated

state. We afterwards learnt, that it had been partly built with the remains of marble columns, some only of which were still to be seen inserted in the walls; the remainder having been carried away by the Turks, to adorn a mosck. A little farther on, also on the right hand, and seated on an eminence, was a handsome-looking house belonging to the Vizier, and having the appearance, like most of the best dwellings in the country, of having been very lately built. We arrived at the custom-house at Arta about one o'clock; but, notwithstanding we had been nearly five hours coming from Salora, the distance could not have been more than twelve, or thirteen miles.

The distances in Turkey are very difficult to be ascertained*, as they are measured by the time taken by a horse with baggage in going from one place to another. This, to be sure, is a very uncertain measurement; but if you allow three miles to every hour, you will be perhaps as near the mark as possible. We, however, had not gone at that rate from Salora, owing to various difficulties and stoppages by the way.

We rode into the lower part, or warehouse of the custom-house, which was half filled with bales of coarse woollen cloth and leather, and delivered the letter we had brought from Prevesa to the collector of the duties. He was very polite, kind, and communicative, and showed us up stairs, where we were surprized to see the house furnished with chairs and tables, and ornamented with old portraits; all which signs of civilization were accounted

* Mr. Gell has been very particular in his measurements, and seems to have followed a plan which I had always adopted, before I was aware that it had been pursued by that intelligent traveller, that of carrying a watch in the hand.

for by the place having been the property of a Venetian, and the residence of the French Consul, before that minister was removed from Arta to Ioannina. Our civil Greek provided us with a house to lodge in for the night; and a very comfortable house it was: that is, comfortable by comparison with our quarters at Prevesa, by which town it would be very unfair to estimate the interior of the country. Properly speaking, the word comfort cannot be applied to any thing I ever saw out of England, which any one in my place, who was not afraid of being taken for a downright prejudiced national blockhead, would confess.

The remainder of the day of our arrival was very fine, and we had an opportunity of surveying the town, which seemed tolerably clean, with streets partly paved, and not so narrow, as usual in the Levant, and free from unpleasant smells. The *bazar*, or street where the principal shops were, was well furnished with the commodities in request in Turkey. As the shops in these *bazars* have no windows to them, but are inclosed by wooden shutters, which, being removed in the day-time, leave them quite open, like a stall, the artisan and his goods are exposed, as it were, in the street. This, which has a poor effect when the tradesmen's articles are few, and of the common sort, produces a very gay appearance in rich cities.

Arta is not very splendid in this particular, but contains some very decent houses, and not in the oriental style, which may be accounted for by the length of time the Venetians possessed a footing in the neighbourhood. Until lately there was a considerable French establishment in the place, employed in the exportation of timber for ship-building at Toulon; but the town, once so considerable as to have given its name to the neighbouring

Gulf, has declined since Ioannina has begun to flourish under Ali; who governs Arta, before the seat of an independent pasha, by an officer of his own, with the title of Aga. There are, however, still about a thousand houses (so our Greek told us), or between five and six thousand inhabitants in the town, of which not a fourth part are Mahometans, and it is still a depôt of many valuable articles of merchandize.

In the warehouses of the Greeks there are threads, cottons, undressed wools, thick cloths, leather, silk and cotton stuffs. But the collector of the duties informed us, that the inhabitants were become very lazy, preferring the cultivation of a few acres, which furnished them with a competence, to being engaged in trade. The pursuits of agriculture might, however, be exceedingly profitable, for the soil in the neighbourhood produces a valuable grape; tobacco, which is much esteemed, barley, oats, and maize, and other grains of a good quality. The traders of the Ionian islands also resort to the plain of Arta for their cattle, sheep, and pigs.

The Turks must have formerly considered this place of some importance, for on an eminence a little to the east of the town, there is a fortress, once of considerable strength, but now in a state of decay. This we visited, having been informed that we should there perceive some remains, many pieces of marble having been already discovered and carried away from that spot. The only vestiges, however, of antiquity to be seen, were the enormous stones composing the lower part of the wall of the castle towards the east, one of which I found to be fourteen feet and a half long, and between five and six feet broad, and the remainder seemed of the same size.

It is impossible to doubt that these stones are a part of

some very ancient building; they have that massy character of Greek remains, which it is not easy to mistake; for though the edifices of the ancients were not, it should seem, so extensive and large as those of the moderns, yet their component parts, the stones with which they were built, were carved of a size that we have been either not able, or not willing to imitate. This distinction would strike any one entirely ignorant of architecture, and is found more in the works of the early Greeks than in those of later times, and of the Romans. The line where the old wall ends, and the modern superstructure begins, is distinctly marked, and these remains must point out the former site of some strong town, but not that of Ambracia, *which was situated at a little distance from the lower bay of the Gulf, and near which, descending from Mount Stympe, and the country of the Paroræi, the river Arachthus flowed, and afforded a short passage of a few stadia from the Gulf to the city**. But Arta is between seven and eight miles from the mouth of the river, which, if it be, as Mr. D'Anville gives it, the Arachthus, should show near its banks some vestiges of Ambracia. But I did not hear of any remains in the neighbourhood, except in the hills to the east, called Callidromos, which had been visited by an English gentleman, whose learning and long residence in the country, will render any account that he may choose to give of Albania, of the most inestimable value to the traveller.

From the fortress there is the best view of the surrounding country. The territory of Arta may be from twenty-seven to thirty miles in circumference, bounded by mountains to the north

* Strabon. lib. vii.

and north-east, and also to the west; by the Gulf to the south, and by low hills to the east. The town stands at a mile and a half, or two miles distance, from the north-eastern mountains. On the other side of the low hills terminating the plain, about four or five miles to the east, there is another river, that, about six miles from its mouth, divides and incloses within its two branches, a fertile plain, called by the Italians Terra Nova, and inhabited, says Poukeville, by Jews, exiled Venetians, and some Greeks from the Ionian Isles. One might be perhaps inclined to place Ambracia somewhere in Terra Nova, as corresponding more exactly with the *μυκος*, the lower part of the Gulf, than the plain of Arta, which is not more than fifteen miles, or half way down. In that case, the river of Arta could no longer be the Arachthius, but the Charadnis; and the massy stones of the castle would be supposed to indicate the site of Ambracus, a town near that river, and described as *defended by strong walls, lying in a marsh with only one path to it, and that narrow, and constructed on a raised mole, and as being opportunely situated for the annoyance both of the territory and town of Ambracia**.

The whole of the plain is marshy; the road of the lane through which we passed, is a raised causeway; and the similarity of sound in the two names, will account for the site of Ambracus being for a long time mistaken for that of Ambracia. Yet all this is pure conjecture. The hill of the fortress is like the Pyrrheum; and Livy's description, in the fourth chapter of the thirty-eighth book, seems to allude to the very spot on which Arta now stands. But how could the historian trace the Arachthius from Acarnania? We must make an end of our enquiries.

* Polyb. lib. iv. cap. 61.

After strolling about the town until sun-set, the Greek collector joined us at our lodging, and took a dish of tea with us, which, besides its other qualities that render it the best travelling commodity in the world, is also a great cement of society, being a rarity in the Levant. The same person provided horses to be ready early the next morning, for which we paid him beforehand, being warned, that many travellers, Albanian soldiers, and Greek merchants, had often contrived to pursue their journey, without settling for their conveyance.

We had little sleep, being disturbed by a party of Greeks fiddling and dancing in the room next to us, and were up the next morning at sun-rise; but we did not mount until eight o'clock. There was a long quarrel between the different owners of the horses, respecting the weight of the baggage, and each peasant was anxious that his own beast might not be overloaded: then there was a want of ropes; and they did not know how to put on the English saddles, which they would not place on the horse's back, for fear of galling it, but on a high dirty pad. These difficulties occurred every day of our travels, and we never were less than two hours getting under way, as a sailor would term it—a delay sufficient to try the patience of the most enduring temper.

We dropped our soldiers of the Salora barrack at Arta, and took two more from that town, as we had to cross a mountainous country, considered at that time rather suspicious, and over which I will proceed with you in my next letter.

LETTER V.

Route from Arta to the Kan of St. Dimetre—From St. Dimetre to Ioannina—First View, and Entry into that City—Reception of Travellers.

SIR,

WE left Arta by the same road through which we had entered it, and passed over the bridge, but we then turned to the right, and took a north-easterly direction for a short time by the side of the river. We met long strings of horses loaded with goat-skins full of wine, for it was about the middle of the vintage. We observed that the hairy side of the skin was turned inwards, and this circumstance accounted for the unpleasant strong savour of the goat in the new wine. Passing a little farther, we saw them treading out the liquor in tubs by the hedge-side, over which, the persons employed in gathering were emptying out the grapes from small wicker baskets.

Just before we left the banks of the river to the eastward, we passed on our left hand a fine cedar, and the largest plane tree I have ever seen, except that so celebrated at Vostizza, in the Morea. We now took a northern direction, skirting a large plain or marsh, that stretched down to the Gulf on the left, and was in spots covered with maize and rice. On the right were the stony hills, that advance within a short distance to the north of Arta, and are

the roots of the immense mountains that fill the country from the plains of Arta, as far to the west as the Ionian Sea, and as far to the north and north-east as the plain of Ioannina. These seem to be rather masses than ranges of mountains, and it is, therefore, almost impossible to ascertain the direction in which they run.

After two hours ride from Arta, we came to a hut on an eminence to our right, at which place was a military post, and where we had been recommended to take an additional guard with us. We halted a few minutes, and were joined by four Albanian soldiers, armed with their long guns and sabres. A little way farther on, the path left the plain, which we saw extending before us, with a village at a distance; and turning to the north-east, we struck into the mountains. We travelled in a ravine, as it were, for some time; for the hills rose abruptly and close to us on each side, and our path occasionally was along a water-course, whose banks were covered with brushwood. Just in this spot our guard, very probably for the sake of making their attendance appear to be necessary, desired us to keep close together, as this was the place, they said, where the robbers, the *κλέφταις* (a word very frequently in the mouth of an Albanian), most commonly made their attack.

Our four men continued with us for two hours, till we came to a part of the road where there was a village in the bosom of a hill to the right, prettily interspersed with trees and gardens, and having a house belonging to the Vizier. Here the guard left us to return to their station, telling us that our own two soldiers and ourselves (for we were well armed) would be sufficiently formidable to put us out of all apprehension for the rest of the road.

The Vizier had almost cleared this part of the country of rob-

bers ; but there were still some suspicious spots, through which a traveller, whose purpose it is to proceed, and not to fight, would choose to provide a guard. That which we had passed was one of them, and we were afterwards told of another.

We had as yet travelled in a narrow valley ; and just 'as we came to a spot where the hills seemed to stop all farther progress, we ascended a mountain-path to the north, and in a short time stopped to refresh at one of those fountains which are so common all over Turkey. Turning round, we had a fine prospect of the plain of Arta, and of the Gulf at a distance, looking, as it were, through an immense telescope, or vista, formed by the hills on each side of the road we had passed.

At one o'clock we moved forwards, still ascending, and came to a place where there was a path over the country to the right (the north-east), to Zeitoun, a port near Thermopylæ ; and also another to the left, down the mountains to the country of Sulli, and Parga, and the coast of the Ionian Sea. The scenery on each side of us was most beautiful, the hills being covered with lofty forests ; but before us the road appeared to lead through a country much more bleak and rocky. It began to rain a little.

George, our dragoman, told us this spot had formerly been very famous for robbers, and complained that our guard ought not to have left us ; and just as we entered a small wood, a gun was discharged at a short distance from us. I had a little before seen a shepherd on an eminence above us, stalking "gigantic" through the mist, and was told that it was he who had discharged the musket ; and, indeed, we soon came to where two other shepherds were standing near the path ; but a person who had his notions of the pastoral life from a visit to Salisbury Plain, and from the pleasing pictures of an Arcadian romance, would never

have guessed at the occupation of these tremendous-looking fellows. They had each of them pistols, and a large knife, stuck in their belts; their heads were covered, and their faces partly shaded by the peaked hoods of their shaggy capotes; and leaning on their long guns, they stared eagerly at the Franks and the umbrellas, with which they were, probably, as much taken, as were we with their uncouth and ferocious appearance. Their flocks of sheep and goats were feeding at a distance on the sides of the hills; but several of their large rough dogs, with their pricked ears and bushy tails, were roused by our presence, and howled at us as our train of horses wound along the path close by them.

These dogs are not unlike the true shepherd breed of England, except that they are larger (being as big nearly as a mastiff), and have their heads more sharp, and their tails more curled and bushy; and, whatever change may have taken place in the men of the country, they have not degenerated from their Molossian ancestors.

We soon saw another country-lodge of the Vizier's to the right, with a few trees round it, and a small church near it; and we then came, in a short time, to a chasm in the road, made by a winter torrent.

Winding along the sides of the hills, we passed a hamlet of three or four houses and a church, that is, a small stone house containing one room, with only one small window, and only to be distinguished by a stone cross rudely carved over the door. They told us that service was performed at this place about once in two months, and that then it was resorted to by the inhabitants of the hamlets within eight or ten miles.

At half past three we arrived at a kan by the road-side, where

was a yard and stable, a barrack for passengers to sleep in, and a little wine-house. At this place four paras are demanded for a toll from every Greek passenger. The road, which had been for three hours very mountainous and romantic, and generally on an ascent, now led us down into a plain, in which we again saw some signs of partial cultivation, fields of maize, now and then a single house with a garden, and a solitary labourer beating the mast trees. In an hour we began to ascend again, and the path was very stony, and across several rivulets. We met two parties of armed Albanians, and these were the only travellers we had encountered during our day's ride.

The evening came on, with a drizzling rain, very dusky, and at last quite dark. We saw a blazing light at a distance, which they told us was the *kān*, where we were to stop for the night; but as we approached it, stumbling along a rough descending path, we were assailed by several dogs, and found that the light was the fire of some shepherds, whose black shadows we saw near the blaze at a little distance. However, in half an hour we turned into the gate of the *kān*, ourselves and the baggage dripping with rain. This was about half after seven o'clock; so that the distance between Arta and the *kān* may be nearly thirty-five miles, chiefly in a northern direction. There are few parts of the road, except where it has been paved, in which a person without baggage might not go at a good pace; and it was made, where there is any making in it, by Ali Pasha about nine years ago.

The *kān*, called the *kān* of St. Dimetre, had a very good stable, as is the case with most of these places, at one end of which a party of travellers had established themselves, preferring it to the room in the *kān* itself. We ascended by the wooden

steps to the chamber, of which we thought we were to be the sole tenants; but as our beds were putting up, four Albanian Turks and a priest entered, and soon gave us to understand that they were to be our fellow-lodgers. This room was not more than twenty feet long and ten feet broad, and our own party were seven; however, it appeared that the others were the first occupiers, so we established ourselves on our beds at one side of the hearth, and the Albanians seated themselves on their mats at the other. We had some eggs boiled in the small wine-house attached to the hân, and were preparing to get a fire lighted, when we were told that there were some merchants' goods underneath, which would be endangered by such a proceeding, as the burning wood might drop through one of the many holes in the floor.

Our chums turned out to be a mission from the Vizier, with letters to General Bessieres at Corfu, who, it seems, had been slow in paying his Highness for the provisions with which the French troops had been furnished from Albania. We had some conversation with them. A young Corfiote, who had come with us from Arta, told one of the Albanians, that he would certainly be taken by an English cruiser in his way to Corfu. "No;" returned the fellow, who seemed very surly and ill-natured—"I am going in a ship of the Vizier's."—"That does not signify," said the other, "the English care for nobody's ships; they won't let you go to Corfu." "I am not afraid," replied the Albanian angrily; "Captain ——" (the English resident at Ioannina) "and these two gentlemen are pledges for me."

A little after hearing this agreeable assurance we went to bed; and the rest of the party lay down on their mats. There were twelve

of us in the room ; and every one, except the priest and the Corsiote, slept with his pistols at his head-side. This, however, on the part of the Albanians, was not so much out of caution as custom ; for there was not the least real cause for alarm or suspicion ; but the fashion was new, and somewhat disagreeable to us.

A little before day-light I was awakened by the rising of the surly Albanian, who got up, and going out, returned with a jug of water, with which he began gargling and spitting most violently, at the same time whirling around, as if to air himself. This was his only toilet. He then lay down and took a nap till day-light, when he, and the remainder of the mission departed.

In the morning it rained very violently, and we did not set off until nine o'clock ; when, however, the showers were sufficiently lasting and heavy to wet us through. We had begun our Albanian tour a month too soon, as you will see by our present, and subsequent disasters from bad weather.

The road was through a green plain, to the westward of north, in many places cultivated, and every where spotted with flocks of sheep and goats. This plain to the right, and before us, seemed to extend to a great distance, until terminated by a mountain, or rather a vast chain of mountains, that were half hidden in the clouds. To the left were, at about two miles distance, green hills ; on the side of which we saw two villages. We continued for three hours on the plain, approaching the mountains ; and after riding up a gentle rising for another half hour, had our first view of Ioannina, and of the lake on which it stands. A gleam of sun-shine afforded us an opportunity of contemplating the fine prospect of the city and its neighbourhood. The

houses, domes, and minarets, glittering through gardens of orange and lemon trees, and from groves of cypress—the lake spreading its smooth expanse at the foot of the city—the mountains rising abruptly from the banks of the lake—all these burst at once upon us, and we wanted nothing to increase our delight, but the persuasion that we were in sight of the Acherusian lake, of Pindus, and the Elysian Fields. But we had not yet perused the topography of Poukeville.

We soon entered the suburbs, after having passed a new-built house of the Vizier's on our right, inclosed within a wall of some extent. On our left hand were Turkish tomb-stones, and shops to the right. As we passed a large tree on our left, opposite a butcher's shop, I saw something hanging from the boughs, which at a little distance seemed to be meat exposed for sale; but on coming nearer, I suddenly discovered it to be a man's arm, with part of the side torn from the body, and hanging by a bit of string tied round one of the fingers.

Before you set down the 'Turks as a cruel, savage people, on hearing this, you will recollect, that a stranger passing through Temple-Bar fifty years ago, might have concluded the English to be of the same character. We learnt that the arm was part of a robber who had been beheaded five days before, and whose remaining quarters were exposed in other parts of Ioannina.

After riding at least a mile through the streets, we came to the house of the English resident, for whom we had been provided with a letter by the Governor of Malta, and found that a house had been prepared for our reception. To this place we repaired, and were received with a most profound politeness by Signor Nicolo, the owner of the mansion. Our quarters were very

comfortable, and our host, a Greek, who had passed several years at Trieste, and who spoke Italian very fluently, was kind and attentive.

I had scarcely dressed myself, when I was informed that a secretary of his Highness the Vizier, and the Greek Primate of the city, had called to congratulate us on our arrival. I went in the first to receive them, and was quite overwhelmed with the many fine things said by the Secretary, who spoke French; he told me, that his Highness had been aware of our intention to visit Ioannina; that he had ordered every thing to be prepared for our reception; that he was sorry to be obliged to leave his capital, to finish a little war (*une petite guerre*) in which he was engaged, but that he begged we would follow him; and lastly, that an escort was provided for that purpose, to be ready at our command. The Primate, whom, I was told, I might know to be a very great man, by the enormous size of his *talpac*, or cap, spoke not a word, but bowed very frequently. When my friend came in, the same compliments and information were repeated to him; and as we were not at that time acquainted, that these were usual honours, nor with the Greek manner of expression, we were not a little surprised, especially when we learnt that all our provisions were to be daily furnished to us from the Vizier's palace.

The Secretary and the Primate left us, as they said, to give the necessary orders, and wishing to observe the Frank ceremony of pulling off the hat, were exceedingly awkward in lifting up their immense caps with two hands, and adjusting them again upon their heads. They were some time also at the door of the apartment shuffling on their outward shoes, which, according to

oriental etiquette, as you perhaps know, are always put off on entering an inner apartment; so that the poorer class of people have their feet naked, the middling wear a sock or stocking, and the rich have a thin boot without a sole, reaching a little above their ankles, which, when worn by a Turk or privileged Greek, is yellow or scarlet, but in all other cases blue, or some dark colour. The delay caused by this adjusting of the outward shoes, after a man has taken his leave, has a very bad and embarrassing effect; and one is sensible of this when a Greek is making these preparations; but the composure and dignity of a Turk are not hurt by his complying with this or any other custom.

I take the liberty of introducing this sort of remarks, trifling as they are, with a reference to the time and place in which they occurred to me, and after mentioning the occasion which gave rise to the observation. This appears to me a better plan than that of classing every thing under separate heads, and I have generally adhered to such an arrangement. You will tell me if I am wrong.

I am, &c. &c.

LETTER VI.

Visit to the Grandsons of Ali—Manners of the Young Muhometans—View of the Neighbourhood of Ioannina—The Lake—Mount Tomarus—The Mountains of Sagori—the Route across them—Mount Pindus—Route across it to Larissa—Dodona—The Plains of Ioannina—The Amphitheatre of Chercovista.

SIR,

WE passed the few days that we remained at Ioannina, previous to our visiting the Vizier at his quarters, very agreeably, and with a variety of occupations which is seldom to be enjoyed by travellers, and which, even in this place, would not, perhaps, have lasted long. The second day of our arrival, we paid a visit to the young son of Mouctar Pasha, who is the eldest son of Ali, and who has distinguished himself so much in the present war with Russia. We waited upon him at the palace assigned to his father; and he received us, though he was a boy of only ten years old, with a polite unembarrassed air, desiring us, with a gentle motion of the hand, to sit down near him. His preceptor, a grave old man, with a beard reaching to his knees, sat in the corner opposite to him, but did not interfere in the conversation. The Bey, for that was his title, though he was a little

inquisitive as to some parts of our dress, and was highly delighted by a handsome sword worn by my friend, yet preserved his dignity and gravity, nor could we observe but very little difference between his manners and those of his aged tutor.

When we had taken coffee and sweetmeats, we expressed a wish of seeing the palace, for the Bey was lodged in what appeared to be one of the outward and inferior apartments ; and our young host sent immediately to desire his father's women to retire into the inner apartments of the harem, that we might have an opportunity of seeing the rooms. As he was walking out of his chamber very sedately before us (for it is, I believe, a point in Turkish etiquette, that the guest should enter the first, but retire the last), one of the shabby looking Albanian guard in waiting upon him, embraced him very tenderly ; and in the whole of the conduct of his people towards him, there was a singular mixture of familiarity and respect.

The palace had one long, well-floored, open gallery, with wainscots painted in much the same style as our tea-boards. In one compartment was a tawdry representation of Constantinople, a favourite subject, and one which we recognised in almost every painted house in Turkey. We saw several rooms, not only handsomely, but very comfortably fitted up, especially those which we were informed were the winter apartments. The coverings of the sofas were of richly-wrought silk ; the floors were spread with the best Turkey carpets : and if the windows, which were large and deep, and of clear Venetian glass, had been furnished with curtains, there would have been nothing wanting to complete the elegance of the chambers. Except that one of the rooms was furnished with a marble recess, containing a bath and fountain,

the whole palace seemed fitted up in the same style, which is easily accounted for, by the circumstance, that in Turkey there are no rooms set apart for sleeping, but all are indiscriminately used for that purpose, as each chamber contains a closet or cupboard, in which are deposited the mats or quilts, that constitute the whole of the bed of the Orientals.

The little Bey was highly delighted at shewing his father's palace, and now and then seemed inclined to throw off his Turkish reserve. He shewed us his watch, and two or three other little ornaments; but when I was going to put my hand on a small silver box in the shape of a heart, hanging round his neck by a chain, he shook his head, and said, "No! No!" I found this was an amulet or charm, and that his tutor had lost no time in beginning the religious part of his pupil's education. The Bey spoke Albanian and Greek, and was now learning to write and read Turkish and Arabic. We took our leave, and the youth was as graceful in this ceremony as he had been on our entering the room.

Upon a similar occasion, when we visited another of the grandsons of Ali, we had an opportunity of observing that these manners were not peculiar to himself, but belonged to all Mahometans of the better sort, who, generally speaking, have completed their education, as far as relates to behaviour in society, before they have ceased to be children. Mahomet, son of Veli, Pasha of the Morea, and second son of Ali, was of a lively air, and was said to possess the genius of his grandfather: accordingly, though only twelve years old, he was in possession of a pashalik. He was living in the palace of Ali. He did the honours with the same ease as his cousin, and after sitting a short time, proposed

a visit to a younger brother of his, who was at a house belonging to their father Veli.

A messenger was sent before us, and we 'set out on horses caparisoned with gold housings, whilst some officers of the palace, with their wands and silver sticks, preceded us. As the young Pasha passed through the streets, all the people rose from their shops, and those who were walking stood still, every body paying him the usual reverence, by bending their bodies very low, touching the ground with their right hand, and then bringing it up to their mouth and forehead (for the *adoration* of the great is, in its primitive and literal sense, still preserved among the Orientals). The Bey returned the salute by laying his right hand on his breast, and by a gentle inclination of his head.

When arrived at the court of Veli's palace, he suddenly touched his horse's sides, and galloped round to the steps, where his brother, a boy of seven years old, was standing to receive him. On meeting, they embraced in a very ceremonious manner, inclining their heads over each other's shoulders. After pipes and coffee, we proceeded to see the apartments; and, as we were walking along, the youngest boy forgot himself a little, and began to skip about; when he was immediately checked by the Pasha, who said, "Brother, recollect you are in the presence of a stranger; walk more quietly." The other instantly obeyed; and it was not a little astonishing, to witness such counsel, and so ready a compliance, in children of so tender an age. I have introduced you into so young company, that you may not be surprised at the conduct and carriage of the men amongst the Turks.

On the 8th of October we were favoured with four of the

Vizier's horses, to ride into the country, and we went into the plain, over part of which we had passed on entering the city. We were taken to the spots most favourable for viewing the beautiful picture before us. Imagine to yourself a large sheet of water, of ten or twelve miles in length, and at least three miles in breadth, inclosed, on one side by green plains, an extensive city, and a long succession of groves and gardens, and on the other, by a chain of lofty mountains, that rise almost abruptly from its banks. Such was the appearance of the lake of Ioannina, and its surrounding scenery. A stay of a fortnight, during two visits, gave us an opportunity of satisfying our curiosity, in beholding the same object from different points; yet I am sure that I shall not be so particular as I could wish, in conveying to your mind an adequate notion of the town and its neighbourhood.

The lake extends, in length, from about north-west to south-south-east. In it there are two woody islands, one large towards the southern extremity, and the other much smaller, nearly opposite to a triangular peninsula which contains the Vizier's palace, and is defended by a fortress. The northern end of the lake loses itself in a reedy marsh, over which there is a stone causeway, and it is closed by some gardens belonging to the Vizier, where he has a summer palace for the ladies of his harem. The southern extremity extends into a hilly country, and forms at last a small river, that, after being lost for some miles, rises at a village called Velistri, and runs into the marsh on the banks of the gulf of Arta. This is the Acheron of Poukeville, who has also found out an Avernus to receive his infernal stream. But the Acheron did not flow into the Ambracian, but into the Thesprotian gulf.

In a little bay, opposite to the islet and to the fortress point, there is a spring of very cold water dripping from the rock; and it is near this stream, or under the spreading branches of a neighbouring tree, that an artist would probably place himself, to take a view of the city.

The French writer, who is determined to finish his picture, talks of a river, called by the people of the country *Cokyτος*, which, after flowing under ground, rises at Perama, a “maison de plaisance” belonging to the Vizier. The existence of *Cokyτος* and Perama is possible, but I never heard of either the one or the other; and when Poukeville gravely asserts, that the inhabitants of Ioannina call their neighbouring plains the “*Elysian Fields*,” I must entreat you to put no faith in him.

It is singular, that there is no mention made by the ancient geographers, of any lake in the interior of this country, except in the neighbourhood of Lychidnus, a town one hundred and twenty miles to the north of Ioannina, and now called Oerida. Mr. D’Anville, in placing the Acherusian lake near the sea, and communicating with the Glykyrs-Limen, or port of sweet waters, sometimes also called the Thesprotian gulf, followed the decisive authority of Strabo*, who, if he did not see the spot himself, might have copied from Livy†, and from Thucydides, to the last of whom I would refer you, that you may determine, whether the position of the lake of Ioannina be reconcileable with that of the ancient lake‡. I should be loth to be as positive against, as

* Lib. vii.

† Lib. viii. cap. 24.

‡ Ἰσθμὶ δὲ λιμὴν, καὶ πόλις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κεῖται ἀπο θαλάσσης, ἐν τῇ Ελαιαίῳ τῆς Θεσπρωλίδος Εφύρη. ἔξεισι δὲ παρ’ αὐτὴν Ἀχερουσία λίμνη ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν.—Lib. i. cap. 46.

Poukeville is in favour of, their identity; yet Ioannina is, by his own confession, twenty-five leagues from the sea.

The whole of the country to the north, north-east, and east of the lake, is a mass of mountains, consisting apparently of two ranges, the one of which runs from north to south, and the other in a direction from north to south-east. The first of these vast chains is called Zoumerka, corresponding, it would seem, with the ancient Tomarus; and the latter mountains, now known by the name of Metzovo, can be no other than Pindus itself, for they are the boundaries between this part of Albania and the plains of Thessaly. Between Zoumerka and Metzovo, and running nearly parallel with the lake, but more to the north, are the lofty hills of Sagori, whose flat summits, spread into extensive plains, point exactly at mount Lingon, as it is described by Livy, in following the retreat of King Philip before Flaminius*.

To go into the country of Sagori, the traveller must pass a bridge crossing a small river that runs into the northern end of the lake; and in four hours, or twelve miles, from Ioannina, he first enters that district. In twelve miles more, he arrives at a monastery dedicated to St. Elias; and again, in twelve other miles, at the town of Sagori, which is in a direction north-east from Ioannina. This route is taken by the merchants travelling into Wallachia, as being more secure than that which leads through the plains of Thessaly by Larissa. The tops of Pindus are more

* Inde in montem Lingon perrexit. Ipsi montes Epiri sunt interjecti Macedoniae Thessaliaeque. Latus quod vergit in Thessaliam oriens spectat; septentrio a Macedonia obijcitur, vestiti frequentibus sylvis sunt, juga summa campos patentes, aquasque perennes habent.—Lib. xxxiii. cap. 13.

than a day's journey from the lake. It is but seldom that they are not hidden in the clouds; but a gentleman who had been so fortunate as to perform that exploit in a clear day, informed me, that the prospect from that eminence was more extensive than any he had ever seen; and he had ascended Olympus. Polybius speaks of a hill in Epirus, from which both seas might be distinctly seen.

Metzovo is so called, from a town of that name, consisting of fifteen hundred houses, and lying in the route from Ioannina to Larissa. This route is given with great apparent accuracy by Poukeville: it leads during three hours along the lake, then for an hour across a mountain in an easterly direction; passes over a bridge of the river that flows to Arta; continues for five hours, but more southerly, along that river, then over another hill an hour and a half, and reaches Metzovo; afterwards it goes easterly, for two hours, over the mountain Metzovo, to Malacassi, a village, and still ascends for an hour, till it crosses a stream that falls into the Salembria, or river Peneus. This stream it follows for three hours, and reaches a han called Kokouliotiko (the Gomphi of Poukeville); it then passes Stagous, a town of a thousand houses, re-crosses the river of Malacassi, and runs over a vast plain, in ten hours from the han, to Triccala, the ancient Tricca of Thessaly, and now the chief town of a small province. From Triccala the road continues on the plain in an easterly direction, till in nine hours and a half it reaches Larissa, having, in five hours, passed Zarko, a town of eight hundred houses, and, in an hour and a half more, a village called Koutzochero, near which it crosses the Salembria.

Between the roots of mount Metzovo, and the southern extre-

mity of the lake, are two lower hills, to the first of which a few insignificant remains, supposed to be those of Cassiope, the name of an inland town as well as of a port of Epirus, have given the appellation of the Cassiopean hills. The other, our French author has chosen to call the little Pindus. But although the licence granted to the fancy of his nation may suffer him to wander through his Elysian Fields, and sport with the Grecian Muses on their favourite hill, still he cannot be permitted to profane with conjecture the venerable shades of Dodona. "At a village," says he, "four leagues to the north-east of Ioannina, begin the hills of Sagori, and the forests of Dodona*." But these groves are not to be distinguished from amidst a thousand woody recesses that shade the mountains of Albania; and the prose of the traveller is less sober than the poetry of his harmonious countryman.

Ce sont passés ces temps des rêves poetiques
 Ou l'homme interrogeoit des forêts prophetiques,
 Ou la fable créant des faits prodigieux
 Peuploit d'êtres vivants des bois religieux.
 Dodone inconsultée a perdu ses oracles,
 Les vergers sont sans Dieux, les forêts sans miracles†.

Nor can his auxiliary (M. Barbier du Boccage) be allowed to fix the oracle of Jupiter at the village of Protopapas, three leagues to the north-north-west of Ioannina‡. We must be content to

* Voyage en Albanie, page 54.

† Delille, *Trois Regnes de la Nature*, canto vi.

‡ Description et Histoire de l'Ancienne Epire, prefixed to the *Travels in Albania*.

know what Homer has told us, that it was situated in a distant and inclement region, amongst a barbarous people, who washed not their feet, and who lay upon the bare ground* ; or at most, we can only learn that it was placed somewhere at the foot of mount Tomarus, in the country first belonging to the Thesprotians, and afterwards to the Molossians†.

To the south-west, the west, and the north-west, of Ioannina, the country is plain for the most part, though occasionally interrupted by low hills and spots of rising ground. We passed through the length of this flat, and I should conceive it to be about twenty-five miles, beginning a little beyond the *Khan* of St. Dimetre, and concluding at a village called Zitza. Its breadth varies from one to three or four miles, and it is terminated to the south-westward by hills belonging to a district whose chief town is called Philathe, and which is on the route from Ioannina to the districts of Paramitkia, and to those of Margariti, Parga, and Sulli, on the coast of the Adriatic, nearly opposite to Corfu.

But I will leave the notice of these places to another opportunity, and proceed to inform you, that in the whole extent of the country of which I have given you so imperfect a sketch, there is only one important remnant of antiquity: this we visited. It is in the neighbourhood of a village called, as well as I could catch the sound, Chercovista, and about four hours in a direction nearly south-easterly from the city. The road is first through the plain, and then ascends, over some low rocky hills, into a wide valley, terminated by woody hills called Olintza. Here, before arriving at the principal ruins, there are evident traces of

Iliad, lib. xvi. lin. 233, et sequ.

† *Strab.* lib. vii.

ancient buildings; but the amphitheatre, which soon presents itself, is indeed magnificent, and, for a ruin, very entire. The stones that compose it, are of that massy size, which I have before remarked to be the characteristic of Grecian architecture. The breadth of the area is fifty-six long paces, and the rows of seats are in number sixty-five, each seat being in depth more than a foot. This is a very inadequate description of an antiquity of such importance; but you will be pleased to hear, that it has been exactly measured, and represented in a most accurate design, by the hand of an artist. A marble vase has been dug out from the area of the amphitheatre, and is now in possession of the gentleman to whom I have before had occasion to allude.

The conjectures of a scholar would be busily employed in assigning some classical name to the site of the magnificent ruin of Chercovista; but he might, after every enquiry, be obliged perhaps to content himself with thinking, that he had viewed the sole remaining vestige of the ancient splendour of Epirus, of the seventy cities, which a decree of the Roman senate despoiled in one day, and at the same hour, of their wealth, of their ornaments, and of their people*. However, although we may believe, with Plutarch, that every one was horror-struck, when a whole nation was involved in ruin for the sake of a plunder, which, being divided, gave to each soldier only eleven drachmas†; yet

* Polyb. lib. vii. T. Liv. lib. xlv. cap. 34.

† Plut. in vit. Æmylii.—However, all Epirus was not depopulated, but only those parts which had favoured King Perseus, as we learn by an expression of Livy; for that historian, after detailing the account of this cruelty, soon talks of the rest of the Epirotes—"reliquorum Epirotarum" are his words. Mr. Hume, as well as Plutarch, seems to have fallen into the inaccuracy of stating these 150,000 as the entire population of all Epirus. See *Essay on the Populousness of Ancient Nations*.

the smallness of the booty, and of the number of the captives (150,000) enslaved by the conquerors, allows but a scanty, and not a rich population, to each of the cities destroyed; and it is probable, that some one of them would have been particularized, had it been one-third as extensive as modern Ioannina; but to that place, after giving you a short respite, I will, in my next Letter, at length return.

I am, &c. &c.

LETTER VII.

Ioannina—the Houses—the Palaces of the Vizier—Summer Pavilion—Population of the City—the Trade—Annual Fair—Exports and Imports.

THE existence of such a city as Ioannina seems, till very lately, to have been almost unknown, and yet, I should suppose it, after Salonika and Adrianople, to be the most considerable place in European Turkey. It has never been my good fortune to meet with a notice of it in any book of an early date, except once in the ponderous history of Knolles, who, with an accuracy usual in such a writer, tells how the Sultan Bajazet the First, took the city of Ioannina in *Ætolia**. Poukeville has somewhere discovered, that it was founded by Michael Lucas Sebastoerator, and by the despot Thomas, and conquered by Amurath Bey, general to Sultan Amurath the Second, in 1424. This account I am unable to confirm, or to contradict, and shall therefore speak only of its present state.

The city stands on the western banks of the lake, at about two miles from its northern extremity. In its utmost length it may

* History of the Turks, p. 205.

be perhaps two miles and a half; and in breadth, though in *some* places it is much narrower, nearly a mile. Immediately near the lake it stands on a flat, but the north and north-western parts of it are built on slopes of rising and uneven ground. A triangular peninsula (of which mention has before been made) juts into the lake, and contains the residence of the Pasha, being defended by a fortification and a tower at each angle. The entrance to this fortress is over a drawbridge. There is one street which runs nearly the whole length of the town, and another that cuts it at right angles, extending to the fortress. These are the principal streets.

The houses are, many of them, large and well-built, containing a court-yard, and having warehouses or stables on the ground, with an open gallery and the apartments of the family above. A flight of wooden steps under cover of the pent of the gallery, connects the under and upper part of the houses. Though they have but a gloomy appearance from the street, having the windows very small, and latticed with cross bars of wood, and presenting the inhospitable show of large folding doors, big enough to admit the horses and cattle of the family, but never left open, yet the yard, which is often furnished with orange and lemon trees, and in the best houses communicates with a garden, makes them very lively from within, and the galleries are sufficiently extensive to allow a scope for walking in rainy weather.

The Bazar, or principal street, inhabited by the tradesmen, is well furnished, and has a showy appearance. The Bizestein, or covered Bazar, is of considerable size, and would put you in mind, as perhaps I have before observed of these places, of Exeter-Change.

Besides the palace in the fortress, and the two I have mentioned in my last Letter, allotted to the two sons of Ali, there is another summer residence of the Vizier's in the suburbs, at the north-west end of the town. It is built in the midst of a garden, in a wild and tangled state, when we saw it, but abounding with every kind of fruit-tree that flourishes in this favoured climate—the orange, the lemon, the fig, and the pomegranate. It is in the form of a pavilion, and has one large saloon (I think an octagon), with small latticed apartments on every side. The floor of the saloon is of marble, and in the middle of it there is a fountain containing a pretty model, also in marble, of a fortress, mounted with small brass cannon, which, at a signal, spout forth jets of water into the fountain, accompanied by a small organ in a recess, playing some Italian tunes. The small rooms are furnished with sofas of figured silk, and the lattices of the windows, as well as the cornices, are gilt, and highly polished. The shade of an orange-grove protects the pavilion from the sun, and it is to this retreat that the Vizier withdraws during the heats of summer, with the most favoured ladies of his harem, and indulges in the enjoyment of whatever accomplishments these fair-ones can display for his gratification. Our attendant pointed out to us, in a recess, the sofa on which Ali was accustomed to sit, whilst, on the marble floor of the saloon, his females danced before him to the music of the Albanian lute.

In a field adjoining the gardens, and surrounded with high walls, are a few large deer and antelopes. The pavilion and its gardens bespeak a taste quite different from that of the country, and most probably the Vizier was indebted to his French prisoners for the beauties of this elegant retirement. We were told it was the work of a Frank.

Beyond the pavilion there are gardens belonging to the principal citizens of Ioannina, and as most of these have a summer-house in them, they seem to make a part of the city, which, from its great apparent extent, might be thought to contain a very large population. But the Mahometans never make any efforts to ascertain the exact number of inhabitants in any town or district, and it was only during our stay in Turkey, that the Greek priests of one city were persuaded, for the first time, by a Scotch gentleman, to keep a regular registry of births in their district. This makes every thing that can be said on the population of Ioannina, mere conjecture. Some informed me that it contained eight thousand houses, others did not make the number of inhabitants amount to more than thirty-five thousand. I should think this is the lowest possible computation. Of this number, whatever it be, one-tenth perhaps are Mahometans, and the remainder Christians, with a few Jews.

The Christians of Ioannina, though inhabiting a part of Albania, and governed by Albanian masters, call themselves Greeks, as do the inhabitants of Arta, Prevesa, and even of many villages higher up in the country: They neither wear the Albanian dress, nor speak the Albanian language, and they partake also in every particular of the manners and customs of the Greeks of the Morea, Roumelia, and the other christian parts of Turkey in Europe and Asia. As, however, the appellation *Romæos*, or Roman, (once so proud a title, but now the badge of bondage) is a religious, not a national distinction, and means a Christian of the Greek church, and as many of the Albanians are of that persuasion, and denominated accordingly, it is difficult to avoid confusion, in giving to the various people of the country

their common names. To prevent, however, any mistake, I shall always use the words Greek and Albanian, with a reference, not to the religion, but to the language and nation of the persons, whom I may have occasion to mention. At the same time, I shall indulge myself in the opposite licence, of putting the word Turk as a religious denomination, which, though an undoubted vulgarism, is prevalent amongst the Greeks of the Levant, and does not, as far as I could see, give that offence to the Mahometans, of which I have somewhere read.

The Greek citizens of Ioannina appear a distinct race from the inhabitants of the mountains, and perhaps are sprung from ancient settlers, who may have retired, from time to time, before the successive conquerors of Peloponnesus and Greece, into a country where, although enslaved, they were less exposed to perpetual ravages and to a frequent change of masters. Many of them boast of their ancestry, and I was told that there was in the city a school-master, whose family had taught for 300 years successively, the eldest son always taking upon himself the profession. I would not wish you to believe in this long line of pedagogues, but before you laugh at the notion of a family of school-masters, you should recollect, that we have, in our own country, an instance of the same thing, and that, after all, an hereditary scholar is not a more strange being, than an hereditary legislator.

The Greeks of Ioannina are, with the exception of the priests, and of some few who are in the employments of the Pasha, all engaged in trade; and many of the better sort pass three or four years in the merchant-houses of Trieste, Genoa, Leghorn, Venice, and Vienna, which, in addition to the education they receive in the

schools of their own city, where they may learn French and Italian, gives them a competent knowledge of the most diffused modern languages, and adds also to the ease and urbanity of their address. They have, indeed, introduced as much as they dare of the manners of Christendom, and, as our host, Signor Nicolo, informed us, once aspired for a moment, to the establishment of a theatre for the performance of Italian operas. Some of them, after establishing an intercourse with their own city, settle in the sea-ports of Roumelia, and in the towns of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Hungary; but they generally return home, as the policy of Ali contrives to oblige them to leave part of their family in his dominions, and, indeed, the wealthy merchants cannot leave the country, or even the city, without his express permission. They are not indulged with a ride into the country without a notification of their purpose. The annual revenue which the Vizier draws from his capital, amounts, say they, to 250,000 piasters.

There is a fair which lasts a fortnight, held once a year on the plain, a mile and a half to the south-east of the city; and during this time, all the tradesmen are obliged to leave their shops in the Bazar and Bizestein, which are shut, and to set up booths in the plain. This the Vizier finds a very good method of getting at some knowledge of the actual property of his subjects. The fair was held during our residence in the city, and opened on the 8th of October, when we passed through it on horseback. The booths, occupying a great extent of ground, are built, and fitted up exactly as in England, and are divided into rows much more regular than the streets, and each allotted to some particular merchandize. There is also a piece of ground

for the cattle, sheep, and horses, and several plots of green sward for the parties of dancers, who continue their amusements during the whole night.

Here are the goods imported from the Ionian Islands, and the ports of the Adriatic formerly, but now mostly from Malta, in Sclavonian vessels under the Turkish flag; they are landed at Prevesa, Salora, Vallona, and Durazzo, and thence conveyed on horses to Ioannina. Our blockade of the Adriatic must soon cut off these supplies, and, as an English merchant disdains such petty traffic, Albania may soon be in want of the greater part of them. Still, however, there are caps from Trieste, Leghorn, and Genoa, and some coffee and sugar from the first of these places. Knives, sword-blades, and gun-barrels, glass, and paper, are brought from Venice, but the three first of these articles are sold in all the little sea-ports of Albania, without passing through Ioannina. The gold and silver thread used in their embroidery, is obtained from Vienna.

Cloth of French and German manufacture is sent from Leipsig. This is the chief article of importation, as it is from this fair that all the richer Greeks and Turks, not only in Albania, but in great part of Roumelia and in the Morea, supply themselves with the loose robes and pelisses of their winter dress. English cloth is in the highest estimation, but seldom to be met with here, or even at Smyrna and Constantinople, on account of its great price. The best of the cloth sold at Ioannina was not equal to the worst of that manufactured in England, and was of a coarse thin texture, and very badly dyed.

The articles of exportation are, oil, wool, corn, and tobacco, for the ports of the Adriatic and Naples; and, for inland circula-

tion through Albania and Roumelia, spun cottons from the plains of Triccala, stocks of guns and pistols mounted in chased silver, both plain and gilt, and also embroidered velvets, stuffs, and cloths, which are here better wrought than in any other part of Turkey in Europe.

Large flocks of sheep and goats, and droves of cattle and horses, are collected from the hills both of Lower and Upper Albania for the fair. Of these, all but the horses, which are dispersed in the country, are sold into the Ionian Islands. The woods of Albania, before the French revolution, furnished Toulon with timber for ship-building, and Marseilles imported into the country the French colonial produce. But both these traffics have long ceased, and if the trees of Mount Tomarus, or the Acroce-raunians, are in future to "descend to the main," they will swell the squadrons of the British fleets.

It is in vain that the watchful jealousy of Napoleon has adopted the advice of Poukeville, and removed the station of the French agent from Arta to Ioannina, in order to counteract such a measure, appointing, at the same time, that gentleman himself, to carry his own plans into execution. This minister was at his post during our stay in the city, but, as he gives no countenance to the nation at war with his master, we had not the satisfaction of seeing him. I am sorry to say that he does not bear his diplomatic faculties meekly about him, nor possess the urbanity so characteristic both of his nation and his former profession. This I should not have mentioned, had he not, with a rudeness that has already been noticed by a late intelligent writer (I mean Mr. Thornton), indulged himself in some personal and national reflections, which do but little credit to his character, either as an author or a gen-

tleman. The noble enmities of two great nations do not authorize such petty detractions.

I was not able to learn the extent of the commercial dealings of the merchants of Ioannina ; but the balance of trade is in favour of Albania, and is paid in Venetian zequins.

The Greeks of this city are as industrious as any in Turkey, and their embroidery, the art in which they excel, is executed very neatly ; but there was no one who could mend an umbrella in the whole place ; and only one man, a poor Italian, was capable of making a bedstead. The only encouragement an able mechanic would meet with, would be employment at the Vizier's palace, without receiving any emolument. This is, of itself, sufficient to put a stop to every exercise of ingenuity.

I am, &c. &c.

LETTER VIII.

The Turkish Ramazan—Preparations for Travelling—Greek Peasantry—Route from Ioannina to Zitza—Thunder Storm—The Monastery of Zitza—View from it—Inhabitants of Zitza—their Misery.

AS it is my purpose to speak at this time rather of the Albanians than of the Greeks, and as whatever is peculiar to this latter people, is to be found in the inhabitants of that part of Greece which we afterwards visited, I shall hasten to commence our journey with you into the upper part of the country, where his Highness the Vizier had fixed his quarters.

We were a little unfortunate in the time we chose for travelling, for it was during the Ramazan, or Turkish Lent, which, as it occurs in each of the thirteen months in succession, fell this year on October, and was hailed at the rising of the new moon on the evening of the eighth, by every demonstration of joy: pistols and guns were discharged in every quarter of the city. The Turks continued firing long enough to exhaust their cartridge-pouches, and as they used balls, according to custom, the Greek inhabitants closed their window-shutters and remained at home; a precaution very necessary, for two bullets passed within a very audible

distance of our host's gallery. The minarets of all the moscks were illuminated, and every thing seemed to show that the approaching season was not considered as one of penance, but devoted to merriment. In truth, although during this month the strictest abstinence, even from tobacco and coffee, is observed in the day-time, yet with the setting of the sun the feasting commences, and a small repast is served; then is the time for paying and receiving visits, and for the amusements of 'Turkey puppet-shows, jugglers, dancers, and story-tellers. At one o'clock in the morning, after prayers, the dinner commences, and the carousal lasts till day-break, when the 'Turks retire to rest, and do not rise till mid-day.

We were, therefore, as I said, unlucky in hitting on this time for travelling, for we were frequently a long time before we could rouse the people who were to assist us in our progress, and were besides often disturbed by the heavy drum beaten at midnight to call the Mahometans to the mosck.

We were a stronger party on this journey than we had been in travelling to Ioannina, for we were accompanied by his Highness's Secretary, of whom you have before heard, and by a Greek Priest, who not having his annual compliment of piasters for the Vizier, was journeying to him, to explain the cause of his default: it seems he was a relation of the Secretary's, and on that score joined company with us. We were also furnished with an Albanian soldier, belonging to the city guard. His name was Vasily, and he afterwards continued in our service. It was the province of this man to take care that the Vizier's guests (so they called us) were properly treated and accommodated on the road, and he became a very important personage in our suite. The intendant

of the post provided us with five saddle-horses, and a post-man, called in Turkey a *sourgee*, to look after them; and for these, which were to serve us till our return to Ioannina, we were not to pay a settled price, but to make the intendant a present.

Had we at that time been provided with a positive order from the Vizier, we should have been also furnished with horses of the post to carry our luggage; but, as it was, we had a command in writing from Mehmet Effendi, governor of Ioannina, addressed to the heads of all the villages where we were to stop; and these were to get us as many horses as we might want. Except from Frank travellers, the peasants seldom get a farthing for their beasts, and their labour in attending them; and as these orders are frequently given, they constitute one of the most heavy grievances of the poor, and are a great check to agriculture. It is with great difficulty that the villagers are forced into this service: neither the prospect of payment, nor blows, sometimes, are sufficient to make them produce their beasts, and we were witness to many unpleasant scenes.

Vasily, though he was a Christian, yet being a soldier in the Vizier's service, considered himself to have a right over the backs of the peasants; and, against positive orders, would have occasional recourse to sticks, and even stones. When reprimanded, he shrugged up his shoulders and exclaimed, "*χωρίς το ξύλο οι Ρωμαίοι δεν κάνουν κανένα πράγμα*," which you will perhaps discover, disguised as it is in the vulgarity of the modern idiom, to mean "The Greeks will do nothing without the stick."—The most compassionate traveller, if it should ever come to the dilemma, whether these people should be beaten, or he be stopped in his journey, would not, I believe, hesitate a long time in his elec-

tion; but then we are apt to think that the business could be done without going to such extremities: the Turks, however, say not; and, such is the force of habit, those of the Greeks I have seen, seem almost to confirm the opinion.

These preliminaries being noticed, you must be informed, that on the eleventh of the month (October), we left Ioannina at one o'clock in the afternoon, and proceeded towards the north-western end of the city. After passing out of the suburbs, we crossed a wide ditch and mound, that had been made about twenty years past by Ali, as a defence for his city; and that formerly surrounded the whole of the land side of Ioannina, but was, at this time, in many places, and especially towards the road to Arta, scarcely apparent.

After riding an hour (or three miles) westerly, we passed on our right hand a green hillock, with some few remains of old walls on the top of it. The spot is called "Kathevaki." In a long narrow plain to the left, were tents pitched in a range of vineyards belonging to inhabitants of Ioannina, who were themselves superintending the gathering of the grapes. As we proceeded, there were several villages on each side of us; and, two hours from our setting out, on the left hand of the road was a house belonging to the Vizier, called "Karkopoulo," to which part of his harem occasionally retire.

In three hours we came to a large tract of marshy flat land, in several parts of which there were workmen building, by the Vizier's orders, low bridges, to make the country passable in winter. On the top of a low hill to the left, was the country residence of a Turk of great consequence. It had but a very poor appearance, not looking better than a han, and standing on the

crag of a rock, without even a garden; yet it was to the daughter of the owner of this mansion, that young Hussein Bey, the grandson of Ali, was affianced. It is not, however, in fine houses that the Turks take a pride; they are very easily lodged; and are satisfied with what would appear to a Frank a want of every article of common furniture.

We were nearly an hour crossing the marsh, when we came to a han of the meaner sort, and at this place, the road, which had before been very good, turned into some low stony hills. The *sourgee* had galloped on forwards to prepare us a lodging at the village, where we intended to stop for the night; and after passing the han, the Secretary, Vasily, and myself, rode on before the rest of the party. The pass through the hills lasted half an hour; and after travelling an hour more over a slippery plain, we arrived at the village just as the evening set in very dark, and the rain began to pour down in torrents. My Friend, with the baggage and servants, was behind, and had not been in sight for some time.

After stumbling through several narrow lanes, we came, at last, to the miserable hovel prepared for our reception. The room was half full of maize in the stalk; the floor was of mud, and there was no outlet for the smoke but through the door. However, the Secretary, having laid down his wallet, and spread his carpet, "*after the manner of eastern nations*," seated himself on one side of the blaze, and I took up my quarters in the other corner. Vasily was dispatched into the village to procure eggs and fowls, that would be ready, as we thought, by the arrival of the second party. But an hour passed away and no one appeared. It was seven o'clock, and the storm had increased to

a fury I had never before, and, indeed, have never since, seen equalled. The roof of our hovel shook under the clattering torrents, and gusts of wind. The thunder roared, as it seemed, without any intermission; for the echoes of one peal had not ceased to roll in the mountains, before another tremendous crash burst over our heads; whilst the plains, and the distant hills (visible through the cracks of the cabin), appeared in a perpetual blaze. The tempest was altogether terrific, and worthy of the Grecian Jove; and the peasants, no less religious than their ancestors, confessed their alarm. The women wept, and the men, calling on the name of God, crossed themselves at every repeated peal.

We were very uneasy that the party did not arrive; but the Secretary assured me, that the guides knew every part of the country, as did also his own servant, who was with them, and that they had certainly taken shelter in a village at an hour's distance. Not being satisfied with this conjecture, I ordered fires to be lighted on the hill above the village, and some musquets to be discharged: this was at eleven o'clock, and the storm had not abated. I lay down in my great coat; but all sleeping was out of the question, as any pauses in the tempest were filled up by the barking of the dogs, and the shouting of the shepherds in the neighbouring mountains.

A little after midnight a man, panting and pale, and drenched with rain, rushed into the room, and, between crying and roaring, with a profusion of action, communicated something to the Secretary, of which I understood only—that they had all fallen down. I learnt, however, that no accident had happened, except the falling of the luggage horses, and losing their way,

and that they were now waiting for fresh horses and guides. Ten were immediately sent to them, together with several men with pine torches ; but it was not till two o'clock in the morning that we heard they were approaching, and my Friend, with the Priest and the servants, did not enter our hut before three.

I now learnt from him, that they had lost their way from the commencement of the storm, when not above three miles from the village ; and that after wandering up and down in total ignorance of their position, had, at last, stopped near some Turkish tomb-stones and a torrent, which they saw by the flashes of lightning. They had been thus exposed for nine hours ; and the guides, so far from assisting them, only augmented the confusion, by running away, after being threatened with death by George the dragoman, who, in an agony of rage and fear, and without giving any warning, fired off both his pistols, and drew from the English servant an involuntary scream of horror ; for he fancied they were beset by robbers.

I had not, as you have seen, witnessed the distressing part of this adventure myself ; but from the lively picture drawn of it by my Friend, and from the exaggerated descriptions of George, I fancied myself a good judge of the whole situation, and should consider this to have been one of the most considerable of the few adventures that befel either of us during our tour in Turkey. It was long before we ceased to talk of the thunder-storm in the plain of Zitza (the name of our village) ; and I have told you the anecdote, that you may see how little dependence is to be placed, in cases of difficulty, upon Greek guides, or servants in general, who, to say the truth, confine all their energy and resolution to talking, but in action are noisy, wavering, and timid ; so much

so, indeed, that in this country it is absolutely necessary to be always accompanied by a soldier, to enforce obedience, and to make the rest of the attendants do their duty against their will.

After the fatigues and disasters of the night, we resolved to stay one day at Zitza, to dry and refit our luggage. By mid-day the weather was very fine, and we strolled out to take a view of the country.

A little above the village, which is itself on the steep side of a hill, there is a green eminence crowned with a grove of oak trees, that has been chosen, like almost every other beautiful spot in these parts of the world, for the site of a monastery. Immediately under the monastery, there is a large well-built house of the Vizier's, but there is no one who would not pass by the palace, were it ten times more splendid, to reach the neighbouring grove. Perhaps there is not in the world a more romantic prospect than that which is viewed from the summit of the hill. The fore-ground is a gentle declivity, terminating on every side in an extensive landscape of green hills and dale, enriched with vineyards, and dotted with frequent flocks. Many villages, and the groves with which they are sheltered and adorned, appear on the sloping sides of the surrounding hills. The view is every where closed by mountains, but between those to the north-west, there is a glimpse of a long and verdant plain in the distance, and of the windings of a river called the Calamas. The mountains to the north, part of Zoumerka or Tomarus, which are the nearest, are woody to their top, but disclose some wide chasms of red rock. Those to the north-east, the hills of Sagori, seem a long ledge of rocks, running nearly from west to east; to the east is Pindus, verging to the south-east. To the south are the Sulliot moun-

tain, and to the north-west, but in the farthest distance, are those of Chimera, the Acroceraunians. Neither Ioannina nor its lake are visible, though Zizta cannot be more than fourteen miles from the city.

We went into the monastery, after some parley with one of the monks, through a small door plated with iron, on which the marks of violence were very apparent, and which, before the country had been tranquilized under the powerful government of Ali, had been frequently battered in vain by the troops of robbers, then by turns infesting every district. The Prior of the monastery, a humble, meek-mannered man, entertained us in a warm chamber with grapes, and a pleasant white wine, not trodden out, as he told us, by the feet, but pressed from the grape by the hand; and we were so well pleased with every thing about us, that we agreed to lodge with him on our return from the Vizier.

Zitza is a village of about one hundred and fifty houses, inhabited by Greek peasants, and not having one Turk in the place, except the man employed to take care of the Vizier's house. It is not, however, the less oppressed on that account, as we had an opportunity of observing, for the Secretary was inspector of some of the villages, and accordingly the Primate, or first man of the place, who was dressed in a woollen jacket, and looked like an English waggoner, but was well mannered, came before him to give in his accounts.

The *Papas*, or secular priest of the village, a miserable-looking creature, in whose house we were lodged, and who performed every menial office of his family, complained to the Secretary, that the assessment of the Primate was too high, especially as the best lands of the village belonged to the monastery, which paid

no regular tax. The poor Priest, with a disconsolate humble tone, declared that the annual sum, 13,000 piasters, being paid, they had hardly sufficient remaining out of the produce of their labour, to support themselves and children.

Employed in the cultivation of a rich soil, and in the tending of numerous flocks, their wine, their corn, their meat, the fleeces and skins, and even the milk of their sheep and goats, all were to be sold to raise so exorbitant a tax: they were starving in the midst of abundance; their labour was without reward, their rest without recreation; even the festivals of their church were passed over uncelebrated, for they had neither the spirits nor the means for merriment.

It was impossible not to believe every word that was uttered by the poor fellow, who, whilst our dragoman was interpreting his tale, looked eagerly upon us, and still preserved the same pitiable air and action, with which he had told his story. He wished us to believe him, and, indeed, his own appearance and that of his fellow villagers, bore forcible testimony to the truth of his assertions. However, there was nothing to be done but to try if Ali would consent to take less than the thirteen thousand piasters, and we never heard how the matter ended, or whether the burthens of Zitza were alleviated.

I am, &c. &c.

LETTER IX.

Route from Zitza—River Calamas—Village of Mosure—Delvinaki—Route from Butrinto to Delvinaki—Flocks of Goats—Albanian Wine—Route by the Plain of Argyro-castro to Libokavo—Upper Albania—Turkish Meats—Libokavo—Argyro-castro—Short Account of that City.

WE left Zitza at nine o'clock in the morning of the ninth, and proceeded in a direction at first north-west by north, through vineyards running up the sides of the hills, and yielding, as they told us, and as is usually, I believe, the case in such situations, a finer grape than that which is found on the plains. We then crossed a barren hill, and, in two hours, entered a valley, studded with clumps of trees, and divided by the river Calamas, whose windings we had seen from the monastery. Our friend the Secretary told me, this was the "Acheron." I suspect his authority to have been "Meliteus," a modern Greek geographer, who was a bishop at Athens about the beginning of the last century. His book contains both the ancient and modern names of places, and although strangely incorrect in many instances, even as to the neighbourhood of the very city in which he lived, yet as it is the only one of the kind, it is useful to travellers. Unfortunately, it

is a thick folio, and not very portable. The Calamas, as it runs towards the Port of Sweet Waters, may have some pretensions to be the celebrated river of the infernal regions.

Near the entrance of the valley we saw a fall of the river, not very high, but rolling through a grove of trees, with a small mill perched on the top of the left bank. Continuing for half an hour through this valley, with the river at our left, we passed a hamlet on our right hand; and, shortly afterwards, crossed a bridge over the Calamas, which is here very rapid, and in breadth about the size of the Avon at Bath. The plain, which till this time had been flat and broad, now began to be more narrow, and interspersed with woody hillocks; and we passed at the foot of high hills to the left, covered with trees. We were here shown a house of the Vizier's, embosomed in a nook half way up the steep, and surrounded by a sloping lawn. A few spots of ground that had been cleared, were cultivated, and converted into vineyards and wheat-grounds, and large flocks of goats were browsing on the shrubs through which our path lay; so that we seemed approaching to the country of a more happy people than those we had left behind at Zitza. But whatever were our reflexions, they were interrupted by a thunder-storm, which, with the deluge that had been poured down on the night of my Friend's adventure, rendered the road almost impassable; for the torrents, streaming down the hills, had more than once nearly carried away our luggage horses.

When we arrived, at half past one o'clock, at a little village called Mosure, we were told that the rains would prevent our proceeding that day; and we accordingly took up our lodging at the house of a poor Priest, who, notwithstanding what has been

said of the appearance of the country, seemed to have as much reason to be miserable as the people whom we had just left. Here also we saw a house belonging to the Vizier; indeed the village itself, they told us, was his private property, and the half of all produce was paid to him, besides the absolute disposal of the labour of the peasants. The villagers were, many of them, employed in felling timber in the mountains, which, after being cut into planks, is passed down the Calamas to the coast.

The day cleared up, and gave us leave to see some very fine mountain scenery. The valley, which runs from north-east to south-west, appeared to terminate a little to the north of our village; and the view of the river was lost at a short distance to the south-east. Immediately opposite, to the south of Mosure, was a huge rocky hill called Papinghi, and having a summit so singularly shaped, as to appear like a fortification with battlements and turrets. Papinghi must be part of Zoumerka, and the direct road from Ioannina would lead across it to Mosure; but the mountain being impassable, the traveller is obliged to go fourteen or fifteen miles in a westerly direction to Zitza, and afterwards due north for ten or eleven miles to this village; the latter part of the journey being in a very bad path, easy to be lost, and mistaken for a goat track.

At this place we were worse lodged than at our last village; and the mud floor of our hovel was overrun with every description of vermin. You have seen an Irish cabin, and I need not be more particular. We had only a journey of three hours for our day's work, on Saturday, October 14, and therefore did not set off till one o'clock in the afternoon, when we went northwards,

through forests of oak, leaving the Calamas to the right hand, and in little more than an hour skirted a small plain and lake, also to the right. From the south-west end of this lake, it is not improbable that the Calamas flows, although we could not see it, as our view was intercepted by a low hill, and a small fortress (or rather barrack) of the Vizier's, called 'Arrovina. The people with us knew nothing about the matter.

Leaving the plain and a small hamlet to the left of the road, we again began to ascend gradually; winding through thick woods, still northwards, for an hour, when we found ourselves suddenly at the top of a deep precipice, with a prospect, to the left, of a succession of woody hills rising one above the other, and of Delvinaki, the town where we were to stop, at the bottom and extremity of the chasm to the right. There was a path to the left, by which those who do not stop at this place save an hour's distance, as it communicates directly with the road, which is seen winding up the precipice on the opposite side. We dismounted, as the descent was rugged, in many parts very steep, and overhung with large masses of loose rock; and we were half an hour before we entered the town.

Here we were more comfortably lodged than on the preceding nights; for Delvinaki, besides a house belonging to Ali, has several neat-looking cottages, and is, on the whole, a clean town, containing, as we were told, three hundred habitations, peopled by Greeks. Of these, the greater part are employed in cultivating the ground, or in attending their flocks on the neighbouring hills; but a few of them style themselves merchants, as they bring small wares on horseback from Constantinople, Salonica, and Ioannina, and sell them in the inland towns of Albania and Roumelia. These merchants are necessarily absent from their

own houses the greater part of the year ; but Ali, pursuing the same plan as at Ioannina, detains their wives and children at home, as a security for their return, and thus profits by their enterprise, without risking the loss of his subjects ; for there are few instances where these traders have not returned to enjoy their petty wealth, as far as a Greek can enjoy it, in the bosom of their families.

I do not know whether you recollect, that the famous Sha-Abbas founded the city of Tofa purposely for the families of travelling Armenian merchants ; and by that, which appeared, at first sight, an act of humanity, secured a great additional influx of wealth into his dominions.

Delvinaki, besides being on the road to northern Albania, is also on one of the routes from Butrinto, the ancient Butthrotum on the Adriatic, to Ioannina. From Butrinto it is seven hours, in an eastern direction, to Delvino, a town of eight thousand inhabitants, and the seat of a Pasha of two tails, now subdued by Ali.

From Delvino it is three hours, north-east, to the village of Nivitza ; and thence, seven hours more, and in the same line, to Delvinaki.

We were told that the Vizier had stayed three days at this town, which he had left eight days before our arrival ; and that most probably he was at the town of Libokavo, where we should arrive the next day.

After the fowls, eggs, and grapes, that always composed our meal, I rambled up a green lane at the back of the town, till the ascent became very steep, when, turning round, I enjoyed a prospect on every side magnificent, and whose beauties were heightened by the last rays of the setting sun tinging the woody

summits of the opposite mountains. A rivulet, that was collected from a hundred little streams into a pebbly channel, sparkled at intervals through the underwood in the valley.

The vintage was just finished, and horses, cows, and asses, were browsing on the lower grounds; whilst the goats, whose trespass amongst the early vines is equally dreaded by the modern, as it was by the ancient Greek, were now rioting at large in the vineyards on the steeper sides of the hill. These pretty animals make a conspicuous figure, and are often the sole living objects, in an Albanian landscape. They are to be met with in the most unfrequented spots, in the depth of forests, and on the tops of mountains, in places so remote from any human habitation, that the traveller would suppose them wild, did he not see their long herds descending to the villages at the close of day, and were he not reminded of their familiarity with man, by the tinkling of their bells at night, close to the little window of his cottage.

The flesh of the kid is esteemed as much as that of the lamb in Albania. The goat milk is made into the hard cheese which constitutes a chief article of food throughout Turkey in Europe, and which is, in this country, made in sufficient quantities to allow of a trifling exportation. Each of the skins, by a very simple process, is so sewed together as to hold and preserve the new wine, which in the villages is never put into any other bottle, and seldom lasts beyond the next vintage.

Wine of a year old is mentioned as a rarity. That which is made in quantities, and kept in casks, in Ioannina, or other large towns, is mixed with pine, resin, and lime, and weakened with water. The Greeks consider that the resin gives the strength

which the water takes away, and that the lime refines the liquor; but it is to this process that a very unpalatable harshness, generally to be met with in Greek wine, is to be attributed.

We left Delvinaki at nine o'clock in the morning, and in order to regain our road, were obliged to ascend and descend a steep zig-zag stony path on the side of the chasm opposite to that which we had come down the evening before to get to the town. This took us about half an hour, and when we had got into the direction we had left, we proceeded to the north-west, through a woody country, not at all cultivated or cleared in any part that was visible. We crossed a torrent where were the broken remains of a bridge, and the path led us over a wilder but less woody country, until in three hours from Delvinaki, we came at once upon a very wide and long plain, running from south to north, well cultivated, divided by rails and low hedges, and having a river flowing through it to the south. On each side of this plain was a ridge of barren hills, but covered at no great intervals, on the western or opposite range, with towns and villages, that appeared, like the goats of Virgil, to hang upon the rocks. These, we were told, were in the district of a large city called Argyro-castro, which we saw indistinctly at a great distance, as we advanced to the north along the side of the hills, that form, as it were, the eastern bank of this extensive plain.

At one o'clock we came to a village where there was a han. Here we stopped, and as we were seated on our mats taking some refreshment, an Albanian handed round several specimens of snuff, for in this village, they informed us, there is the most extensive snuff manufactory of any in European Turkey. The snuff is also reckoned to be of the best quality, and the Albani-

ans, who are exceedingly addicted to this luxury, affect to despise that which is made any where else but at this village, of which I forget the name. The tobacco plant grows in great quantities in the neighbourhood, both in the plain and on the sides of the hills.

After resting an hour we remounted, and continued in the same northern course. Every appearance announced to us that we were now in a more populous country. We met parties of travellers both on horseback and on foot: the plain was every where cultivated, and not only on the side of Argyro-castro, whose minarets we could now discern, but also on the hills which we were traversing, many villages were to be seen. The dress of the peasants was now changed from the loose woollen brogues of the Greeks, to the cotton kamisa, or kilt of the Albanian, and in saluting Vassily they no longer spoke Greek. Indeed you should be informed, that a notion prevails amongst the people of the country, that Albania, properly so called, or at least, the native country of the Albanians, begins from the town of Delvinaki; but never being able, as I have before hinted, to learn where the line of boundary is to be traced, I shall content myself with noticing the distinction in the above cursory manner.

We were joined by a small party of Turks on horseback, one of whom pointed out, at a little distance from the sauff manufactory, a hill to the right, on which were, he said, the remains of ancient walls, as also some few other remains a little farther to the left, in a grove of trees. These I visited, and from the size of the stones, I should judge them to be antique: they were lying in heaps on the ground. After riding two hours along the side of the same hills, we arrived at Libokavo, and entering the suburbs, enquired

if the Vizier was in the town; when, to our surprise, we were told by three or four people, that they did not know: one thought he was, another that he was not in the place. These were not Greeks, but 'Turks, the most lazy and incurious race of beings on earth, as you must think, when these fellows did not know whether the absolute sovereign of the country, who moves about with no small retinue, was or was not in their town.

We proceeded to the house of a relation of one of Ali's wives, and there learnt that the Vizier was farther up the country, at his native town of Tepellenè. At the house of this Turk, in an outer room, separated from the chambers which contained his family, we were lodged during our stay at Libokavo, and the good-humoured Mussulman endeavoured to render us as comfortable as possible. As, during the Ramazan, he took his first meal after sun-set, he ordered it to be served up for our dinner, and gave us his company.

You must have already read enough about the Turks, to know the sort of viands usual at their tables: but I must say of them, that many are very palatable to an English taste, much more so, indeed, than those to be met with in Portuguese and Spanish cookery. There is a dish of chopped mutton, rolled up with rice highly seasoned, called *yprauk*, and a large thin pasty of fowl, or spinach sprinkled with sugar; both of which are very commendable. Oil is not often used, but butter, which, it must be confessed, is now and then very strong, and would be called by us, grease. The *sherbet* is but a very poor liquor, being only sweet water sometimes coloured with marygold flowers, and a few blanched almonds swimming on the top of it. It is handed round at the conclusion of the dinner, and either drunk out of the bowl, or

sipped with large horn spoons. The boiled and roast are always done to rags, to suit not only the taste, but the convenience of a people, who do not eat with knives and forks, but with their fingers, making use of a thin crumplet instead of a plate, and each man tearing off his portion from the joint before him, with his right hand only, for his left is supposed to be employed on services that render it very unfit to be thrust into a plate containing common stock. The pilaf, or buttered rice, the standing dish of Turkey, and which is often brought in twice at the same dinner, is not very palatable to a person unaccustomed to the taste of it.

Our fare at Libokavo was various and good; but we were not well lodged during the night, for the whole party, thirteen in number, slept in the same room with us, as, this being a Turkish town, we could not procure quarters for our attendants in any other house. Nearly the whole of the day after our arrival, it rained so violently as to prevent our proceeding towards Tepelenè, but we were enabled between the showers to walk out and survey the town and the adjoining country.

Libokavo is built on the steep side of a hill, and, with several moscks, contains about a thousand houses inhabited by Turks, many of whom are not natives of the country, but only settlers, and wear the long Turkish dress. They are for the greater part farmers of the neighbouring plain, not traders, and the bazar is but ill furnished. The houses are built, most of them, of stone, and are of the better sort, being surrounded with gardens of orange, lemon, and pomegranate trees. The town is governed by Adam-Bey, the son of a sister of the Vizier's, and, together with the whole district on the same side of the plain, is in perfect subjection to Ali.

Of Argyro-castro, which is very visible about nine miles to the north on the opposite hills, I learnt that it is a city supposed to contain twenty thousand inhabitants, chiefly Turks, being the capital of a Pashalik of two tails, and of a very populous district, bounding to the east and north-east the country of the Chimeriotes. It was not, when we were in the country, in subjection to Ali, but nominally under the power of Ibrahim, Pasha of Vallona, the Prince with whom Ali was then at war, and who was besieged in his last fortress of Berat. It was expected, however, that the city, which has been more than once attacked by Ali, would, together with its whole district, fall immediately into his hands after the reduction of Ibrahim.

What we saw of the plain may be about twenty-five miles in length, running nearly in a straight direction from south to north; but another branch of it, which turns off to the north-westward, a little above the city, and continues as far as the shore of the Adriatic above Vallona (Aulon), may add to it an extent of fifteen or twenty miles. The river, which has no other name than the river of Argyro-castro, flows from Mount Zoumerka through the whole length of the plain, and appears to correspond with the ancient Celydnus.

With that supposition, the traveller might be inclined to look for some vestiges of Hadrianopolis, Amantia, and Antigonis; towns which flourished under the Romans, and which were placed somewhere in the country watered by the Celydnus. Indeed, the Greek gentleman accompanying us, called Argyro-castro itself occasionally by the name of *Threanopolis*, which, after dropping the first syllable, would be the modern Greek pronunciation of Hadrianopolis; and I see that M. de la Ro-

chette, in his map, has given the modern city the two names. But Meletius, the geographer before mentioned, places Antigonina on the site of this town*, and affirms Thryinopolis to be a ruin marking the site of Drys, an ancient town of the Molossi, and giving a title to a Bishop within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Ioannina†. Pouqueville, on the pretended authority of the same author, but without being supported by him, declares Delvinaki to be no other than the ancient Omphalon. The singular position of this latter place, in a deep hollow, may give some grounds to suppose that it was once called the *navel* of Epirus. I was assured that there were no remains of any kind at Argyro-castro; but I regret that the state of the country, and our situation as friends of Ali, did not permit us to visit the city, and obtain personal knowledge of the fact.

* Ἀντιγόνη, λέγεται τανν Ἀργυρόκαστρον, κτιθεῖτα ὑπὸ τῆ Ἀντιγόνου, καὶ σῶζεται.—ΗΠΕΙΡΟΣ. p. 316.

† ΗΠΕΙΡΟΣ. pp. 314, 315.

LETTER X.

Route from Libokavo to Cesarades—Women at the Fountains—

Route to Erecnèd—The Passes of Antigonía, called Stena

—The Aïus River—Route to Tepellenè, along the Banks of the River—Arrival at Tepellenè, and at Ali Pasha's Palace

—Appearance of the Attendants—Prayers of the Turks—

The Chanter of the Mosck.

ON leaving Libokavo (October 17th), we descended into the plain; and, before we could again get into our northern direction, were obliged to cross several wide and deep trenches, cut to drain the low grounds. After having regained our path for an hour and an half, we came suddenly upon a rapid river flowing out of a valley in the mountains to the east, in a westerly course, but soon turning to the north. As we were to pass the night in a village in the mountains to the right of our road, we were obliged to cross this river, which we accomplished with considerable difficulty; for it was then deep and broad, though, in general, as we heard, very fordable. After the passage of the stream, we went over some deep ploughed lands; and, in three hours from Libokavo, began to ascend the hills in a north-westerly direction. We saw, what might be called, a chain of villages along the mountains, most of them half way up their sides,

and apparently inaccessible. The hills on the Argyro-castro side, seemed exceedingly bare; but those to which we were bending our steps were woody, covered with flocks of goats, and in many spots cultivated, and sown with maize.

It had been very late before we re-commenced our journey, so that after we had been in the hills an hour, it grew dark. We mistook our path; the baggage-horses began to tumble; and, when we were half way up the mountain, we were obliged to stop in a wood, where we were bewildered, and quite ignorant of our position. Two or three of us, however, determined to make for the first village, and procure a guide; for we had been some time going up and down craggy precipices, without seeming to advance towards our point.

Not to alarm you with another adventure, we were all housed at seven o'clock in the evening, having been five hours coming from Libokavo—a distance of not more than nine miles. At coming into the village, we were agreeably surprised by getting to a neat comfortable cottage, where we were received with a hearty welcome by the Albanian landlord, who, it turned out, was personally acquainted with the Signor Secretary. The name of the village was Cesarades, inhabited, except a few houses, by Christians.

In this place every thing was on a very different footing from what it had been in the Greek villages. We experienced a great deal of kindness and attention from our host; but saw nothing in his face (though he was a Christian) of the cringing, downcast, timid look, of the Greek peasant. His cottage was neatly plastered, and white-washed, and contained a stable and small ware-room below, and two floored chambers above, quite in a different

style from what we had seen in Lower Albania. It might certainly be called comfortable; and in it we passed a better night than any since our departure from Ioannina.

In the morning we found ourselves in a very exalted situation; and just opposite us, to the west, we had a good view of the city of Argyro-castro. We had a guide given us to show the best path (for the ways had been broken up by the torrents), and left Cesarades at ten o'clock in the morning. We continued descending and ascending in the same direction as before, that is, to the north, still keeping on the sides of the mountains, and at twelve o'clock we saw another village, situated as high as that which we had left; but it was not till some people had been sent down from this place to open a passage for us, that we could proceed towards it. We were a little surprised that these pioneers were all women; and, as I recollect, two of them were young and handsome. They handled their pick-axes and spades with great alacrity; and having assisted us, by rolling down some stones and earth, that impeded our progress, into a torrent, preceded us to their village.

Before reaching it, we passed a large fountain, where there were many women washing with sticks and stones, in the Scotch fashion, and drawing water. Indeed no where in those parts of Greece or Albania that we visited, are any but the very better sort of females exempt from these employments; and as the fountains are often at some distance from the towns, the latter is, by no means, an easy task; for I have frequently seen them looking very faint under the weight of their large pitchers, one of which they carry on the head, and the other in the hand. The men are never at the fountains; but the aged matron, and the

tender maid, are still employed in the same labours which occupied the females of Homer's time; for when Hector reminds his faithful Andromache that she would be obliged, in her future bondage,

“ to bring
“ The weight of waters from th' Hyperian spring,”

it is but probable, that she had occasionally performed the same duties in the days of her prosperity. It was not the drawing of water which was to be, perhaps, the hardship, but doing it (*πóλλ' αἰκαζομένη*) very much against her will, and (*πρὸς ἄλλης*) under the command of a mistress. You may add to this, that the ancients knew nothing of menial offices; for the Princess of Phœacia washed her own clothes, and the familiar of the divine King of Ithaca was a swine-herd, also divine. But the parallel shall be carried no farther.

In a short time we passed through the village we had seen: it was called Toxarades, and contained about one hundred and fifty houses, inhabited, with the exception of two or three Turkish families, by Christians. In an hour and a half we went through another village, Lokavo, also on the heights, and about the same size as the others, and inhabited by Christians; and by half after three we came to a third, called Erecneed, where we were determined to stay during the night, as we should not have been able to reach another resting-place before dark.

We were not so well lodged as we had been the night before; but as Erecneed was inhabited partly by Turks, partly by Christians, and the best house in the place belonged to one of the former people, we could not so easily have been admitted to better.

accommodations. We had come the whole day at a very slow rate; and from Cesarades to this village, I should think the distance not more than ten miles.

On leaving Preeneed, on the morning of the 19th, at ten o'clock, we descended from the hills, and got into the plain, through which, in a north-westerly direction, ran the river we had crossed in going from Libokavo to Cesarades. We continued along its banks for some time; the path very bad and sloughy, and occasionally through coppices of low brushwood. In two hours we were at what might be called the northern extremity of that branch of the valley of Argyro-castro through which we had held our course; and we found ourselves at the entrance of a sort of defile, with the river on our left hand, and mountains near us on our right. The hills on the other side of the river were abrupt precipices, clothed with thick woods.

Though not a vestige of the ancient cities that may have once flourished in these regions are to be now seen, yet the traveller would still endeavour to compare the descriptions of historians with the appearance of the country around him; and the straights into which we now entered, might perhaps remind him of the passes near Antigonía, by the Greeks called *Στενα* (Stena), which some passages of Polybius* would point out as leading from Epirus into Illyricum†, and which were illustrated by a battle fought

* Polyb. lib. ii. cap. 5. The expedition of Scerdilaidas into Epirus.

† Strabo, indeed, expressly reckons the Athamanians and Atintanes (living near the Celydnus) amongst the Epirote nations, inhabiting a wild country, and difficult of access, upon the borders of Illyricum: and it appears that the latter were certainly of that people; for when the Epirote army retreated from the Illyrians at Phœnice, in Chaonia, Polybius (lib. ii. cap. 5) says, they fell back upon the Atintanes.

between Pyrrhus and Antigonus*, and by some military positions occupied by King Philip, before he was routed by the Consul Flaminius.

In the river which “flows (I quote from my own journal and from Livy†) in a narrow valley, having only a little path along its banks,” he would perhaps recognize the Aöus, that ran from Lacmon, the summits of Pindus, forming one of the boundaries of Macedonia, and falling into the Adriatic sixty stadia below the city of Apollonia. Every thing, indeed, seems to correspond with the position of the “passes:” here are the hills on each side, Asnäus and Æropus, where Philip was encamped: and in proceeding farther down the river, where it struggles through its narrowest banks (ubi in arcissimas ripas cogitur‡), any one would suppose himself to pass over the very spot fixed upon for the conference between the King and the Consul.

Before the Romans attempted the passage over the formerly pathless mountains of Chaonia, as Florus§ calls them, and the Aöus *winding through precipices*, they had penetrated into Macedonia by the way of Thessaly: and certainly the passage of an army, in the face of an enemy, over such a country, would seem to any one who had seen the positions, almost impracticable, yet Pyrrhus had done the same thing before, and, what would appear more incredible, contrived to make use of his elephants.

Had we traced back the river up the valley from which we had seen it issue, we might have been able to know enough of the country to the eastward, to assist our conjectures; as it is, you

* Plut. in vit. Pyrrhi.

† Book xxxii. cap. 5.

‡ Book xxxii. cap. 10.

§ Lib. ii. cap. 7.

must be content with those already offered to your notice, and proceed with us on our route.

After travelling down the valley an hour, we came in sight of a bridge, and saw crossing it a large party of soldiers, and some Turks on horseback, attending a covered chair or litter. A little after, to our great surprise, we were met by a carriage, not ill-made, but in the German fashion, with a man on the box driving four-in-hand, and two dirty Albanian soldiers standing on the foot-board behind. They were floundering on at a trot through the mire; but how it would be possible for them to pass over part of the road by which we had come, we did not at all understand. However, the population of whole villages was ordered out to help it along, and we heard afterwards of its safe arrival at Libokavo. This carriage had, as they told us, conveyed a lady of the Vizier's harem to the bridge, where she was met by the chair (a large sedan), in which she was to be carried on men's shoulders to 'Tepellenè.

At three hours and a half from Erceneed we crossed the bridge, which was of stone, but narrow, and of a bad construction, being so high in the middle, as to render it adviseable to dismount in passing over it. Immediately after getting across, we went along a path on the ledge of a steep precipice, with the river, which was broad (perhaps seventy feet), deep, and very rapid, rolling underneath. As we advanced on this bank of the river, we saw the hills to the east spotted with flocks of sheep and goats, and having a line of villages as far as the eye could reach. One of these, of the name of Korvo, more romantically situated than the others, was crowned with a dome and minaret rising from amidst a grove of cypresses. The hills, on the side

of which we were passing, were covered with wood, but without any villages, for they were not sufficiently high.

In two hours from the bridge, the river began to widen considerably, and a little way farther it was augmented by a stream of some breadth, flowing out of a narrow valley from the north-east. Not long after the junction of the rivers, the whole stream appeared as broad as the Thames at Westminster Bridge, but looking shallow in many places, with gravel banks above the water. Soon afterwards we had a view of Tepellenè, the termination of our journey, which we saw situated immediately on the bank of the river, and, in three quarters of an hour, we entered the native place of Ali.

The streets of the town, through which we passed, were dirty and ill-built; but every thing that had before attracted our attention was presently forgotten, when we entered through a gateway in a tower, and found ourselves in the court-yard of the Vizier's palace.

The court at Tepellenè, which was enclosed on two sides by the palace, and on the other two sides by a high wall, presented us, at our first entrance, with a sight something like what we might have, perhaps, beheld some hundred years ago in the castle-yard of a great Feudal Lord. Soldiers, with their arms piled against the wall near them, were assembled in different parts of the square: some of them pacing slowly backwards and forwards, and others sitting on the ground in groups. Several horses, completely caparisoned, were leading about, whilst others were neighing under the hands of the grooms. In the part farthest from the dwelling, preparations were making for the feast of the night; and several kids and sheep were being dressed by cooks who were

themselves half armed. Every thing wore a most martial look, though not exactly in the style of the head-quarters of a Christian general; for many of the soldiers were in the most common dress, without shoes, and having more wildness in their air and manner than the Albanians we had before seen.

On our arrival, we were informed that we were to be lodged in the palace: and, accordingly, dismounting, we ascended a flight of wooden steps into a long gallery with two wings, opening into which, as in a large English inn, were the doors of several apartments. Into one of these we were shown, and found ourselves lodged in a chamber fitted up with large silken sofas, and having another room above it for sleeping; a convenience scarcely ever to be met with in Turkey. His Highness (for so the Pashas of three tails are called by their attendant Greeks) sent a congratulatory message to us on our arrival, ordering every thing to be provided for us by his own household; and mentioning, at the same time, that he was sorry the Ramazan prevented him from having our company with him at one of his repasts. He ordered, however, that sherbets, sweetmeats, and fruits, should be sent to us from his own harem.

At sunset the drum was beat in the yard, and the Albanians, most of them being Turks, went to prayers. In the gallery, which was open on one side, there were eight or nine little boxes fitted up with raised seats and cushions, between the wooden pillars supporting the roof; and in each of these there was a party smoking, or playing at draughts.

I had now an opportunity of remarking the peculiar quickness and ease with which the Mahometans say their prayers; for, in the gallery, some of the graver sort began their devotions in the

places where they were sitting, entirely undisturbed and unnoticed by those around them, who were otherwise employed. The prayers, which last about ten minutes, are not said aloud, but muttered sometimes in a low voice, and sometimes with only a motion of the lips; and, whether performed in the public street or in a room, excite no attention from any one. Of more than a hundred in the gallery, there were only five or six at prayers. The Albanians are not reckoned strict Mahometans; but no Turk, however irreligious himself, is ever seen even to smile at the devotions of others; and to disturb a man at prayers would, in most cases, be productive of fatal consequences.

In the evening we were visited by two physicians of the Vizier's household; one of them, dressed in the Frank habit, a native of Alsace, and a very agreeable man, the other a Greek, who spoke the German, French, Italian, Latin, Turkish, and Albanian languages. The Frank gentleman, as we were informed, was very much in the confidence of the Vizier, and was reputed to be a man of ability. It was a question not to be asked him, but one would like to have known, what possible inducement could have settled him in Turkey, especially as he was the son of a physician of great eminence at Vienna. These physicians are in constant attendance upon Ali; who, however, a short time before our arrival in the country, had requested and obtained the assistance of two English surgeons from our Adriatic Squadron, but without finding much benefit from their advice.

The day after our arrival was fixed upon for our first audience of the Vizier, and we passed the evening chiefly in the company of the two physicians.

We were disturbed during the night by the perpetual carousal

which seemed to be kept up in the gallery, and by the drum, and the voice of the “muezzinn,” or chanter, calling the Turks to prayers from the minaret of the mosck attached to the palace. This chanter was a boy, and he sang out his hymn in a sort of loud melancholy recitative. He was a long time repeating the purport of these few words: “God most high! I bear witness that there is no God but God: I bear witness that Mahomet is the Prophet of God. Come to prayer; come to the asylum of salvation. Great God! There is no God but God!”—The first exclamation was repeated four times, the remaining words twice, and the long and piercing note in which he concluded this confession of faith, by twice crying out the word “*hou**,” still rings in my ears.

Ya-hou, meaning *he who is*, is the Mahometan periphrasis for the ineffable name of God, as was the word Jehovah amongst the Jews. Dean Swift hardly knew this when, satirizing the brutal qualities of the human species, he gave that name to his slave of the Houyhnhnms.

But you must be impatient to see Ali himself, and my next shall conduct you into his presence.

I am, &c. &c.

* The simple confession of faith is this: “*Ia illah—illah—Llah, Mehemed resool ullah—There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his Prophet.*”

LETTER XI.

Visit to Ali Pasha—His Appearance—Manners—Short Conversation—Second Interview with Ali—Present from Bonaparte to that Pasha—A Paleo-castro, or Ruin near Tepellenè—Last Audience of Ali—His Affability to his Soldiers—His Rise and Progress—The Difficulties he had to encounter—His vigorous Measures—Administration, and present Extent of his Dominions—Offered to be made a King by Napoleon—His supposed Revenues—His Disposition—Story of Zofreni—His Amusements and Morals—His want of Education.

ABOUT noon, on the 12th of October, an officer of the palace, with a white wand, announced to us that we were to attend the Vizier; and accordingly we left our apartment, accompanied by our dragoman and by the Secretary, who put on his worst cloak to attend his master, that he might not appear too rich, and a fit object for extortion.

The officer preceded us along the gallery, now crowded with soldiers, to the other wing of the building, and leading us over some rubbish where a room had fallen in, and through some shabby apartments, he ushered us into the chamber in which was Ali himself. He was standing when we came in; which was meant as a compliment, for a Turk of consequence never rises

to receive any one but his superior, and, if he wishes to be condescending, contrives to be found standing. As we advanced towards him, he seated himself, and desired us to sit down near him. He was in a large room, very handsomely furnished, and having a marble cistern and fountain in the middle, ornamented with painted tiles, of the kind which we call Dutch tile.

The Vizier was a short man, about five feet five inches in height, and very fat, though not particularly corpulent. He had a very pleasing face, fair and round, with blue quick eyes, not at all settled into a Turkish gravity. His beard was long and white, and such a one as any other Turk would have been proud of; though he, who was more taken up with his guests than himself, did not continue looking at it, nor smelling and stroking it, as is usually the custom of his countrymen, to fill up the pauses of conversation. He was not very magnificently dressed, except that his high turban, composed of many small rolls, seemed of fine gold muslin, and his attaghan, or long dagger, was studded with brilliants.

He was mightily civil; and said he considered us as his children. He showed us a mountain howitzer, which was lying in his apartment, and took the opportunity of telling us that he had several large cannon. He turned round two or three times to look through an English telescope, and at last handed it to us, that we might look at a party of Turks on horseback riding along the banks of the river towards Trepellenè. He then said, "that man whom you see on the road is the chief minister of my enemy, Ibrahim Pasha, and he is now coming over to me, having deserted his master to take the stronger side." He addressed this with a smile to the Secretary, desiring him to interpret it to us.

We took pipes, coffee, and sweetmeats, with him ; but he did not seem so particular about these things as other Turks whom we have seen. He was in great good humour, and several times laughed aloud, which is very uncommon in a man of consequence : I never saw another instance of it in Turkey.—Instead of having his room crowded with the officers of his court, which is very much the custom of the Pashas and other great men, he was quite unattended, except by four or five young persons very magnificently dressed in the Albanian habit, and having their hair flowing half way down their backs : these brought in the refreshments, and continued supplying us with pipes, which, though perhaps not half emptied, were changed three times, as is the custom when particular honours are intended for a guest.

There are no common topics of discourse between a Turkish Vizier and a traveller, which can discover the abilities of either party, especially as these conversations are always in the form of question and answer. However, a Frank may think his Turk above the common run, if his host does not put any very foolish interrogatories to him, and Ali did not ask us any questions that betrayed his ignorance. His liveliness and ease gave us very favourable impressions of his natural capacity.

In the evening of the next day we paid the Vizier another visit, in an apartment more elegantly furnished than the one with the fountain. Whilst we were with him, a messenger came in from “ Berat,” the place which Ali’s army (of about five thousand men) was then besieging. We were not acquainted with the contents of a letter, which was read aloud, until a long gun, looking like a duck-gun, was brought into the room ; and then, upon one of us asking the Secretary if there were many wild fowl in the

neighbourhood, he answered, Yes; but that for the gun, it was going to the siege of Berat, there being a want of ordnance in the Vizier's army. It was impossible not to smile at this war in miniature.

During this interview, Ali congratulated us upon the news, which had arrived a fortnight before, of the surrender of Zante, Cefalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo, to the British Squadron: he said, he was happy to have the English for his neighbours; that he was sure they would not serve him as the Russians and French had done, in protecting his runaway robbers; that he had always been a friend to our Nation, even during our war with Turkey, and had been instrumental in bringing about the Peace.

He asked us, what had made us travel in Albania? We told him, the desire of seeing so great a man as himself. "Aye," returned he, "did you ever hear of me in England?" We, of course, assured him, that he was a very common subject of conversation in our country; and he seemed by no means inaccessible to the flattery.

He showed us some pistols and a sabre; and then took down a gun that was hanging over his head in a bag, and told us it was a present from the King of the French. It was a short rifle, with the stock inlaid with silver, and studded with diamonds and brilliants, and looked like a handsome present; but the Secretary informed us, that when the gun came from Napoleon, it had only a common stock, and that all the ornaments had been added by his Highness, to make it look more like a royal gift.

Before we took our leave, the Vizier informed us, that there were in the neighbourhood of T'epellenè some remains of antiquity—a palæo-castro, as all pieces of old wall, or carved stones,

are called in Albania and Greece, and said that he would order some horses for us to ride to it the next morning.

According to his advice, we went on Sunday to see these ruins, which are very trifling, being only a few bits of wall, as it appeared to me, not ancient, on a hill about five miles to the north-west of Tepellencè.

In the evening of the same day, we paid his Highness our last visit. He then asked us which way we intended to go; and we told him, it was our wish to get from Ioannina into the Morea. He appeared to be acquainted with every road, and all the stages, and the state of the country most minutely. He said, that we could not go by the common road through Triccala, as that part of the country was infested by large bands of robbers; but that we might go through Carnia, crossing the gulf of Arta at Salora, or going to the head of the Gulf; and that, as that country was also suspicious, he would give us orders to his several military posts, to take as many guards as might be necessary. In case, however, we should not like to go through Carnia, he furnished us with an order to his Governor at Prevesa, to send us in an armed galliot to Patrass. He also gave us a letter to his son, Veli, Pasha of the Morea, and wished to know if he could do any thing to serve us.

We only asked permission to take our Albanian Vasily to attend us whilst in Turkey, which he readily granted, and asked where the man was. On being informed that he was at the chamber door, he sent for him, and accordingly Vasily entered; and, though with every proper respect, still was not embarrassed, but, with his hand on his left breast, answered the Vizier's questions in a firm and fluent manner. Ali called him by his name,

and asked him, why, being at the door, he had not come in to see him? "for you know, Vasily," added he, "I should have been glad to have seen you!" He then told him that he was to attend us, and see that we wanted nothing, and talked a good deal to him about the different stages of our route, summing all up by telling him in a jocose way, that if any accident happened to us, he would cut off his head; and that we were to write, mentioning how he had behaved. Shortly after this, and having agreed to give his Highness some relation of our travels by letter, we withdrew, and took our last leave of this singular man, of whom this may be the place to give you a short account.

Ali was born at 'Tepellenè, about the year 1750; for he is now past sixty years old, though he carefully conceals his age; and, notwithstanding a disorder which is considered incurable, still carries the appearance of a healthy middle-aged man. His father was a Pasha of two tails, but of no great importance. The most considerable Prince at that time was one Coul Pasha, a Vizier, and lord of great part of Albania. At the death of his father, Ali found himself possessed of nothing but his house at 'Tepellenè; and it is not only current in Albania, but reported to be even the boast of the Vizier himself, that he began his fortune with sixty paras and a musket. Our attendant Vasily (whose authority I should not mention, had it not been confirmed by every thing I heard in the country) assured me, that he recollects, when a boy, to have seen Ali (then Ali-Bey) in his father's cottage, with his jacket out at elbows; and that, at that time, this person used to come with parties from 'Tepellenè in the night, and seize upon the flocks of the villages at enmity with him.

By degrees, however, he made himself master first of one vil-

lage, then of another, and amassing some money, increased his power, and found himself at the head of a considerable body of Albanians, whom he paid by plunder; for he was then only a great robber, or one of those independent freebooters, of whom there are so many in the vast extent of the Turkish empire. It was not, however, without great difficulties and reverses that he continued his career, as you will think, when you hear what was said to me also by the same Vasily; for on telling this man that the Vizier seemed well acquainted with him; "Yes," he replied, "he ought to be well acquainted with me; for I have come down with the men of our village, and broken his windows with shot, when he did not dare to stir out of Tepellenè."—"Well;" he was asked, "and what did Ali do to the men of your village?" "Nothing at all; he made friends with our chief man, persuaded him to come to Tepellenè, and there roasted him on a spit; after which we submitted (*προσκυνήσαμεν*)."

Ali at last collected money enough to buy a pashalik (not that of Ioannina, but one of less importance), and being invested with that dignity, he was only more eager to enlarge his possessions; for he continued in constant war with the neighbouring Pashas, and finally got possession of Ioannina, of which he was confirmed Pasha by an imperial firman. He then made war on the Pashas of Arta, of Delvino, and of Ocrida, whom he subdued, together with that of Triccala, and established a very preponderating influence over the Agas of Thessaly. Giaffar, Pasha of Vallona, he poisoned by a cup of coffee, in a bath at Sophia; and he strengthened himself by marrying his two sons, Mouctar and Veli, to the daughters of Ibrahim, the successor and brother of Giaffar: since that time he has made war on Ibrahim himself,

and added considerably to the territories of Ioannina, by curtailing those of his relation.

During this progress, he had been, more than once, called upon to furnish his quota of troops to the imperial armies, and had served in person against the Germans and Russians; but he knew his countrymen too well, ever to trust himself at court. He never would accept of any great office, and always found some pretence to avoid giving his personal attendance on the Grand Vizier of the day, who, it is known, had many orders to arrest him. Stories are told of the skill and courage with which he counteracted several schemes to procure his head—a present that would have been most acceptable to the Porte ever since the commencement of his career: however, he fought against Paswan Oglou, under the banners of the Sultan; and on his return from Widin, in the year 1798, was made a Pasha of three tails, or Vizier. He has had several offers of being made Grand Vizier.

He next contrived to procure pashaliks for both his sons; the younger of whom, Veli, who resembles his father in his capacity and ambition, saved money enough in his first post to buy the pashalik of the Morea, with the dignity of Vizier, for three thousand purses of five hundred piasters each. His eldest son, Mouctar, of a more warlike, but less ambitious turn than his brother, has of late supplied his father's place at the head of the Albanians that have joined the armies of the Porte; and has greatly distinguished himself, as you must have heard, in the present war with Russia.

The difficulties which Ali had to encounter in establishing his power, did not arise so much from the opposition he met with

from the neighbouring Pashas, as from the nature of the people, and of the country of which he was determined to make himself master. Many of the parts which now compose his dominions, were peopled by inhabitants who had been always in rebellion, or had never been entirely conquered by the Turks; such as the Chimeriotes, the Sulliotcs, and the nations living amongst the mountains in the neighbourhood of the coast of the Ionian Sea. Besides this, the woods and hills of every part of his government were, in a manner, in possession of large bands of robbers, who were recruited and protected by the villages; and who laid large tracts under contribution; burning and plundering the districts, under the Pasha's protection. Against these he proceeded with the greatest severity: they were burnt, hanged, beheaded, and impaled, and have disappeared from many parts, especially of Upper Albania, which were before quite subject to these outlaws.

A few months before our arrival in the country, a large body infesting the mountains between Ioannina and Triccala, were defeated and dispersed by Mouctar Pasha, who cut to pieces a hundred of them on the spot. These robbers had been headed by a Greek Priest, who, after the defeat of his men, went to Constantinople, procured a firman of protection, and returned to Ioannina, where the Vizier invited him to a conference, and seized him as he was leaving the room. He was detained, and well treated, in prison, until a messenger could go to and return from Constantinople, with a permission from the Porte for Ali to do what he pleased with his prisoner.—It was the arm of this man which we had seen suspended from the bough, on entering Ioannina.

It is by such vigorous measures that the Vizier has rendered many parts of Albania, and the contiguous country, perfectly

accessible, that were before annually over-run by robbers ; and consequently by opening the country to merchants, and securing their persons and goods, has not only increased his own revenues, but bettered the condition of his subjects. He has built bridges over the rivers, raised causeways across the marshes, laid out frequent roads, adorned the country and the towns with new buildings, and by many wholesome regulations has acted the part of a good and great Prince, without perhaps a single other motive than that of his own aggrandisement.

The influence of Ali extends far beyond the limits of his dominions, and is feared and felt throughout the whole of European Turkey. It would, however, be very difficult to give the actual boundaries of his present dominions ; for in the extent of his territory, there is occasionally to be found an isolated district, which still resists his arms ; and his attempts on the neighbouring Pashas are not always attended with success. Two months after our visit to 'Tepellenè, he made himself master of Berat ; but my Friend has written to me from Athens, that the Pasha of Scutari has retaken the city, and reinstated Ibrahim. But Ali may be again victorious ; and, should he live, will, I doubt not, be master of nearly the whole of Albania.

At present, his dominions extend (taking Ioannina for a centre) one hundred and twenty miles to the north, as far as the pashalik of Ocrida ; to the north-east and east over Thessaly, and touching the feet of Mount Olympus ; to the south-east the small district of Thebes, and part of that attached to the Negroponte, bound his territories ; which, however, on this side, include the populous city of Livadia (Lebadea) and its district, and will soon, it is expected, comprise Attica, and afterwards the above-mentioned

country. To the south he commands as far as the gulf of Lepanto, and the Morea belongs to his son. The Ionian Sea and the gulf of Venice, are his boundaries to the south-west and west, and to the north-west the pashalik of Scutari, and the banks of the Drino; but on this side, the pashalik of Vallona intervenes. Parga, on the coast opposite to Corfu, belongs to the French, and the Chimeriotes can scarcely be said to depend entirely on his authority.

Throughout the whole of the country so bounded, the imperial firman is but little respected; whilst a letter with the signature of Ali (of which, as a curiosity, I send you a fac-simile), commands unlimited obedience. The Vizier is now absolute lord, as a Greek of Ioannina told me, of fifty small provinces; and should his projects of aggrandisement succeed, the countries which anciently composed the southern part of Illyricum, the kingdom of Epirus, part of Macedonia, the whole Thessalian territory, Eubæa, and all the Grecian States, will be under the dominion of a barbarian who can neither write nor read. His tyranny is complete; although the form of subjection to the Porte is still preserved, and he furnishes his contingent of men to the Ottoman armies, and pays, besides, a certain part of his tribute to the Grand Signor.

As he advances to the north-west, he will be in possession of the frontier towards Dalmatia, which the views of the French must render a most important post. It is confidently asserted, that Napoleon has offered to make him King of Albania, and to support his independence against the Porte; but, if this be true, he has had the prudence to refuse a crown, which would be rather the badge of bondage than of power, and of late the Em-

peror has talked of thundering down upon Albania from his Illyrian provinces.

What actual resistance Ali would be able to oppose to such an enemy, it is not easy to foresee ; with all his power, he has seldom kept in his pay more than eight thousand soldiers at any one time ; but as every Albanian understands the use of the gun and sabre, and as religious or other prejudices, might cause the whole population to rise in arms under so fortunate a chief, the passage of the mountains might be impracticable to the French—to the soldiers who crossed the Alps.

All the Albanians, even those who have not yet submitted to his power, speak with exultation and pride of their countryman, and, by a comparison with him, they constantly depreciate the merits of others. We frequently heard them say, when talking of some other Pasha, “ he is not such a one as Ali—he has not such a head.” But his death might destroy all hope of union and resistance.

The early acquisitions of this extraordinary man were made by force of arms ; but his latter aggrandisements have been generally accomplished by the proper disposal of his treasures, which are reported to be very great, but the probable amount of which it is impossible to calculate. Of the tenth of all produce collected for the Porte, the Vizier has, at least, a fourth part ; he has also near four hundred villages his own property ; and, besides, claims from all towns and districts, arbitrary sums for protection. I have seen a computation, which sets down his revenues at 6,000,000 of piasters, independent of those casual levies, and the presents which are made to him by his Christian subjects. Add to this, that all his work is done gratis, and his kitchens and

stables furnished by the towns where he has any establishment. He not only gives free quarter to himself and retinue in his numerous expeditions through his dominions, but his soldiers, who only receive about twelve piasters a month from him, are found in bread and meat wherever they go, by the inhabitants of the towns and villages; so that he is able to reserve much of his money for emergencies, for bribing the ministers of the Porte, and buying his neighbours' territories. He is not at much expence in purchasing the male or female slaves of his household; for with these he furnishes himself from the families of the robbers whom he executes, or compels to fly. We overtook a man carrying to Tepellenè a boy and girl, who had been just found in the cottage of a robber.

Of the natural disposition of Ali we had no opportunity of forming a judgment, except by hearsay; and it would be hardly fair to believe all the stories of the Greeks, who would represent him as the most barbarous monster that ever disgraced humanity. Certainly no one but a man of a ferocious and sanguinary disposition, would have been able or willing to tame the people whom he has brought into subjection: not only beheading, but impaling and roasting, might be necessary to inspire that terror of his name, which has of itself, in many instances, given peace and security to his dominions; for large bands of robbers have submitted voluntarily, and been enrolled amongst his soldiers. Executions are now but seldom seen in Ioannina; but during the Sulliot wars, twenty and thirty prisoners were sometimes beheaded at one time in the streets of that city. Such cruelty shocks your humane feelings; but "*voilà comme on juge de tout quand on n'est pas sorti de son pays.*" It is not fair to appre-

ciate the merits of any man without a reference to the character and customs of the people amongst whom he is born and educated. In Turkey the life of man is held exceedingly cheap, more so than any one, who has not been in the country, would believe; and murders, which would fill all Christendom with horror, excite no sentiments of surprise or apparent disgust, either at Constantinople or in the provinces; so that what might, at first sight, appear a singular depravity in an individual, would, in the end, be found nothing but a conformity with general practice and habits. You may, therefore, transfer your abhorrence of Ali to the Turkish nation, or rather to their manners; yet I almost accuse myself of a breach of the forbearance due from a guest to his host, when I relate to you two melancholy tales, which are very well known, and are secretly talked of at Ioannina.

The wife of Mouctar Pasha, daughter of Ibrahim, was a great favourite with the Vizier; who, upon paying her a visit one morning, found her in tears. He questioned her several times as to the cause of her grief, which she at last reluctantly owned to be the diminution of his son's affection for her. He enquired, if she thought her husband paid any attention to other women? She answered, Yes. The Vizier demanded who they were; and upon this, the lady (quite at random, it is said) wrote down the names of fifteen of the most beautiful women, some Greeks some Turkish, in the city of Ioannina. The same night they were all seized in their houses, conveyed to the palace in the fortress, thence carried in boats on the lake, and after being tied up in sacks, were thrown into the water.

I fear there is no doubt of the truth of this story; for on mentioning the matter to our attendant, Vasily, he said it was a fact;

and that he himself, belonging at that time to the city-guard, was one of the thirty soldiers employed to seize and destroy these unfortunate females. It may seem strange, that thirty men should be found capable of performing such an office; but the Albanians despise the sex; and our soldier defended the action, which, said he, was a very good one, for they were all bad women. It is not impossible, that this ruffian seriously considered himself as having been concerned in the suppression of vice.

The fate of the beautiful Zofreni is still the subject of a lamentable ditty, which we heard first at Ioannina, and afterwards at Athens. The story goes, that it was the misfortune of Zofreni, a Greek lady of Ioannina, the most lovely of her sex, to be admired at the same time by Ali and by one of his sons; and that she contrived to conceal this double attachment from both her lovers, till the Vizier recognized upon her finger, a ring which he had given to his son's wife. Upon this discovery, the angry father left her abruptly, and gave the fatal orders. Zofreni was drowned the same night. She was only seventeen years of age.

Here again is a trait of Turkish ferocity, rather than of a savage disposition peculiar to Ali; for there is nothing unusual in this manner of punishing women: Bairactar, the famous Grand Vizier, disposed of many of Sultan Mustapha's harem by the same death, in order to decrease the expences of the seraglio, or, as some say, to punish them for supposed court intrigues.

After what has been stated, you need scarcely be informed that Ali indulges to the full in all the pleasures that are licensed by the custom of the country. His harem is said to contain three hundred women. His other gratifications cannot be very various or refined.

Amongst the attendants at Tepellenè we saw the Court fool, who was distinguished by a very high round cap of fur; but, unlike the ancient fools of more civilized monarchs, this fellow is obliged to confine his humour to gambolling, cutting capers, and tumbling before the Vizier's horse, when his Highness takes a ride.

In his younger years Ali was not a very strict Mahometan; but he has lately become religious, and entertains several Dervishes at his court; yet he does not at all relax in his ambitious efforts; and having no use for books, employs all the hours that he is absent from his harem in designs of future conquest. He is still an active horseman, and there is scarcely a village in his dominions which he does not visit once a year. I believe him, from good authority, never to have received even the education usually given to the Albanians. Besides his native tongue, he talks Greek fluently, but of the Turkish language he knows very little; and, like Justin and Theodoric, the contemporary lords of the Eastern and Western Empires, has raised himself to his present power, without perhaps knowing the letters of any alphabet.

He is doubtless a great man; but without saying or knowing that he is the worthy successor of Pyrrhus, whom, according to one author*, he is accustomed to call *Piros*, and, as another will have it†, *Bourrhous*. But he that does not smile at Mr. Eton, may believe Doctor Poukeville.

Yours, &c. &c.

* Survey of the Turkish Empire, page 373.

† Voyage en Albanie, page 24.

LETTER XII.

Albania—Perpetual Barbarity of its Inhabitants—Early Settlement of the Scythians in that Country—In subjection to the Kings of Bulgaria—to the Emperors of the East—Uncertain Date of the Name Albania—Its Revolutions—Governed by Despots—Invaded by the Catalans—Disunited—Scanderbeg—Exaggeration of his Merits—Ottoman Conquest of the Country—Establishment of the Venetians on the Coast—Variety of Nations—The Albanians—their Origin—Asiatic Albanians—Shape and Face of the Albanians—their Dress—their Arms—their Filth—Dress of their Women—their Villages—their Food—their Disposition and Manners.

THE countries composing Albania, seem, in parts, to have been peopled by an almost uninterrupted succession of barbarians. Illyricum and Epirus are not often mentioned by historians, without a notice of the peculiar ferocity of their inhabitants. It was not until the reign of Tharrytas, King of the Molossians and Thresprotians, from whom Pyrrhus was fourth in descent, that the Greek manners and language were in-

troduced into the country*; which, as it was divided into several petty principalities and republics, could, after all, never have been more than partially civilized. As to the Illyrians, Polybius calls them the enemies of all nations, and no more civilized than the Thracians or Getæ; and Livy accounts for the superior ferocity of one of the four Roman divisions of Macedonia, by the inclemency of their climate, the infertility of their soil, and the *vicinity of the barbarians*†.

But the Romans took advantage of the many fine harbours of Illyricum, and the road called the Ignatian, of uncertain date and origin, which led from Apollonia and Dyrrachium, through Lychnidus, Pylon, and Edcssa, over a tract of two hundred and sixty-two Roman miles, to Thessalonica, may have served to civilize the interior of the country.

The desolation of Epirus, which (as has been before mentioned) afforded, in the days of Strabo, no better habitations for her people than ruined villages‡, may not have continued long after the time of that writer. The Emperors extended their care to this part of their dominions; and Amantia and Hadrianopolis are said to have been flourishing towns in New Epirus.

Yet we hear of the decay of the cities of this region as early as the reign of Julian; and it is probable, that there was but little booty left to satisfy the avarice of Alaric, when, in the year 396, he laid waste Illyricum and Epirus, and settled in the country with his Goths, after having been declared Master-gene-

* Plut. in vit. Pyrrhi.

† Liv. lib. xlv. cap. 30.

‡ See page 7, of this Book, where the words "*and caves*," together with the Greek quotation, were, by mistake, inserted in the text.

ral of the province by the feeble Emperor of the East. The coast also had been before, and continued for a century to be, subject to the piratical invasions of the Vandals of Spain.

The Bulgarians and Slavonians, who, after wandering in the plains of Russia, Poland, and Lithuania, had advanced to the north bank of the Danube, in the reign of Justinian made almost annual incursions into Illyricum, destroyed her cities, and spread their devastations even as far as Corinth. During the distresses of the lower empire, beginning as early as the eighth century, the ancient inhabitants of the country of which I am speaking, may be supposed to have been nearly extirpated; for the epitomizer of Strabo, whom (if I may be allowed to do what Swift calls, "*quote quotation on quotation*") I shall adduce, from a note of Mr. Gibbon's on an observation of Mr. Dodwell's, has this remark: "and now Scythian Slavi inhabit (or perhaps cultivate) the whole of Epirus, and Greece nearly, and Macedonia, and Peloponessus*." Under this name were comprehended all the nations who either preceded or followed the irruption of the Huns until the twelfth century; and as the Caspian gates were in possession of a King of the Scythian Tartars, the Bulgarians may have pushed the Asiatic Albanians before them into Enrope†.

But the strength and importance of the country in question, were increased by the settlement of the Scythian strangers. In the ninth and tenth centuries, the Bulgarians, who included the

* "Και νυν δε πασαν Ήπειρον και Έλλαδα σχεδον και Μακεδονιαν και Πελοποννησον Σκυθαι Σκλαβοι νεμυλιν."—*Decline and Fall*, &c. note 15 to cap. 53.

† Chandler mentions the European as the descendant of the Asiatic Albanians.

*two** Epiruses in their powerful kingdom to the south of the Danube, of which Lychnidus, now Ocrida, was the capital, were the first that, in the year 924, put a stop to the inroads of the Magiar, or Oriental Turks; and it is singular, that their posterity, or the posterity of a tribe in subjection to them, were the last to yield to the Ottomans, part of the Mahometan descendants of the same Huns.

After the reduction of the Bulgarian kingdom by Basil, the second Emperor of that name, the emigrated Scythians, formerly in subjection to that power, who had been converted to the Christian faith, served in the armies of the Eastern Empire. But they had been independent settlers long enough to change the names of the provinces they inhabited; and though it might be impossible to fix the exact date of the alteration, it must seem that as early as the eleventh century, when Rascia, Servia, Bosnia, and Croatia, began to supplant the ancient denominations of the countries of this part of Europe, the name of Albania also was attached to Epirus, to the southern part of Illyricum, and to some districts formerly belonging to Macedonia.

The date of this appellation may, however, have been much earlier. Mr. D'Anville, talking of the southern Illyricum, says, "we know that the name of Albania extended to this country; and an Albanopolis, which Ptolemy gives, appears to exist in Albasano." It is certain, at least, that from the period above noticed, we find mention of an European Albania, which, as we have before seen, is, though not quite accurately, indiscriminately used for Epirus.

* An expression of Mr. Gibbon's, cap. 55, p. 543, quarto edit.

We read that Robert Guiscard, in the year 1081, after beating Alexius Comnenus, at the battle of Durazzo, marched into *Albania*.

At the partial conquest of the Greek Empire by the Latins, this country, except Durazzo and Scutari, the ancient Scodra, the chief place of Illyricum, and some towns on the coast, which fell into the hands of the Venetians, was governed by a powerful usurper, Michael Angelus, a bastard of the blood-rôyal of the Constantinopolitan Emperors. Theodorus Angelus, his successor, dispossessed the Venetians of Durazzo, and withstood the forces of Peter, the third Latin Emperor; and when the empire was recovered by the Greeks, Albania was one of those states, whose Despots, a title inferior only to that of Emperor, were in reality independent, and were courted into the alliance of the Imperial family.

In the year 1270, the coast was invaded by a small body of Catalans, in the service of Charles of Anjou, which laid siege to Arnoot Beli-grat, or the city of the White Albanians; and during the two hundred and fifty years that intervened between the Latin and Turkish conquest of Constantinople, the whole country, as well as Greece, was split into many small principalities, whose temporary union under George Castriot, or Scanderbeg, called Prince of Epirus, or of Albania, was capable of resisting for twenty-four years the whole force of the Turkish arms.

Mr. Gibbon, with the scepticism so natural in a philosopher, and so necessary for a historian, seems to doubt the wonderful exploits of this Christian hero: he will not rank him amongst the great men who have deserved without wearing a crown; and he prefers the Turkish story of Cantemir to the marvellous narration of the contemporary biographer, Martinus Barletius, the monk of Scutari*. But though we may smile, when we read that

* Decline and Fall, cap. 67.

the warrior fought with such violence that the blood started from his lips ; that he slew three thousand Turks with his own hand, and killed with vexation a Sultan who, in truth, died peaceably at Adrianople ; yet, when least credulous as to the account of the deeds of Scanderbeg, we shall collect, that the Albanians were then able to support that claim to desperate courage, which has been always, and is still, attached to their character.

After the death of Scanderbeg, in the year 1466, the province fell into the hands of Mahomet the Great, who, with an army of eighty thousand men, besieged and took Scutari ; but in the reign of his successor Bajazet, it was partly recovered by John Castriot, assisted by the Venetians, and also by one John Chernovich, an Albanian Prince. The Turks, however, finally established themselves in the reigns of Sultans Soliman, and Selim the Second, notwithstanding the efforts of the Venetians, who made good some landings, but were afterwards obliged to retreat.

Since that time, those, whom the historian Knolles calls, “ the savage people of the Acroceraunians,” have, at the least instigation of the Christian powers, been ready to fly to arms ; and the final establishment of the Venetians in some towns on the coast, and in the Ionian Islands, prevented both the entire conversion of the Albanians to the faith, and their subjection to the power, of the Ottomans.

From what has been premised, it may be suspected that Albania must be inhabited by a mixture of different nations—composed of the descendants of Greeks, Romans, Goths, Vandals, Spaniards, Italians, Bulgarians, and Ottomans. This is very true ; and a difference of manner and disposition, religion and language, distinguishes the inhabitants of the various districts : yet it is that which may, I presume, be called the Scythian character, that

prevails throughout these mountainous regions, and it is of him, whom the Turks called Arnoot, the Greeks Albanetes, and we Albanian, or Albanese, that I purpose to give some account.

Whether the Arnoot be a descendant of the people formerly inhabiting the country between Iberia and the Caspian Sea, will hardly be decided by any acquaintance with his present character. As little is it to be supposed, that the Albanians are acquainted with, or even hazard a guess at, their own origin. Yet Pouqueville avers, that there prevails, he knows not how, a notion amongst them, that they are of French descent; and indeed, what he tells of them in one respect, might be said, even by a liberal enemy, of his own countrymen—"On les voyait avides des perils . . . mais, quelque fussent les evenements, ils ne manquent jamais de s'en attribuer le succès, et sur tout ils seraient bien gardés d'avouer une defaite*." It is certain, that some Gauls were formerly found in Epirus: they formed a band of mercenaries in the armies of the Kings of Macedon, and in those of the Epirotes. A body of them in the pay of Pyrrhus, plundered the royal treasury of Æge†; and some others, to whom the strong city of Phænice, on the coast of Chaonia, had been entrusted, betrayed the place to the pirates of Illyricum‡.

But from such ancestors, neither a Frenchman nor an Albanian would be very anxious to prove his descent. It is true, that there are a few French words in their language. I find it however distinctly asserted by Meletius, that the Albanians are neither of Illyric origin, nor from the nation of that name in Asia, but sprung from the Celts who came to Iapygia in Italy, and thence passed over to Dyrrhachium, and dispersed themselves in the

* Pouqueville, p. 19.

† Plut. vit. Pyrrhi.

‡ Polyb. lib. ii. cap. 5.

neighbouring country*. The English editor of the *Periegesis* of Dionysius, also presumes that Albania was so denominated from the Albani, enumerated amongst the nations of Macedonia by Ptolemy†; and it will be recollected that the name was found amongst the people of Italy.

A reference to the eleventh book of Strabo, will enable us to judge whether there is any similarity between the Asiatic Albanians, such as he describes them, and the modern Arnoot‡.

The Albanians are generally of a middle stature, about five feet six inches in height. They are muscular and straight in their make,

* AABANIA. pp. 305, 306.

† See v. Illyris in *Indic. Perieg.* p. 434, edit. Hill, Lond. 1679.

‡ The principal points observable in the geographer's account of the Asiatic Albanians, are the following: "They were attached to the wandering life of a shepherd, and to the amusement of hunting. Simple and honest in their manners, they had but little money amongst them, were unacquainted with weights and measures, and unable to count beyond a hundred. They were unskilful in agriculture, and knew little of the art of war, although maintaining an army of forty thousand foot and twenty-two thousand horse. They worshipped Jupiter and the Sun; but the Moon was their principal deity, and to her they sacrificed human victims, who were sometimes the priests themselves. For of these many are seized with a sacred enthusiasm, and foretell future events, and whosoever amongst them, being more possessed than the others, becomes a solitary wanderer in the woods, him the chief priest catching and binding with a holy chain, feeds daintily for that year, and then he being produced as a sacrifice to the goddess, is, together with the other victims, anointed and slain."

They inspected the carcass of the man thus sacrificed, for the purpose of divination; and after laying it in some public place, jumped upon it for a lustration. They revered old age; but neither mourned nor mentioned the dead, with whom they buried whatever little money they had possessed. Before they were conquered by Pompey, they were divided into twenty-six states, each having a separate ruler, and language peculiar to itself. They were handsome and tall, and we find by another account, that they had generally blue eyes.

but not large; and they are particularly small round the loins, without any corpulency, which may be attributed to their active life, and also to the tight girdle they wear round their waists. Their chests are full and broad, and their necks long. Their faces are of a long oval shape, with prominent cheek bones, and a flat but raised forehead. The expression of their eyes, which are blue and hazel, but seldom quite black, is very lively. Their mouths are small, and their teeth of a good colour, and well formed. Their noses are, for the most part, high and straight, with thin but open nostrils. Their eye-brows are arched. They wear no hair on the fore part of their heads, but suffer it to flow down in large quantities from the top of the crown: it is generally in curls, but when straight and long, it is most admired. They have small mustachios on the upper lips; but shave off the whole of the beard at the same time that they perform that operation on the fore part of their crowns, which is about once a week.

The colour of the Albanians, when they are young, is a pure white, with a tinge of vermillion on their cheeks; but labour, and exposure to heat and cold, gives a dusky hue to the skin of the bodies, though their faces mostly preserve a clearness of complexion. They have the practice, so commonly prevalent in many nations, and which Strabo remarks as the custom of the Illyrians, of making figures on the skin of their arms and legs, by punctures, which they colour with gunpowder, exactly similar to the marks seen on our sailors.

The common picture of Scanderbeg, in Knolles's History of the Turks, is not a bad representation of the general look of his nation; but the drawing which I have inserted is ill done, and is only introduced as a specimen of the Albanian dress.

The Albanian women are tall and strong, and not ill-looking:

but bearing in their countenances all the marks of wretchedness, of bad treatment, and hard labour.

The dress of the men is well adapted to the life of a mountaineer. The picture inclosed, represents that of the better sort of people; but the common kind is entirely white. The shirt is of cotton, as well as the drawers; but every other part of the habit of coarse woollen. It is but seldom that they wear any thing on their feet, except on particular occasions, when they put on the sandal shown in the drawing. Almost every Albanian can make his own clothes; and, for the article last mentioned, he carries about with him a small quantity of red leather, cat-gut, and packthread, and a large needle, wrapt up in part of the pouch containing his cartridges. The bottom of the sandal is of goat-skin, the open-work on the top of cat-gut. The mantle is mostly longer than the one in the print, as is the shirt, and is of white woollen, with the shag left upon it. Besides the small red cap, resembling the cup of an acorn, on the crown of the head, those who can afford it, add a shawl, bound round in the turban fashion, and in the winter drawn over the ears, and tied round the neck. But that which constitutes their chief defence against the weather, and forms their bed, whether in the cottage or the field, is a large great coat, or capote, with loose open sleeves, and a hood which hangs in a square piece behind, but, when put over the head, is fastened into form by means of a long needle, or sometimes the ramrod of a pistol. The capote is of shaggy white woollen, or of black horse-hair; and one might think it to be peculiar to this people, for (as my Friend put me in mind) our poet Spenser has given to one of his personages a

“ huge capoto Albanese-wise.”

Round their waists they wear a coarse shawl, drawn very tight by a leathern strap or belt that contains their pistols; and “ungirding of their loins,” by the loosening of this belt, is, with pulling the capote about them, the only preparation they make for going to sleep at night. In the summer they often walk about without their mantles and upper jacket, having the large sleeves of their shirts hanging loosely over their arms.

The poorer people carry only one pistol in their belts, but it is their constant companion; and when they can afford to have the long peaked handle of it worked in rough silver, they are not a little proud of their weapon. They are not so particular about the barrel or the lock; for most of these pistols, when fired, if they do not burst, lacerate the hand very badly.

The curved sabre, which is chiefly worn by those in the actual employ of a Pasha, is kept as sharp as a razor; but the handle of silver is so rough as to tear the hand of a person unaccustomed to wield such a sword.

The long gun is to be found in every cottage in Albania: the peasant carries it with him either when he tends his flock, or tills his land. It is the weapon in the use of which he considers himself to excel, and he regards it both as his ornament and his defence. The gun-barrels, however, are thin and ill made, and the locks are of the rudest manufacture, the works being generally on the outside. Owing to this circumstance, and as the powder is large-grained and otherwise very bad, the Albanians are not good marksmen, although they never fire without a rest, and take a very deliberate aim.

Besides the pistols, their belts contain a knife in a case, the handle and sheath of which, are often attached to each other by three or four rows of small silver chains—an ornament of which

they are very fond, as they have several of them hanging round their necks, some with amulets, others with silver snuff-boxes, or watches in large shagreen cases, at the end of them.

But there is an article of which they are very careful and proud, and which they often wear, even if they are incapable of making any use of it. This is a small hollow instrument, generally of copper, but sometimes of silver, a quarter of an inch thick, and ten or eleven inches long, having at one end, which is larger than the other, an ink-stand, and containing a pen. They call it in modern Greek "*calamaro*." They carry it in their girdles next to their pistols and knife, and adorn it, as well as their other trinkets, with a silver chain.

The whole Albanian costume, when quite clean and new, is incomparably more elegant than any worn in the Turkish empire, and it may be made very costly. The Agas, who can afford such an expence, to their other two jackets add a third without sleeves; and all three of these suits being of velvet, richly worked with inlaid gold or silver, the body of the dress has the appearance, and, indeed, almost the stiffness of a coat of mail. And this circumstance, I suppose, made Mr. Eton talk of the "*rich armour* of the son of the Pasha of Yanina," which was stripped from his body on the field of battle, and presented by the Sulhote ambassadors to the Empress Catharine*.

But the common clothes of the Albanians are of a most unsavoury appearance. Few amongst them have more than two shirts, and many only one; so that this material part of their dress, as well as the drawers, is often quite black, and falls to shreds upon their backs, from accumulated filth and constant

* Survey of the Turkish Empire, p. 355.

wear. From such a habit, and the practice of sleeping dressed upon the ground, it is to be expected that the thick woollen jackets, mantle, and capote, must shelter every species of vermin; and, indeed, though from the Grand Signor to his lowest subject, there is not, perhaps, one person in Turkey quite free from a kind of animal, which, when multiplied, becomes the cause and symptom of an incurable disease; yet, as the physician of Ali assured me, "*Le pou des Albanais est le plus gras et le plus gros du monde.*" They will often, without any shame or concealment, brush these insects by dozens from their clothes, and it is quite impossible to travel amongst them without being visited by so unpleasant a companion.

The dress of their women is very fantastical, and different in different villages. Those of Cesarades were chiefly clothed in red cotton (I never observed the colour elsewhere), and their heads were covered with a shawl, so disposed as to look like a helmet with a crest, and clasps under the ears. The women of Freeneed were in white woollens, and the younger ones wore a kind of skull-cap, composed entirely of pieces of silver coin, paras and piasters, with their hair falling down in braids to a great length, and also strung with money. This is a very prevailing fashion; and a girl before she is married, as she collects her portion, carries it on her head. The females do not appear more cleanly than the men.

The habitations of the Albanians are mostly very neat; and though their cottages have seldom more than one floor, and that of mud, yet they are regularly swept, and being well built, are perfectly dry. It is true, that the fire is on the floor, and that the hole meant to be a chimney is not always so well contrived as to prevent the room from being smoked.

Their household furniture is not composed of many articles, but is quite sufficient for their wants. A large circular tray of thin iron and tin, on which they eat, and which they scour very bright; a pan to mix their meal in; a wooden bowl or two, and a few horn spoons; some jars for oil and wine, a small copper coffee jug, and a brass lamp; three or four mats of white rushes, and one stool; a round block of wood, about a foot high, on which the tray is placed; are all the articles usually to be seen in their cottages, and these are kept either in a neat deal cupboard, or wooden chest.

Their houses have generally two rooms; and in one of these they keep their maize in the stalk, or their grapes, which they sprinkle with salt to preserve them. The traveller Sonnini, who had seen an Albanian town on Mount Olympus, proposes it as the best model for village-buildings. The houses are not heaped together, but each of them has a garden. That in which we were lodged at Erecneed, had attached to it a piece of ground, containing some roods cultivated for the tobacco plant, a vineyard, and a fruit and vegetable garden: round the whole was a high stone wall, and the house itself was in an inner yard, also inclosed by another wall, so as to form a sort of fortification; indeed, we saw several holes at regular distances, through the walls of the room in which we lay, and were informed they were for the use of the gun.

Each of the villages we saw had, also, a green near it, shaded with a large tree, and set apart for the holiday amusements of the peasants. In part of this green is a circular piece of paved ground, on which the corn is trodden out by eight or nine horses a-breast, which are driven round, tied by a cord to a stake fixed in the middle of the circle. This is an universal practice

in Turkey, and the same plan is followed in Spain and Portugal.

The principal food of these people is wheaten or barley bread, or cakes of boiled or roasted maize, cheese made of goats'-milk, rice mixed with butter, eggs, dried fish, olives, and vegetables. On holidays, kids and sheep are killed, and fowls, of which there are great plenty every where; but the proportion of animal food is considerably less than that of the other part of their diet. They drink wine, both Mahometans and Christians, as also an ardent spirit extracted from grape-husks and barley, called *rackee*, not unlike whisky. It is but seldom that they spare any milk from their cheeses. Indeed, cold water is what they chiefly drink, and of this they take large draughts, even in the heats of summer, and during the most violent exercise, without experiencing any inconvenience from the indulgence. Coffee is to be met with in many houses, and now and then the *rossoglios* of Italy, and the liqueurs made at Cefalonia and Corfu.

Although the Albanians are generally temperate, and can live on a very spare diet, yet that is because they prefer saving their money for the purchase of arms and trinkets; for they will eat of whatsoever is laid before them by another person, not only freely but voraciously.

In common with all the inhabitants of the Levant, they love money, of which they make little hoards, and then spend the sum all at once, either upon pipe-heads, silver mounted pistols, shawls, snuff-boxes, watches, or handkerchiefs. Of this latter article they, now and then, wear two or three at a time hanging from their belts. They are avaricious, but not misers—being not so much desirous of keeping, as greedy in collecting riches.

An Albanian Turk was asked in our hearing what he liked best—Wine? No—Pistols? No—Women? No, no—What then? “Why,” replied the young man with great frankness, “I like money best; because with that I can get all those things you mention, whenever, and as much of them, as, I want.”

Thus, in the pursuit of riches, there is no toil or danger which they will not encounter; but they prefer the life of the soldier to that of the husbandman, and with much greater alacrity support the labours of war than those of agriculture.

They are very inexpert in cutting down their corn, every kind of which is reaped with a sickle, and never mowed with a scythe. Their plough is as simple as that of Virgil. It is composed of two curved pieces of wood, one longer than the other: the long piece forms the pole; and one end of it being joined to the other piece about a foot from the bottom, divides it into a share, which is cased with iron, and a handle. The share is, besides, attached to the pole by a short cross bar of wood. Two oxen, with no other harness than yokes, are joined to the pole, and driven by the ploughman, who holds the handle in his left hand, and the goad in his right. But, although the furrow is not more than an inch and a half deep, and the exertion requisite is consequently very slight, yet the Albanian at his plough is a complete picture of reluctant labour.

Thus in many parts of the country the sowing and reaping of the harvest is delegated to the women, the old and the infirm, and only those labours which require the strength and skill of man, such as the felling of timber, and the cultivation of the vineyard, fall to the lot of the young mountaineer.

Averse from every habit of active industry, it is with less unwill-

lingness that he wanders on the mountains or in the forests, with his flocks and herds ; for the life of the shepherd is a life both of laziness and peril. But his supreme delight, when unoccupied by the wars of his Pasha or of his village, is to bask in the sunshine, to smoke, to eat, to drink, to dose, or to stroll slowly round the garden of his cottage, tinkling his tuneless lute. Yet though idle he is still restless, and ready to seize his gun, and plunge into the woods, at the first summons of his chief.—Strange inconsistency in human nature ! says 'Tacitus*', when the same men are so fond of indolence and so dissatisfied with repose.

I am, &c. &c.

* De Morib. Germ. cap. xv.

LETTER XIII.

Continuation of the Manners of the Albanians—Expression of their Meaning by Signs—their Liveliness—Passionate Temper—their Education—their Language—their Morals—Religion—their Nationality—their love of Arms—The Albanian Robbers—their Way of Life—and Mode of Attack—their Surgeons—The Albanian Dances—Albanians in Foreign Service—in Egypt—Italy—the Morea—under Mustapha Bairahtar—Albanian Settlers—in different Parts of the Levant called Wallachians improperly—and in Calabria.

THE same distaste of trouble, of which mention has been made in my last Letter, seems to be apparent in a singular habit, prevalent with the Albanians, of expressing their meaning by short signs instead of words. Take one or two instances:—If one of them is asked, whether there is any fear of robbers in such a road, and he means to say that there is no cause for alarm, he pushes his little red cap over his eyes, as much as to say, a man might walk there blindfolded. Sometimes, instead of saying, “*No, not at all; not the least in the world;*” he puts the nail of his thumb under his upper fore-teeth, and draws it out smartly, making the same kind of sound as we

employ in place of the interjection, alas! It is not very easy to know when they mean to answer in the affirmative, and when in the negative, as a shake of the head serves both for *no* and *yes*.

But the sluggishness, or rather the hatred of work, observable in this nation, by no means carries with it that grave and torpid air which is seen in the generality of the Turks. On the contrary, they are lively, and even playful; and though their home sports are not of the active kind, yet they show their delight at their Turkish draughts and other sedentary games, by loud bursts of laughter, and other signs of childish joy. They are very furious also in their expressions of like and dislike; and as they have but little command of their temper, and prefer at all times open force to fraud, they make no study of the concealment of their passions. We once saw one of them offer to run a dirk into his arm, upon the mention of the name of a Greek girl, with whom he was deeply smitten; for he drew his weapon, and, turning up his sleeve, exclaimed, "Shall I do it? shall I do it?"—What satisfaction he could suppose this cutting himself could give to his mistress, it is not easy to conjecture. But this is a practice also of the Greeks, who perform the sacrifice, not with the amorous transport of the Albanian, but out of mere gallantry, in the presence of their *Dulcineas*, serenading them and drinking to their healths.

There is nothing more sanguinary in the character of the Albanians, than in that of the other inhabitants of the Levant; though, as they live under no laws, and each individual is the redresser of his own wrongs, bloodshed cannot but frequently occur. A blow is revenged, by the meanest amongst them, with the instant death of the offender: their military discipline admits

of no such punishment, and their soldiers are hanged and beheaded, but never beaten. The custom of wearing arms openly, which has been considered as one of the certain signs of barbarity, instead of increasing, diminishes the instances of murder, for it is not probable that a man will often hazard an offence, for which he may instantly lose his life. They are not of a malignant disposition, and when cruel, with the exception of some tribes, it is more from sudden passion than from a principle of revenge. Treachery is a vice hardly to be found amongst them; such as have experienced your favour, or, as their saying is, have eaten your bread, and even those who are hired into your service, are entirely to be depended upon; and are capable often of the warmest and most devoted attachment. Take, by the way, that this fond fidelity is more observable in the Mahometan, than in the Christian Albanians.

There are very few of them who cannot speak Greek, and, as their own is not a written language, a great many write and read that tongue. These are very proud of their acquirements, and so far from thinking it necessary to conceal their education, display their learning as ostentatiously as their valour. Were an Albanian to sit for his picture, he would wish to be drawn, like the admirable Creighton, with a sword in one hand and a book in the other.

The Turkish language is known but to very few, even of the Mahometans amongst them. Of the Albanian language, there is collected for your inspection, almost the first specimen ever put to paper. The basis of it is said to be Sclayonian, mixed with a variety of other tongues, of which the Turkish is most predominant, though the modern Greek, the Italian, the French, and

even words that sound like English, have a share in the composition of this strange medley. The infinitive seems to be formed by the syllable *ti*.

I feel no great inclination to speak of the morals of the Albanians. Their women, who are almost all of them without education, and speak no other than their native tongue, are considered as their cattle, and are used as such, being, except the very superior sort, obliged to labour, and often punished with blows. They have, in truth, rather a contempt, and even aversion for their females, and there is nothing in any of their occasional inclinations, which can be said to partake of what we call the tender passion. Yet all of them get married who can, as it is a sign of wealth, and as they wish to have a domestic slave. Besides, as in most parts of the country the females are not nearly so numerous as the other sex, the bride often does not bring a portion to her husband, but the man to his wife, and he is obliged to get together about a thousand piasters, before he can expect to be married.

A young fellow, being asked by us if he was going to get a wife, shook his head, and said he was not rich enough. Some time afterwards he came to us in great glee, with a letter in his hand from his father, part of which he read to us, couched in these very words: "*I wish you to come home—I have got a wife for you.*" Just as if he had said, I have got a cow for you.

Though the Mahometans amongst them veil their women, and conceal them in their harems, they are said to be less jealous than other Turks, and they seldom have more than one wife. In short, their habit of life, which forms almost all of them into bands of soldiers or outlaws, appears to render them quite independent of

the other sex, whom they never mention, nor seem to miss in their usual concerns or amusements.

The same habit is productive of a system, which is carried by them to an extent of which no nation, perhaps, either modern or ancient, unless we reluctantly except the Thebans, can furnish a similar instance. Not even the Gothic Taisali (I refer you to Gibbon for their depraved institution*) could be quoted against this assertion, and you should have sufficient proof of its truth, were I not aware of the propriety of the maxim approved, or probably invented by the great Latin historian. “*Scelera ostendi oporteat (dum puniuntur) flagitia abscondi†.*” After this information, you may consider it very singular that the Albanians are exceedingly decent in their outward manners and behaviour, never admitting an immodest word or gesture in their conversation, nor indulging in that kind of talk, which is the delight of some, even above the lower orders, in more civilized parts of the world. But this is a part of Mahometan discipline, and though it may appear a necessary concomitant of their strange system which destroys the natural equality of the sexes, is surely to be admired and imitated.

You may be aware that the Christian religion, if the degrading superstition of the Greek church can deserve such a title, has been far from extirpated by the Mahometan conquerors of Albania. Even in the upper country, where the Turks are most predominant, several villages of Christians are to be found. On the coast nearly all the people are of that religion, some of them being of the Latin church.

* Decline and Fall, cap. 23.

† Tacit. De Morib. German. cap. xii.

The Turks are not strict in the observance of the Mahometan law, though I never heard any of them swear by Christ*. The Christians adhere pretty closely to the tenets, but pay no sort of reverence to the ministers of their church, whom they abuse openly and despise, because they are not soldiers, and are considered to be slaves, being usually Greeks by nation.

Lady M. W. Montague, whose book is so commonly read that you will scarcely pardon me for quoting rather than referring to it, talking of the Arnoots, says, in her agreeable manner—
“These people, living between Christians and Mahometans, and not being skilled in controversy, declare that they are utterly unable to judge which religion is best, but to be certain of not entirely rejecting the truth, they very prudently follow both. They go to the moscks on Fridays, and to the church on Sundays, saying, for their excuse, that they are sure of protection from the true Prophet; but which that is, they are not able to determine in this world.”

This may have been true in the days of our accomplished countrywoman, but I could not learn that there is now to be found an instance of so philosophical an indifference, or rather of so wise a precaution. However, it is certain that the Christians, who can fairly be called Albanians, are scarcely, if at all, to be distinguished from the Mahometans. They carry arms, and many of them are enrolled in the service of Ali, and differ in no respect from his other soldiers. There is a spirit of independence and a love of their country, in the whole people, that, in a great measure, does away the vast distinction, observable in other

* Voyage en Albanie, 149.

parts of Turkey, between the followers of the two religions. For when the natives of other provinces, upon being asked who they are, will say, "we are Turks" or, "we are Christians," a man of this country answers, "I am an Albanian." The salute also, and the shaking of hands, is as much observed between a Turk and Christian, as between two Turks or two Christians.

Nationality, a passion at all times stronger in mountaineers than in inhabitants of the plains, is most conspicuous in their character. If one of them is travelling from home, and hears of a countryman resident near any place which he may pass, though he has never seen or heard of the man before, he will go out of his way to visit him. I have several times witnessed the delight they manifest at an accidental meeting of this kind; it is much more apparent than the emotion of two English friends on such an occasion. But their whole manner is very affectionate, and when, after a short absence, an Albanian happens to light upon an acquaintance, he gives him his right hand and kisses him on the cheek, which is also repeated at parting, when, if they have passed upon the road, each, after they have got to a little distance, fires off his pistols and his gun.

No foreign country, nor new sights, can take away from them the remembrance and the love of their mountains, their friends, and their own villages. They are perpetually recurring to them, and making invidious comparisons between their native place, and every thing about them in other countries. They consider that all other men, whether Turks or Christians, are cowards if opposed to their countrymen; and, in fact, as they have long been accounted the best soldiers in the Turkish empire, they have some reason for the pride which can be discerned in their poorest pea-

sants The strut of one of them, and the air of defiance which he puts on, with his hand on his sabre and his red cap a little on one side over his forehead, are such, as no one who has once seen them, would ever forget.

All of them are warriors, and equally capable of using the sword and the long gun; the latter weapon, when slung across their right shoulders, they carry without any apparent effort, running up their hills with great ease and agility. As all of them carry arms, it is not easy to distinguish a soldier in service from a peasant; though perhaps the surest distinction is the sabre, which, as has been said, is seldom worn publicly, except by those in the employment of their Pasha. However, most of their cottages are furnished both with this weapon and with pistols. Nor are their arms for show, for, until very lately, (and in some parts it is the case even now), every district was either upon the defensive against the bands of robbers, or was in alliance with them, and in rebellion against the Pashas of the Porte. Some of almost every village have belonged to these bands, and as no disgrace is attached to plundering upon so large a scale, it is very common to hear a man say, "when I was a robber."

It is early in the summer that these banditti, in bodies of two, five, and seven hundred, and sometimes even of a thousand, assemble under some formidable chief, and leaving the towns and villages where they have separately passed the winter, retire to the summits of the most lofty mountains. The recesses of Metzovo, and of the hills now called Agrapha, at the bottom of the gulf of Arta, which command, as it were, the passes from Greece and Thessaly into Albania, are amongst their most favourite haunts. They live some in caves, but many of them in the open air, under

no other covering than their capotes. The flocks of the shepherds, who are in concert with them, supply them with meat, and in the night-time they steal down singly into the villages in their alliance, and procure bread. No violence is used on this occasion; the messenger taps gently at the door of the cottages, and whispering the words, "Bread, bread," (*psomè, psomè*) is immediately understood by the peasant, and provided with what he wants. A traveller has some chance of being awakened in his humble lodging by one of these midnight visitants; but would hardly guess what sort of character, or whose purveyor, he really was. Their drink is water only, and they are very particular in the choice of their springs. They have spies throughout the country, to give them notice of the approach of an enemy, or of any whom they may plunder; and, as they are always on the alert, they move instantly, on such intelligence, from the tops of the hills, and occupy the passes in the woods.

In their mode of attack they are extremely cautious. They lie patiently, and in dead silence, perhaps for hours, covered with leaves, behind stones, in the water-courses, or in the thickets, on each side of the road. They suffer their prey to get into the midst of them, when, if the party be armed or numerous, they fire upon them suddenly without rising, and continue to do so, unless beaten, until they have made their adversaries throw down their arms, and ask for quarter. In that case, the prisoners are then gagged, and bound, and plundered; and if there be amongst them a man of consequence, the robbers make him write to his friends for a ransom of so many thousand piasters, and, if the money arrives, they release him; if it does not, they cut off his head, or keep him amongst them until they disperse.

If there is no probability of their being resisted, they start up at once, without firing, and seize their plunder. Resistance is often made with success, and with very little bloodshed; for, on the first shot being fired, the attacked run different ways, get behind stones and trees, and return the fire upon the robbers, who, unless they are very superior in number, do not attempt to dislodge them with the sabre, but continue under cover, or retreat.

An English gentleman travelling in the country, had the opportunity of seeing one of these skirmishes: he told me the story at Ioannina. He was escorted by thirty soldiers of Ali's. In passing a road, with a rocky hill on one side and a wood on the other, thirty-five Albanians suddenly made their appearance: the guard instantly began to climb up the hill, and get under cover of the rocks; firing from behind the stones, and striving with their adversaries, which should get the most elevated station to defend. They continued jumping from crag to crag, dropping down, and firing at each other for twenty minutes, leaving the Englishman in the road, till, at last, the two parties discovered that each of them belonged to the Pasha, and that they had mutually mistaken each other for robbers. During the whole contest, not one of either side had been even wounded. However, it is not owing to cowardice, but custom, that they always fight in this manner, as well in open warfare as in these petty battles in their own mountains, except where they have any cavalry employed, or where, as in the affair of Prevesa, there is a great disproportion between the numbers of the enemy and their own force. But their fights are not always bloodless: whatever was done against the Russians during the last campaign, was done by Mouctar Pasha and his Albanian troops.

The life they lead in the course of their profession as plunderers, enables them to support every hardship, and to take the field, when in regular service, without baggage or tents of any kind. If badly wounded, they leave their corps, and retire to their homes until they are cured, when they return to the field. Many amongst them know how, in their rude manner, to heal a wound, and set a bone, and they even attempt the more delicate operations of surgery.--The French Consul at Athens was persuaded to trust a very valuable life in the hands of one of them, and was so fortunate as to be relieved by the complete reduction and cure of a hernia, under which he had long laboured.

After the tops of the mountains become untenable from the snow and rain of autumn, these bands of outlaws leave their haunts, and usually separate; many of them going into the towns of Livadia, Thebes, Athens, the Negroponte, and also over to Corfu, and to Santa Maura, where they live upon their plunder, or go into some employment, which they always quit on a stated day in the spring.

Robbing and stealing are reckoned two entirely different things. Very few amongst them are ever guilty of the latter vice; not so many, perhaps, as of the lower orders in many other nations. Not only the youth of the Albanians is exercised in arms, but their manhood, and even their advanced age; and it is not till years and infirmities have made them decrepid, that they become the constant tenants of their cottages.

Although lazy in the intervals of peace, there is one amusement of which (as it reminds them of their wars, and is, in itself, a sort of friendly contest) they partake with the most persevering energy and outrageous glee. I allude to their dances, which, though principally resorted to after the fatigues of a march, and

during their nights on the mountains, are yet occasionally their diversion on the green of their own villages.

There is in them only one variety: either the hands of the party (a dozen, or more, in number) are locked in each other behind their backs; or every man has a handkerchief in his hand, which is held by the next to him, and so on through a long string of them. The first is a slow dance. The party stand in a semicircle; and their musicians in the middle, a fiddler, and a man with a lute, continue walking from side to side, accompanying with their music the movements, which are nothing but the bending and unbending of the two ends of the semicircle, with some very slow footing, and now and then a hop.

But in the handkerchief dance, which is accompanied by a song from themselves, or which is, more properly speaking, only dancing to a song, they are very violent. It is upon the leader of the string, that the principal movements devolve, and all the party take this place by turns. He begins at first opening the song, and footing quietly from side to side; then he hops quickly forward, dragging the whole string after him in a circle; and then twirls round, dropping frequently on his knee, and rebounding from the ground with a shout; every one repeating the burden of the song, and following the example of the leader, who, after hopping, twirling, dropping on the knee, and bounding up again several times round and round, resigns his place to the man next to him. The new Coryphæus leads them through the same evolutions, but endeavours to exceed his predecessor in the quickness and violence of his measures; and thus they continue at this sport for several hours, with very short intervals; seeming to derive fresh vigour from the words of the song, which is perhaps changed once or twice during the whole time.

In order to give additional force to their vocal music, it is not unusual for two or three old men of the party to sit in the middle of the ring, and set the words of the song at the beginning of each verse, at the same time with the leader of the string; and one of them has often a lute to accompany their voices.

You should have been told, that this lute is a very simple instrument—a three-stringed guitar with a very long neck and a small round base, whose music is very monotonous, and which is played with, what you will excuse me for calling, a plectrum, made of a piece of quill, half an inch in length. The majority of the Albanians can play on this lute, which, however, is only used for, and capable of those notes that are just sufficient for the accompaniment and marking the time of their songs.

The same dance can be executed by one performer, who, in that case, does not himself sing, but dances to the voice and lute of a single musician. We saw a boy of fifteen, who, by some variation of the figure, and by the ease with which he performed the *pirouette*, and the other difficult movements, made a very agreeable spectacle of this singular performance.

There is something hazardous, though alluring, in attempting to discover points of resemblance between modern and ancient customs; yet one may venture to hint, that the Albanians, from whomsoever they may have learnt the practice, preserve in this amusement something very similar to the military dances of which we find notice in Classic authors. At the same time, one would not, as several French travellers have done, talk of the Pyrrhic dance of the Arnoots. Look into Xenophon for a description of the Greek and barbarian dances with which he entertained some foreign ambassadors, and you will fix upon the Persian, as bearing the nearest resemblance to the modern dance;

for in that, the performer *dropped on the knee and rose again, and all this he did in regular measure to the sound of the flute**.

In the account given of the armed dances of the Laconians, you might also recognise the curious contortions and twirlings of the Albanians, whose sudden inflexions of the body into every posture, seem indeed as if they were made to ward and give blows.

But to return to the characteristic of this nation. Their love of arms is so ardent, that those who may fear too long an interval of peace in their own country, enter into the service of the Pashas in every part of the Turkish empire. The guard of the sacred banner from Mecca to Constantinople, used to be entrusted to one hundred and fifty of them, armed and dressed in their own fashion. The traveller Browne saw them pass through Damascus in procession. Egypt is at present in their hands, under a Bey, a friend of Ali Pasha's; and it was, in a great measure, their troops who compelled our unfortunate army to retreat from that country.

The Stradiotes, or Albanian cavalry, made a conspicuous figure in the old Italian wars; and the coast, to this day, has furnished the Kings of Naples with a regiment. Some of them we have seen in our service at Malta.

The famous Ghalil, commonly called Patrona, was an Alba-

* Τέλος δὲ τὸ Περσικὸν ὤρχητο κροτῶν τὰς πέλτας καὶ ἔκλαζε, καὶ ἀνίστατο, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐποίει.—Lib. 6. Xenop. Cy. Anab. p. 426; where, in a note, there is a reference to Meursius' Laconian Miscellanies, book ii. chap. 12, which describes the armed dance performed—"cum omni corporum flexu ad inferendos et declinandos ictus." To learn the Pyrrhic dance, was part of the duty of the Roman legionary soldier.

nian. This man, though a common seaman and a pedlar, headed the insurrection of 1730, in which Sultan Achmet III. was de-throned, and with a success of which neither ancient nor modern history can furnish another instance, remained for three weeks absolute master of Constantinople.

The Morea has been perpetually disturbed by those of this restless people, who have been either long settled in the country, or who (since they were called in to quell the insurrection of the Greeks in the year 1770) have constituted the guard of the Pasha of Tripolizza. These formerly amounted to about six thousand; they are now under Veli Pasha, not quite so many. In the year 1799 they marched from Napoli di Romania, and were near surprising the city of Tripolizza itself.

The troops with which Mustapha Bairactar opposed and quelled the Janissaries, were principally Albanians; and since the death of that daring Vizier, the appearance of one of this nation in the streets of Constantinople, as it was once formidable, is now displeasing, to their late enemies. A man boasted, in my hearing, that a friend of his had made forty Janissaries fly before him, and that any Arnoot could do the same. Without believing the enormous superiority, you may by this form some notion of the spirit of the people.

But all these mountaineers who enter into service abroad, depend upon a return to their own country. Those belonging to the Pasha of the Morea have more than once attempted to force the guard of the Isthmus; and some, who were in a Sicilian regiment in our pay, on finding that they were enlisted for life, occasioned a very serious disturbance in the garrison at Malta.

You will be pleased to recollect, that what has been said of the

Albanians, relates only to those who are natives, or, at least, immediately sprung from natives of Albania; for there are settlements of this people to be met with in other parts of Turkey in Europe, and in the islands, who are nothing but miserable labourers, employed to attend the flocks and till the grounds of the rich Turks and Greeks. There are many of them in the district of Livadia, and in that of Attica, who can speak no other language but their own, and are all Christians; their ancestors having, most probably, left the mountains when the Turks first entered into Albania, or having been settled there since the first irruption of the Sclavonians into Greece.

These have been improperly called Wallachians, by travellers, whose errors have been copied by more accurate writers*. Gibbon, in his *Sketch of Modern Athens*, calls them by that name, although he might have rectified the mistake by looking into Chandler, who is, however, himself incorrect, in saying that they wear a different dress from the Greek peasants, and are of a distinguished spirit and bravery. The woollen jacket and loose brogues are common to both, though perhaps the cotton kilt may be occasionally found amongst the former people; and as for their superiority to the other villagers, it seemed to me that they had assimilated with the surrounding slaves.

You may read in *Tournefort*, that *Marco Sanudo*, Duke of

* Yet the positive Mr. De Pauw insists that these people are Wallachians, and descended from the Roman colonies settled by Trajan in Dacia. In proof of this, he refers to a note of Mr. D'Anville, in vol. xxx, of the *Academy of Inscriptions*, and to a work called "*Etafs formés après la chute de l'Empire Romain en Occident.*" A view of these authorities might make me alter my opinion; but not being able to consult them, I have followed the conviction produced by my own experience, and the opinion, universally prevalent amongst these settlers themselves, that they are Arnoots.

Nio, one of the small islands of the Archipelago, sent for Albanian families to cultivate his little dominions ; and the same anecdote will serve to show you, what sort of reputation all people of this name possess in the Levant ; for Mr. Sonnini, determined to find no fault with his favourite Greeks, and being obliged to own that the Archipelago is infested with pirates, can only account for the circumstance, by referring all the robberies to the Albanians settled by Duke Marco at Nio.

But the fact is, that these colonists, except in their patience of fatigue and frugality, have but little of the spirit of the mountaineers of Albania, and are looked upon by them as a different race of people. Some of them are to be found to this day in Calabria, whither they retired when the Castriotes were invested with a Neapolitan dukedom. They were seen by Mr. Swinburne, and were found to have preserved the language and manners of their nation. They amounted in his time, a little more than thirty years ago, to one hundred thousand, their ancestors having continued to emigrate as late as the reign of Charles the Fifth. They lived in about a hundred villages or towns, the chief of which was Bova, thirty miles from Reggio. The men were able to talk Calabrese ; but the women, like those in Albania, were acquainted with no other than their own language. All but those in the province of Cosenza were of the Latin church ; and a college founded by Pope Clement XII. at St. Benedetto Ullano, in Upper Calabria, supplied the priesthood with ministers. They wore the Albanian dress. The men were poor and industrious, the women modest. The priests were held in the highest reverence and estimation.

I am, &c. &c.

LETTER XIV.

Different Governments in Albania—The different Districts—Arta—Ioannina—Sagori—The Pashalik of Ocrida—Course of the River Drin—The Scene of Scanderbeg's Battles—The Pashalik of Scutari—Antivari—Dulcigno—Lyssa—Durazzo—The Rivers Mattia, Semne, and Crevasta—the Aïus, or Polina—its Course from Tepellenè—Berat, or Arnaut Beligrat—Ruins of Apollonia—The River Salnich—The Pashalik and Town of Vallona—The Acroceraunians—Chimera—Manners of the Chimeriotes—Butrinto—Ruins of Bathrotum—Philathi—The River Thyamis—Margiriti—The Town of Parga—The Glykyslimen, or Port of Sweet Waters—Acherusian Lake—Ancient Geography of the Coast—Length of Epirus—Sulli—Route from Ioannina to that Place—Paramithi—Position and Extent of the Mountains of Sulli—The Villages of Sulli—Wars of the Sulliotés with Ali Pasha—their present Condition—Loru—Population of Albania—Climate and Temperature—Tepellenè.

SPECIMENS of almost every sort of government are to be found in Albania. Some districts and towns are commanded by one man, under the Turkish title of Bolu-bashe, or

the Greek name of Capitan, which they have borrowed from Christendom. Others obey their elders; others are under no subjection, but each man commands his own family. The power, in some places, is in abeyance; and although there is no apparent anarchy, there are no rulers: this was the case, in our time, at the large city of Argyro-castro. There are parts of the country, where every Aga or Bey, which perhaps may answer to our ancient country squire, is a petty chieftain, exercising every right over the men of his village. The Porte, which, in the days of Ottoman greatness, divided the country into several small pashaliks and commanderies, is now but little respected, and the limits of her different divisions are confused and forgotten; but the powerful despotism of Ali may, for his life-time, destroy all distinctions, even as yet to be seen in the governments, and consequently in the character of the various inhabitants of Albania.

This leads me to speak of the different districts of this important province.—Of Arta and Ioannina I have given you an imperfect sketch. Both those cantons are chiefly inhabited by Greeks, and are in complete subjection to Ali.

Immediately to the north of Ioannina, the mountains of Sagori are peopled by Greeks, whose villages were long considered independent, and even now rather enjoy the protection than feel the power of the Pasha. The Sagorites, who live on the flat summits of the hills, anciently called Lingon, are most of them petty traders, and their commerce with foreigners has given them a gentleness of manner and disposition, to be found in no other inhabitants of Albania. Their chief town, Sagori, is about thirty-six miles, or twelve hours, from Ioannina. The north-western declivities of the mountains of Sagori, which verge towards the

valley of Tepellenè, are peopled by Albanians of a savage temper, whose women, says Poukeville, are warriors.

To the north and north-east, beyond Sagori, is the pashalik of Ocrida, which extends along both sides of the river Drin, the ancient Drilo. This river rises in the northern extremity of the mountains of Sagori, and, after running twenty-four miles to the north, falls into the lake of Ocrida: thence it proceeds, still northwards, till joined by another river, the White Drin, when it goes to the south-west, and forms part of the boundary towards Dalmatia and Bosnia: at last it flows south, and falls into the Adriatic a little below Lyssa.

The Albanians of the pashalik of Ocrida are reckoned some of the most ferocious and the best soldiers of the whole province. They are nearly all Turks, having but a few Christian villages amongst them. It is in some part of their district, I believe, that the Geghides inhabit, notorious as the most savage tribe in the country. We saw some of them at Tepellenè; they were distinguished by dusky red jackets, and red shawls, and had come to pay their court to Ali, the real, though not the reputed, master of great part of their pashalik.

The Bosnian Turks, their neighbours, are equally renowned for barbarity and valour.

This part of the country was the principal scene of the exploits of Scanderbeg; but a traveller would be disappointed, who should look into the life and deeds of that hero, as described by Barletius, and expect to find all the places alluded to as the theatre of his actions. Cróia, his capital, that so long resisted the arms of Amurath and Mahomet, is now a miserable village: it is twenty-seven miles from Durazzo. Dibra, one of the ancient Deborus's, on the Drilo, called by the biographer the chief town

in Epirus, and seventy miles from Cröia, is a very inconsiderable place. But Dayna, a town, and Mocreas, a valley, on the frontiers, Oronoche, in the country of Dibra, the plains of the lesser Tyranna, near Cröia, Petrella, Petra Alba, Stellusa, and the impregnable Sfetigradë, *perched like an eagle's nest on the top of a rock* near Dibra—all these places, which witnessed the triumphs of the modern Alexander, would, I fear, be in vain sought in the most correct topography of Albania. In the account of Barletius, which I read as detailed by Knolles, never having seen the original, I find that the hero rode from the neighbourhood of Lyssa, on the Adriatic, in one evening, to the top of a mountain called Tumenist, whence he might see the plain of Pharsalia, and that he returned to his camp at midnight. Is it possible to reconcile this story with the geography of the country?

To the west of the pashalik of Ocrida is that of Scutari, or Iscoudar, which is bounded to the south by the chain of mountains above Tepellenë, and to the north by the country of the Monte-negrins, or the black mountaineers. It is extensive, and comprehends the fine plain washed by the Drin, as far as the city of Durazzo to the south. It is obliged, by the regulations of the Porte, to furnish six hundred soldiers to the Ottoman armies, and is reckoned the eighth under the Beglerbey of Romania. Scutari itself is twenty-one miles from the sea, to the north of the Drin, on the banks of a river called Böiana by the Venetians: it contains twelve thousand inhabitants, with a few exceptions, all Turks, and is at present governed by a Pasha, who is a restless and turbulent man, and the only counterpoise to the power of Ali. Not far from the city is the lake of Scutari, the Labeatis palus, the most considerable in Albania.

Antivari, the most northern Albanian town on the coast, is the

port of Scutari, and the depôt of the valley of the Drin, the chief manufacture of which is shoe-leather. It is inhabited entirely by Turks, all seamen, as are the people of the neighbouring town of Dulcigno, which is in possession of six thousand pirates, who issue, as the Illyrians did of old, from the same port of Olcinium, to plunder the merchant ships of all nations.

The Dulcigniotes, and those of Antivari, enter into the naval service of the Barbary powers, and are the only Albanians who have the least acquaintance with the management of a ship, or willingly trust themselves at sea. A few armed galliots belonging to Ali, and usually moored in the port of Prevesa, are manned by some of these people. They are accounted cruel and treacherous. A Dulcigniot ship fell in with the small vessels under convoy of the brig of war that conveyed us to Prevesa, and immediately began firing amongst them; but was soon silenced, and brought to, by a shot from the man of war. The Captain and crew, between thirty and forty men, when brought on board, said they were saluting the fleet; and on this plea, after being confined a day or two, were released at Prevesa. The ship was furnished with six small guns, and crammed with muskets, swords, and pistols. The looks of the sailors were sufficient to condemn them; but they had a pass from Ali Pasha, which the English cruisers are directed to respect.

Following down the coast, we find the Venetian towns of Lyssa, or Alessio, and Durazzo*. After Durazzo, are the mouths of the rivers Mattia, Semne, and Crevasta. To these succeeds the river of Tepellenè, which is laid down in the modern maps as the Voöussa, though I never heard it so denominated by the people of the

* Durazzo is in the latitude of 41 degrees 27 minutes. An ancient author calls it the key of the Adriatic.

country. This river, a short time after it passes Tepellenè, begins to widen, and flows westward till it falls into the Adriatic.

Twelve hours distance from the native place of Ali, on the north bank of the river Crevasta, is the town of Berat, the Albanian Belgrade, and the Elyma of Mr. D'Anville: it is considered the strong-hold of the pashalik of Vallona, and is defended by a fortress mounting forty cannon. On the south bank of the river above the Crevasta, close to the sea, is a town called Cavailla, whence is exported the finest timber of Albania; and at a little more than a mile from the north bank of the Crevasta itself, at about seven miles from the shore, is the small town of Polina, where a few ruins denote the site of the celebrated city of Apollonia. The whole interior of these districts belongs to Ali, who, whilst we were at Tepellenè, had reduced Ibrahim, Pasha of Vallona, to confine himself in Berat. Whilst at Athens, we understood that Berat itself had submitted; and that Ibrahim had fled to Vallona, whose walls had become the boundaries of his territory.

The detail in Meletius* makes the river near Durazzo the ancient Panyassus and modern Spirnazza; the succeeding stream, the Ap-sus, now the Cavrioni; the next the Lëos, or Aëus, at present the Voëussa; and the last, the Celydnus, now called the Salnich: but this topography cannot be correct, for he puts Apollonia on the Voëussa, although that river is the nearest on the coast to the north of Vallona.

Vallona†, once Aulon, is a town and port at the bottom of a gulf, anciently called the Gulf of Oricum, and supplies Upper

* AABANIA, pp. 306, 307.

† Vallona is called by the Italians La Vallona. A chart of the gulf, and of the neighbouring country, was laid down in 1690, by a Venetian engineer, named Alberghetti.

Albania with the articles of Italian manufacture in use amongst the natives—gun and pistol barrels, glass, paper, and Calabrian capotes. It exports the oils, wools, gall, nut, and timber, of the surrounding country. It is inhabited chiefly by Turks; yet in this place, as well as along the whole coast, even from Ragusa, are found some Christians of the Latin church, whose ecclesiastical superior is the Bishop of Monte-negro.

Immediately to the south of Vallona, begins the mountainous district of Chimera, the Chaonia of the ancients. A narrow strip of high rocks runs into the sea towards the north, whose point is called Glossa by the Greeks, and La Linguetta by the Italians. At the bottom of the gulf, inclosed by this projection, are the ruins of the fortress of Canina, on a rock, once garrisoned by the Turks, and a small port answering to Oricum, into which flows a river that has its source in the tops of Pindus*. The Chimeriote mountains extend along the coast as far as the district of Butrinto, and are bounded on the east and north-east by the hills of Argyro-castro.—There are several petty ports where Chimera, Panormus, and Onchesmus, were formerly situated. Of these Panormus, now the Porto Palermo of the Italians, is the most considerable. Chimera once had a fortress defended by three hundred Turks, who, in the year 1570, during the reign of Sultan Selim the Second, were expelled by the mountaineers. Reading the transactions of the same reign, you will find mention of the town of Cestria, or Suppoto, on the coast†.

The Chimeriotes near the sea, are many of them Christians, but in the interior they are nearly all Turks. They are very bar-

* Herod. Calliope, iii. 93.

† Knolles, p. 819.

barous and warlike ; and though all of them are at peace with, or perhaps almost under the subjection of Ali, their different villages are in a state of perpetual warfare with each other. Inhabitants of those savage rocks, which the fancy of ancient poets has delighted to paint in the most terrific colours, they appear the ferocious offspring of a rugged soil. They are distinguished, even in a land of barbarians, for the singular cruelty and implacability of their disposition. They never lose sight of their revenge. Amongst them a murderer is pursued by the family of the deceased : neither time nor future benefits can obliterate the injury, which can only be expiated by the blood of the offender, or of one of his kin. Thus the protection of an individual often becomes the concern of his village ; and the friends of the provoked party also flying to arms, the enmity spreads from families to towns, and from towns to districts. The men of one mountain watch those of a neighbouring hill, and neither sow nor reap, nor tend their flocks, singly or unarmed. Should one of them wander beyond the precincts of protection, he would be stalked, like a deer, and shot without seeing his enemy.

The Chimeriote Christians would voluntarily enter into the service of any foreign power ; and as the Captains of their villages have some of them great influence, it would be no difficult matter to raise a strong body of forces in the country. We saw a Chimeriote at Malta, a person of great address, who had come to that island with an offer of raising three thousand men instantly for the service of the British government.

The soil in the valleys of Chimera yields olives and maize in great quantities, but not many vines. The inhabitants contrive to lay as much of the produce of their lands, as, with the

fleeces of their flocks, and the gall-nuts and timber of their forests, enables them to supply themselves with arms, and carry on a small traffic at Vallona, and Porto Palermo, and in the small ports of their coast.

To the south of the Chimeriote mountains is the district of Butrinto, bounded to the east by the pashalik of Delvino, a town twenty-one miles distant. Butrinto (near which, if we may credit Poukeville, are to be seen some remains of the "*lofty*" city of Buthrotum) was so long in the possession of the Venetians, that the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood are, for the most part, Christians of the Latin church; and there is a Roman Catholic Bishop established in the place, who is equally protected by his present master, Ali, as he was by the French. Near the town is a village called Mauroli, to the south of which runs a river, Pavla, and to the east another small stream, both of them emptying themselves into a lake once named Anchises, now Pelotti, I suppose from the old port Pelodes. This I copy from the account of the French officers, who, it seems, were more fortunate than Æneas in finding both the Simois and the Xanthus of Helenus; for the Trojan hero saw only the former river; the channel of the Scamander was unwashed by any wave.

From Butrinto, going along the coast of the very narrow sea that separates Corfu from the main land, the traveller arrives in three hours at Keraka, the principal port of the inhabitants of a district, whose chief town is Philathi, and which, as the word imports in modern Greek, abounds in olives. The Philathiotés inhabit, for the distance of sixteen or seventeen miles to the eastward, both banks of a river, that appears to correspond with

the Thyamis of Thucydides* and Strabo†. The Thyamis separated Thesprotia from the district of Cestrine, and flowed near the Acherusian lake. The Philathiotēs are stated to amount to between six and eight thousand, mostly Christians, who are kept in awe of Ali by a guard of soldiers quartered in the villages of Gomenizza and Sayades, a little farther to the south on the coast. They transport their oils, and the flocks and herds with which their country abounds, to Corfu; nor can all the vigilance of our cruisers cut off their supplies of provisions from the French.

The east and south-east of Philathi, a country, which an accident gave us the opportunity of seeing at a distance, is a mountainous district, belonging to a town called Margiriti, inhabited principally by Turks, and scarcely in subjection to the Pasha of Ioannina. Margiriti is governed by a Bolu-bashe, or Captain.

On a peninsula jutting out from the district of Margiriti, is the town of Parga, which is fortified, and has two ports. It stands on the south corner of the Glykyslimen, or Port of Sweet Waters, in groves of orange, lemon, and olive trees, and contains eight thousand inhabitants, who are chiefly Christians, and of both churches. Parga was put into the hands of the French by the treaty of Campo Formio; but they, in a great measure, left the inhabitants to defend themselves against Ali, after the battle of Prevesa, though they have since been established in the town, and call it under their protection. Parga is the only place in this quarter, that has been able to resist the arms and arts of Ali. Their Sulliotē allies were not so fortunate; but the Pasha has his

* Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 47.

† Strab. lib. vii.

attention still fixed upon this town, and will probably succeed in his designs.

The character of the Pargotes is amongst the worst of the Albanians: their connexion with the Christian states has taught them only the vices of civilization, and they are not less ferocious, but are become more refined in their cruelty and violence. Their town is the refuge of many of the robbers whom Ali has driven from the mountains.

Towards the head of the Glykyslimen, now called Port Veliki, is a reedy marsh, which runs some distance into the land. Time may have produced a communication between the fresh waters and the sea; and I cannot help thinking, although no lake is now to be seen, and notwithstanding the positive assertion of Pouqueville, and of the learned person who laid down the maps of Anacharsis, that ancient and modern charts have been correct in placing the Acherusian lake at the head of this bay. It is, however, but fair to mention, that Pliny* says, that the Acheron, after leaving the Acherusian lake, flows thirty-six miles to the Ambracian Gulf, and that Mr. Barbié du Bocage is supported by Meletius, who says there are two Acherusian lakes in Epirus†.

From the extremity of the Acroceraunians to the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf, a distance of thirteen hundred stadia (one hundred and sixty-two Roman miles and a half), and the greatest length of ancient Epirus, the whole line of coast has been minutely noted; and we might expect to find ourselves familiar with every port and headland.

When not far from Parga, we saw the promontory of Chimæ-

* Lib. iv. cap. 1.

† ΗΠΕΙΡΟΣ. pp. 317, 319.

rium above the town, and the small islands called Sybota, the scene of the first action fought in the Peloponesian war. The features of nature may have undergone but little change since the time the Corinthians encamped on the promontory; but it would be a vain endeavour to look for even a vestige of the town of Buchætium near the headland, of Cichyris, formerly Ephyre, at the head of the Glykyslimen, or of Pandosia, near the Acherusian lake, or Elatria and Batiæ, inland cities of the Cassopæan Epirotes. Strabo calls this a favoured region. Buthrotum was a Roman colony; and Atticus had an estate and villa which he called Amalthæa*, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the modern town of Parga.

The first mention I find of that place, is in the transactions of the reign of Sultan Solyman the Magnificent. A village near it produced the famous Pasha Abraham, who conquered Arabia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia, and by the help of Barbarossa, reduced Tunis and Algiers. The posts of Ali advance close upon Parga, and make part of the guard chosen to preserve the conquered territory of Sulli, of which district, though it will be forestalling the account of what we saw when thrown upon that coast, I will now tell all I have been able to collect, previously noticing the contiguous district of Paramithi.

This place, called also Agio-Donato and Aidoni by the Turks, is the chief town of a mountainous district about thirty-six miles in circumference, containing fifteen thousand inhabitants, formerly living in independent villages, but now governed by Captains all under an Aga, appointed by Ali. The account given,

* *Epist. Cicer. lib. i. Ep. 13, ad Att.*

in the Survey of the Turkish Empire, of the Paramithiotes, represents them to be cruel and revengeful, living under no government, but every family administering justice amongst themselves; it declares that some of them are 'Turks, some Christians, but not strict in either religion; intermarrying with each other, and boiling a piece of mutton and a piece of pork in the same pot for the wife and husband of different persuasions; and it adds, that they are peculiarly addicted to catching Franks and other strangers, and selling them in the public market. At present, however, they are not to be distinguished from any other of the subjects of Ali, and a traveller might appear in the market of Paramithi without being an article of merchandize.

From Paramithi there are three roads, one to Margiriti; another to Parga; and a third, of twelve miles, to Sulli.

The mountains of Sulli extend thirty miles from north to south, and about the same length transversely. Towards the east they have the district of Arta, and to the south-east, and south, that of Loru: between them and the shore, is a strip of land called Fanari. Philathi and Paramithi are to the north and north-east. At the eastern foot of the mountains there is a plain of some extent, where there are four villages. The whole country contains eighteen villages. There are on the side of Nicopolis two distinct summits of hills. The highest post, where there is a building that appeared to me like a fort, is called Laka, on the top of a conical mountain inaccessible on every side but one, where the approach to it is a small winding path cut out of the rock. A little below Laka, is Sulli itself, called Mega, or Kako-Sulli. Below Sulli is Samonissa, a fort; then Tripa (the cavity) a principal post, surrounded by a rampart or wall; below Tripa is Klysoura; and

next to that Skoutias, on the brink of the ravine formed by the two hills. There are other villages, all of them on the top of formidable mountains: Kiafa, near Sulli, Agia Pareskevi, Zagari, Perikati, Vounon, Zavoukon, Panaia tou Glykos, and Milos.

The contest between Ali and the inhabitants of these mountainous villages continued thirteen years; and the wars of Sulli and Parga are recorded in a work, written in modern Greek by a Sulliot, and printed at Paris, which I have seen. It talks of the summers and winters of the war, but in other respects is not much in the style of Thucydides.

The Sulliotés are all Greek Christians, and speak Greek, but wear the mountain habit, and have a much greater resemblance to the Albanian warrior than the Greek merchant. However, they have always been esteemed by the Greeks as the prime soldiers, and hopes of their faith; and in the scheme presented to the Empress Catharine in the year 1790, for a general insurrection of that nation against the Turks, Sulli was fixed upon as the seat of congress, and the place from which the confederate army was to commence its march.

When the peace between Russia and Turkey abandoned the Greeks to their fate, and the squadron of the famous Lambro Canziani, who himself fled into Albania, was dispersed, the Sulliotés prepared for an attack from Ali; and that Pasha, in the year 1792, after pretending a design on Argyro-castro, and getting into his power one of their chiefs called Giavella, suddenly fell upon the open plains, and forced the people to evacuate the villages and fly into the mountains. Ali made several attacks on Kiafa and Tripa, but was obliged to retreat with loss, and was followed by two thousand Sulliotés, even into the plains of Ioan-

nina, when some sort of terms were agreed upon by the two parties, which were soon broken, and a desultory warfare recommenced between them.

In the year 1796, Ali again marched a large force into the plains, and destroyed the villages, but was again repulsed. But having at last got possession of some heights, and built towers commanding the defile, and continuing to advance higher up towards Sulli, the inhabitants began to yield to his perseverance. A dissension arose amongst the chiefs, and some of the fighting men, bribed, it is said, by Ali, withdrew, and though it would have been impossible to carry the posts by storm, they all surrendered successively. Sulli itself, in the year 1803, admitted the troops of the Pasha. Agia Paraskevi was the last to capitulate. It was garrisoned by three hundred men, commanded by Samuel a priest, who during the evacuation, blew up the place he had so gallantly defended. During this continued contest, Ali is said to have lost thirty thousand men, and the Sulliotcs five thousand. The number of the latter, who, by agreement retired to Parga and Corfu, were about four thousand. The war was carried on with musquets, in the Albanian fashion already described. Ali latterly also brought some cannon to the siege, which were to have been directed by the French officers his prisoners; but these gentlemen at that time contrived to escape to Corfu; and it is probable the artillery had not so powerful an effect as the money of the Pasha.

Mr. Eton, or Mr. Eton's dragoman, was a little credulous, in recording that four thousand men, all but one hundred and forty, who were made prisoners, were killed in one action; and indeed he invests these wars with an importance most extravagant,

and disproportionate to their real magnitude. Yet whilst these rocks were invested by the Albanians of Ali, many gallant actions were performed, which the author of the wars of Sulli and Parga, must hope will go down to posterity with the deeds of the heroes of Marathon and Plataea.

The women were not less active than the men, and children of a tender age partook of the spirit of their parents. The son of the captive Giavella, a boy of twelve years of age, had been delivered by his father as a hostage and pledge of his return from the mountain, and was, on that promise being broken, sent prisoner to Ioannina. He was brought before Veli Pasha, who addressed him fiercely : " Robber, do you not know that my father will burn you alive ?"—" Yes," replied the boy, " and I also know, that if my father takes you prisoner, he will do the same to you." Giavella was killed in the war, and this magnanimous child was not destroyed, but sent back to his friends.

It would be tedious to be more particular in detailing the unsuccessful struggles of this people. Acts, though of the most determined active or passive courage, in order to be worthy of record, must be performed in a certain cause, age and nation, and must be, besides, accompanied with other virtues. Were it not so, the lives of the Pirates might be put upon the same shelf with Cornelius Nepos, for Miltiades himself was not a more determined warrior than Black-beard, who received fifty-six wounds in the battle which cost him his life.

It must be allowed that a great deal may be done by a skilful annalist, to rescue from oblivion any events, however unimportant in their effects ; and if these wars had been recorded by the same pen which has related the noble struggles of the Patriots of Saragossa, the

valour of the Sulliotés might have been as common a topic of admiration as the perseverance of the Spaniards. As it is, Captain Giavella, and Captain Bogia, the heroes of the modern historian, must be ranked, notwithstanding the efforts of Mr. Eton and this frail memorial, with the many brave men who have perished unknown.

There are now about two thousand of Ali's soldiers quartered in the different villages of Sulli, and that town itself maintains three hundred of them. Yet such of the people as still cultivate the country are treated with much lenity. They are not obliged to give free quarter to travelling soldiers; their horses and cattle are not taken without previous payment, and they are never beaten. The conquest of Sulli has put Ali in possession of the coast as far as Prevesa, and we proceeded in perfect safety with a small guard through that country, which Pouqueville describes as independent, and consequently impassable. It makes part of the district of Loru, which lies between Sulli and the gulf and territory of Arta, and stretches towards the plains of Ioannina.

This district, which is called by the Italians *Paëse di Cassopeo*, is very mountainous. Its inhabitants are Greeks, who, though overawed by the presence of some Albanians in the Vizier's service, are favourers of the troops of robbers that sometimes appear in their mountains.

I shall leave what I have to say of Carnia, though it may be called a part of Lower Albania, until we pass through that country; and as something has before been said of the district of Arta, and of that immediately in the neighbourhood of Ioannina, I have communicated all I have been able to learn of the different parts of Albania. Would that my information were more full

and particular, and free from those deficiencies, of which I am myself more sensible, than most people who have not travelled in the country can pretend to be.

I would not venture to make an estimate of the population of the whole country; but perhaps some guess may be formed of the amount, by what has been said of the places we visited. Upper Albania, begin where we will, either above Delvinaki or at Tepel-*lenè*, is more generally populous than the country to the south. The Greeks will assert that three hundred thousand Albanians, might on an emergency appear in arms. But Perseus, who possessed the whole force of the Macedonian monarchy, and who, after twenty-six years of peace, collected the largest army seen since the times of Alexander the Great, could get together only thirty-nine thousand foot, and four thousand horse soldiers. The standing army of Scanderbeg consisted of eight thousand horse and seven thousand foot. There may be some excess in the computation above stated, yet a population of a million two hundred thousand of all ages and sexes, that is, four times the number of men able to carry arms, is not disproportionate to the size of the country.

Upper Albania is laid down by a modern geographer as one hundred and ninety miles in length from north to south, and ninety-six in breadth from east to west. The length of Epirus, or Lower Albania, has been already stated, and Mr. Hume says, it may be in circumference altogether about twice as big as Yorkshire*.

* Essay on the Populousness of Ancient Nations.

The temperature of the whole province is generally mild, except that in the height of summer the heat at Ioannina is very oppressive. In the spring there is seldom much rain, or a continued drought. The autumnal rains last for about four weeks, with intervals of clear weather, and the close of the season is very fine. The sky is then without a cloud, and the middle of the day is as warm as that of an English June, so much so, that on the fifth of November we bathed in the gulf of Arta. The mornings and evenings are a little chill, but without any cold fogs or mists. The winter lasts about two months, and during that time there is much snow on the higher grounds, but the frosts are seldom of any long duration.

Ioannina, as Poukeville reports, is subject in the spring and autumn to tertians, for which the vicinity of a large stagnated lake may account, but, generally speaking, Albania may be called a healthy country, especially the upper part of it, where, we heard, that instances of longevity were by no means uncommon. At Ereeneed we were shown an old man and woman who had both passed their hundredth year.

The island in the lake of Ioannina is said to be subject to earthquakes; and our French authority affirms, that every October, the inhabitants upon it are alarmed by more than thirty agitations, accompanied by the sound of loud subterranean explosions. We were in the city just at the stated period, but these terrific convulsions did not return during our stay in the country.

The physicians of Ioannina, and in the large towns, are Greeks; but surgical cases are referred to the Albanians, as was before alluded to, and these rough operators sometimes attempt the cure even of general diseases by violent topical applications. You have seen the

treatment for a cold in the limbs, in my third letter. 'They have a singular a remedy for a fever. The patient stretches out his arm, and the doctor runs his thumb forcibly along the principal artery from the wrist up to the shoulder. 'This he repeats several times, till he has thrown the man into a profuse perspiration, whom he then covers up warmly, and considers in a fair way of recovery ; nor is he often deceived, as the opening of the pores in such cases must, I suppose, but seldom fail of producing a favourable effect.

But during this very long digression, you may have forgot that you last left us at Tepellenè, with a short account of which town, forgotten in its proper place, I shall conclude this Letter.

It is inhabited partly by Christians, partly by 'Turks, and is said to contain between four and five hundred houses, of which there did not appear to be one of the better sort, except the Vizier's palace, which covers a good deal of ground, and contains a spacious harem. It is the most favourite residence of Ali, and there are always some of the ladies of his household living on the spot, as well as a large establishment at all times ready to receive his Highness. In this palace, it is reported that Ali preserves the greatest part of his treasure, and, if you believe the Albanians, some of the inner rooms are piled up to the top with jewels and coin.

The town stands on a rocky knoll immediately over the river, which, in this place, is broad and deep, with high banks on both sides. There are remaining an arch and a half of a bridge opposite the town, which Ali has in vain endeavoured to repair. An English renegado, considered skilful in these matters, came from Con-

stantinople to inspect the work, and assured the Vizier, that the bottom of the river, and the banks, being of loose sand, the buttresses would always be undermined, and carried off by the autumnal floods. Thus, those who come from Berat, if they do not cross in a boat, must go round by the bridge which we passed in our journey to Tepellenè.

I am, &c. &c.

LETTER XV.

Departure from Tepellèn—Return to Ioannina—A Marriage Procession—A Turkish Puppet-Show—Ancient Coins to be met with at Ioannina—Final Departure from that City—Return to Prevesa—Disaster at Sea—Land on the Coast of Sulli—View of that Town and District, at Volondorako—Route from Volondorako to Castropsheca—to Prevesa—Sail down the Gulf of Arta—Vonitza—Utrâikee—Ancient Measurement of the Gulf.

AFTER settling accounts with the great officers of the palace, all of whom, from the Chamberlain to the Fool, came for a present, we took leave of our friend the Secretary, and having an express order upon the post throughout the Vizier's dominions, took, besides the five horses we had brought from Ioannina, five others from Tepellèn, to assist us back to the Capital. The Secretary said we might expect great things from these horses. “Vanno assolutamente correndo.” Their extraordinary velocity was a trot, when forced to their speed, of five miles an hour.

The priest who had come with us to the Vizier, also made one of our party back.

The first day we went about twenty miles, and slept in the vil-

lage of Lokavo, in the hills, which we had passed in our way to Tepellenè.

The second day we descended again into the plain, continuing along the banks of the river, which we crossed; then, having the town of Libokavo on our left, and keeping out of the hills, as the waters had subsided, and striking into the same road by which we had come from Delvinaki to Libokavo, we arrived at the former place by sunset. Our journey this day might be about thirty miles. We slept in the same house that had before lodged us.

The next day we returned as far as Zitzá, perhaps twenty-five miles, and took up our abode in the monastery on the hill. On the day after, the 26th of October, we got back to the house of Signor Nicolo at Ioannina. Thus, although we had been nine days in getting to Tepellenè, we were only four coming back; and the journey, which cannot be quite a hundred English miles, might, notwithstanding the badness of the paths, be performed very easily in three. The Tartars, or couriers, are not half that time upon the road. However, as there is no point gained by hurrying over a country one has never seen before, and may never see again, we did not at all regret having made so slow a progress.

The weather, during our return, was very different from what it had been on our former journey. The storms had ceased, and the sun shone in the middle of the day as hot as with us at midsummer. The vintage was now entirely over, and the maize was collected into the villages. The flocks of goats, and sheep, and the herds of small cattle, had all been driven from the tops and sides of the hills, into the warmer plains. The ploughing for the early crops of the ensuing year, had also commenced.

We passed our time at Ioannina, both before and after our

visit to Tepellenè, most agreeably ;—a sail upon the lake, a ride into the country, or a stroll through the Bazars and Bizestein, occupied our mornings, and our evenings were passed at home in the conversation of our host, or abroad in visits to the principal people of the town. We were one evening gratified by the sight of a marriage procession, which, as the ceremonies of the Greek Christians of Albania seem to be carried to a more ridiculous height than those of the other parts of Turkey, I will attempt to describe. A Slave of the Harem, and an Albanian Officer, a Christian in the Vizier's service, were the parties.

First, the bridegroom passed through the streets attended by a large party of men with fiddles, and with many others carrying lanterns of coloured paper, and he proceeded to fetch his bride from the Seraglio of his Highness. Half an hour afterwards we saw the whole party moving along to the house of the bridegroom. The streets were full of people. At the head of the procession was the bridegroom with his band of musicians and lantern-bearers, followed also by a long crowd of men. Next came six young girls, splendidly dressed in gold and silver stuffs, with their long hair flowing over the shoulders; two of them carried infants in their arms. Then appeared a woman more richly habited, carrying on her head a small red trunk, containing the portion with which the bride, according to custom, as belonging to the Harem, had been presented by Ali himself. Behind her came the bride herself, to whose appearance it is impossible for me to do justice. It was some time before we were thoroughly convinced that what we saw was not some doll dressed up for the occasion. She had scarcely any perceptible motion, except a slow march from side to side, and she resembled more than any thing else I can recollect, the wax figure of Queen Elizabeth in Westminster Abbey, for not only

her dress, but herself was to the full as stiff. Her face, not a muscle of which moved, was daubed with a mask of white and red paint, and she seemed cautious not to alter, in the least, the position of her head, for fear of throwing off a high cap studded with pieces of gold money. Her left hand was held by an armed Albanian magnificently drest, and her right by a Greek priest. Behind her was a vast crowd of women, with music and lanterns.

The procession moved so slowly, and the number of people was so great, that the street was not clear of them for nearly an hour. The marriage had taken place in the morning, but the bride had returned to her apartments, that she might be carried off in triumph during the night.

This procession, the most grand and ridiculous of the many I saw in Turkey, is something more in the Albanian than the Greek taste, and has therefore not been deferred till I came to speak of the latter nation.

An evening or two before our departure from Ioannina, we went to see the only advance which the Turks have made towards scenic representations. This was a puppet-show, conducted by a Jew who visits this place during the Ramazan, with his card performers. The show, a sort of ombre Chinoise, was fitted up in a corner of a very dirty coffee-house which was full of spectators, mostly young boys. The admittance, was two paras for a cup of coffee, and two or three more of those small pieces of money put into a plate handed round after the performance. The hero of the piece was a kind of punch, called Cara-kens, who had, as a traveller has well expressed it, the equipage of the God of Gardens, supported by a string from his neck. The next in dignity was a droll, called Codja-Haivat, the Sancho of Cara-keus; a

man and a woman were the remaining figures, except that the catastrophe of the drama was brought about by the appearance of the Devil himself in his proper person. The dialogue, which was all in Turkish, and supported in different tones by the Jew, I did not understand; it caused loud and frequent bursts of laughter from the audience; but the action, which was perfectly intelligible, was too horribly gross to be described. If you have ever seen the morrice-dancing in some counties of England, you may have a faint idea of it.

If the character of a nation, as has been said, can be well appreciated by a view of the amusements in which they delight, this puppet-show would place the Turks very low in the estimation of any observer. They have none, we were informed, of a more decent kind.

There are now not a few inducements which may probably cause many intelligent travellers of our own country to visit Ioannina, and Albania; and from their investigation the world will doubtless be informed of many interesting particulars before unknown.

The vicinity of the islands now in our possession, the peaceable state of the country under the government of Ali, the good correspondence that prince maintains with the English, and the wish of exploring regions so long involved in complete obscurity, and, as it were, lost out of the map of Europe, will aid and prompt their enquiries, and we shall soon be as well informed with respect to the people and country of Albania, as we have been for some time on the head of Greece and other provinces of Turkey.

Ioannina itself affords a safe and agreeable residence to travellers. The Greeks are of the better sort, and well instructed in the manners and languages of Christendom; one of them, a school-master of the name of Psallida, may be called a learned man. He teaches the modern and ancient Greek, the Latin, Italian, and French languages, to about a hundred scholars, and has, besides, established a reputation by publishing a philosophical treatise on the Immortality of the Soul, dedicated to the Empress Catharine.

The curiosity of the antiquary would be gratified by many valuable coins, which are to be met with in the hands of Greek collectors. The series of Macedonian Kings might easily be made up, and though not very rare, these medals are very beautiful and perfect. The golden Philip, the "*regale numisma*," is very common; and there is a report that three hundred of them were lately discovered in one earthen jar. The coins at Ioannina, however, are not to be purchased so cheaply as those in Greece. A collector in that city has twenty-seven, I think that is the number, of very rare pieces, which he will not sell separately, and he asks a large price for the whole. No one likes to pass through such a country without collecting a little, and yet, as there is generally some person residing in the towns to whom every thing is first shown, a mere passing traveller has but a poor chance of getting what is very excellent. In the villages indeed he may occasionally meet with something rare, before the peasant has carried it to the town; for immediately on the arrival of a Frank, every thing in the shape of a medal or cut stone, which the country people may have found, is brought to him; a ridiculous proclamation to that effect being often made by order of his dragoman, and he has

perhaps, an antiquity of George the Third's time, presented for his acceptance, or an ancient cameo cut by a Parisian jeweller. My own seals, which were dropped near Ioannina, may serve to enrich the store of some future collector.

On the third of November we left the city and the lake, not to return: and were the one the ancient Cassiope, and the other Acherusia, as certainly as Cellarius and Poukeville have asserted them to be, we could not have parted from them with greater regret. The Priest was still of our party, and we had also the company of an Albanian Captain, a Turk, who joined us, as he said, for the love of the English.

We returned to Salora, on the gulf of Arta, sleeping the first night at the han of St. Demetre, and the next at Arta. At Salora, we had intelligence that the country of Carnia was up in arms; that bodies of robbers had descended from the mountains of Triccala and Agrapha, and had made their appearance on the other side of the gulf, at a custom-house belonging to the Vizier, called Utraikée, where they had killed two men.

We had it in our power either to procure a guard at Prevesa, and venture through Carnia, or to get into a galliot of Ali's, and go by sea to Patrass. We waited, however, a day, for advice from Prevesa, with our old acquaintances at the barrack, and then received intelligence, that an Albanian Bey was about to set out, and collect all the armed men of the district, and hunt the robbers from Carnia, and that we might, if we pleased, attend him upon this *gathering*. However, we made up our minds to go by sea, and proceeding in a boat to Prevesa, we presented the Vizier's order to the governor, who immediately prepared a galliot for our passage.

We slept one night at Prevesa, and got on board the next day in the forenoon.

The galliot was a stont vessel, about fifty tons burden, long and narrow, with three short masts, on each of which she carried a large lateen sail of the sort universally used in the Levant. She had forty men and four guns. All the sailors were Turks, except four Greeks, who turned out to be the only persons on board who knew how to manage even a boat. There were several Captains; but he that was called the first captain, was a Dulcignote, a mild-mannered man, who sat very composedly smoking, and playing with a string of beads, called a comboloio, which is a favourite solitary pastime both of Mahometans and Christians, no man above the common sort being without his bead roll.

At twelve o'clock we weighed anchor, but ran aground in getting out of the harbour. Upon this the Captain proposed staying till next day. However, we begged him to try again, and accordingly by one o'clock we were out of the port with a fair wind, hoping that we should soon double the head-land of Santa Maura. But we found that the Leucadian promontory was equally the terror of our Turkish seamen, as it had been of the Grecian navigators; for though we had a fine breeze, to all appearance quite fair, yet something, which we knew not of, occurred, and by four o'clock we were pronounced in distress. The Captain said we should be obliged to put into Santa Maura, then in the hands of the French, if we did not tack directly. This caused a great deal of bustle, and in putting about, the mizen-sail split from top to bottom. The wind blew a little stronger, and there was a heavy swell. The Captain put his comboloio in his pocket. The sailors were nearly all, except the Greeks, sick, and retired below.

We were now steering directly for Corfu, as all hope of getting round the Cape had been given up. At sun-set it blew fresh, and the rolling of the sea shook us so violently, as we were very badly steered, that the greatest alarm prevailed. The Captain wrung his hands and wept. George our dragoman, at every heel the ship took, called loudly on the name of God, and when the main-yard snapped in two, every thing was given up for lost. The guns also broke loose, and the foresail was split. The ship lay like a log on the water, and the Turk at the helm contrived to keep her broadside to the sea, so that it was not improbable she might have been swamped. The Captain being asked what he could do, said, he could do nothing.—“ Could he get back to the mainland ? ” — “ If God chuses,” was his answer.—“ Could he make Corfu ? ” — “ If God chuses.” — In short, there was nothing left, but to request he would give up the management of the vessel to the Greeks. He said he would give it to anybody. The Greeks then soon got us into a better plight, and rigging a small stay-sail between the mizen and the main, and another between the main and foremast, and taking down the yards, helped the ship along more easily. They steered us back upon the mainland of Albania, keeping as close to the wind as possible, to prevent being driven to Corfu ; and the sea and the wind abating, they brought us, about one o'clock in the morning, to an anchor at the entrance of a bay.

At the dawn of morning we found ourselves nearly within musket-shot of the land, which was craggy and woody, with high mountains in the distance. Our Turks began all of them to smoke, without taking the least notice of what had happened, or thinking of repairs ; and this being the termination of the Ramazan, and the first morning of the Bairam, a feast which

lasts three days, they all, according to a custom singular enough to us, kissed and embraced each other with great ceremony and affection, the Captain receiving the salute from all his men.

In a short time, three or four men with guns appeared on the rocks, and shouted to us, to know who we were. The Captain answered, and hoisted a large red ensign; and after some more hallooing, two boats came out of the bay and made for Paxos, which island, as well as Antipaxos, was not far from us. Part of Corfu, and an opposite promontory, were also very visible. Some apprehensions were entertained of these boats being French privateers, for we were within a few miles of Parga; it turned out afterwards that the Paxiote sailors had thought we were an English cruiser, and would not therefore venture out until assured of the contrary.

In the afternoon, by the advice of the Captain, we determined to make the best of our way back to Prevesa by land, and we therefore disembarked ourselves and chattels in the bay, near a little custom-house, taking the second Captain with us, as he seemed to prefer the perils of the land to those of his own element.

The bay in which we landed was one called Fanari, immediately contiguous to the district and mountains of Sulli. We sent for horses to the nearest village, and when they arrived, after waiting a long time on the beach, we proceeded through a thick wood, and caught a sight of a plain, and the town of Parga, to our left. We were not more than half an hour in reaching a village called Volondorako, where we were well received by the Albanian primate of the place, and by the Vizier's soldiers quartered there. But our cottage was a miserable tenement indeed.

We found that a wreck, which we had seen in the bay, was that of a prize made shortly before by our Corfu squadron, and that the midshipman who had been cast away in her, had slept five nights before in the same house ; and having been enabled to proceed to Prevesa by the assistance of the Albanians, had presented them with the wreck of his vessel. But the proper intention of the young Englishman (afterwards approved by his Captain) had been frustrated by the Greek Vice-Consul at Prevesa, who got an order from the governor of that town for the ship, pretending that all English wrecks were his property. The Albanians at Volondorako complained to us bitterly of this, and certainly they had some reason to be dissatisfied.

In the morning we had a view of the country, and saw the mountains of Sulli to the east, on the opposite side of a long plain running north and south. The town of Sulli itself was also visible on the crag of a rock three parts up the mountain ; and a little to the south, below the town, was a fortress built by the Vizier during his wars with this place. Near this was a village called Castrizza, where are some few remains of ancient walls. The whole plain seemed well cultivated, abounding with arable lands, but having no vineyards.

Whatever I could learn on the spot of this territory, so celebrated in the annals of modern Greece, has been already communicated ; I shall only add, that the force of arms appeared still necessary to preserve the conquests of Ali ; for there were thirty soldiers quartered in our small village of about thirty houses.

We were a long time in procuring horses, but at last left Volondorako at one o'clock in the afternoon, provided with guides, and

with three of the Albanian guard. On leaving our cottage, the remainder of the guard saluted us by firing off their muskets, holding them in one hand, and giving them just elevation sufficient to let the balls whistle over our heads. Our Albanians returned the compliment, and there was a great mutual shouting, till we had struck into the woods out of sight.

Our road took us to the south over woody hillocks for two hours, when we came near the sea-side, still over hilly ground. Then descending nearer the shore, we passed under a castle belonging to Ali, on the summit of a steep rock close to the sea, in a part of the country called Ereenosa. Similar towers, and ruins of towers, of Turkish and Venetian construction, are to be found, it is said, all along the coast from Butrinto. We saw one more, further on towards Prevesa.

We terminated one of the most beautiful rides we had ever taken, by passing through groves of *adrachnus*, or strawberry-tree, whose apples, called by the Greeks, "Comara," were hanging from the boughs in large red clusters, interspersed with the berries of many other fragrant shrubs with which this region abounds. It was sun-set before we reached the village in which we were to halt.

It was called Castropsheca, upon a height, at a little distance from the sea, and was rather of the better sort, for our cottage had a wooden floor raised one story from the ground. It was inhabited by Greeks.

At twelve the next day we set out again; and after a short ride through a wood, and crossing a small river, we came to the sea-shore, with a barren flat country to our left, and continued for some time going round a large bay, till we came to the beach on the sea-side of Nicopolis. Here my Friend and myself rode

off to pay a last visit to the ruins, whilst our baggage proceeded directly to Prevesa, at which place we all arrived at sun-set.

From Volondorako to Prevesa, the path is very bad and intricate, till the approach to the latter town, and is about nine hours' journey—not more, perhaps, than twenty-four miles.

A reference to ancient geography seems to point out the bay of Fanari as the lesser port between the Glykyslimen and the mouth of the Anbracian gulf, called Comarus*, from which a straight line drawn to the gulf on the side of Nicopolis, made a distance of sixty stadia, or seven and a half Roman miles. The large bay, round which we rode on the second day, answers to the description of the wider port alluded to by Strabo, as a mile and a half from Nicopolis. Yet the distance of Comarus from the Gulf, does not appear reconcileable with that of Fanari to the same point. However, the extreme badness of the roads may have made our journey appear much longer than it really was, and as we passed along by far the longest side of the triangle, may almost account for the difference. The whole coast, from Butrinto to Prevesa, is called by the Venetians, Vaielitia, or Valletitzia.

* We had now no choice left, but that of going across Carnia, we therefore provided ourselves, by the Governor's assistance, with thirty-seven soldiers, of whom there were three Bolu-bashees, or Captains; and we also procured another galliot to take us down the gulf of Arta, to the place whence we were to commence our land journey.

Our whole party got on board the vessel, which was a sort of

* Strabon. lib. vii.

row-galley, at one o'clock, Monday, the 13th of November, and passing round the promontory of Cape Figalo, continued sailing with very little wind, and rowing, until we got off the fortress of Vonitza, which was at sun-set. Here the Captain, who, rather to our astonishment, was the same Dulcignote that had commanded on our late disastrous expedition, said we might as well wait for the morning breeze, so that we were some time near Vonitza, and advanced but little during the night.

Vonitza is a small town, inhabited by Greeks, whose chief trade consists in boutaraga, or the roes of fish, salted and pressed, into rolls like sausages. The fortress, which was by the French given up to the Porte, or rather to Ali Pasha, is not very strong, and is garrisoned by a small body of Albanians.

The sun rose over the hills of Agrapha, at the bottom of the gulf, and we advanced gently with the sails and oars, keeping not far from the southern shore, under a range of woody hills, with some few cultivated spots, but no villages to be seen. It was not until four o'clock in the afternoon that we arrived at Utraikee, situated in a deep bay surrounded with rocks and woods, at the south-east corner of the gulf, which stretches eight or nine miles farther to the east, and must in its whole length be at least as long as described to be by Polybius and Strabo. It is true, that the historian mentions the length directly, as being three hundred stadia, or thirty-seven Roman miles and a half*, and the Geographer uses the expression *circle*†, yet by this word he must be supposed to mean the longest diameter, not the circumference, though the word (*κυκλος*) in other places of the same

* Polyb. lib. iv. cap. 69.

† Strab. lib. vii.

author, is used as synonymous with the latter expression*. Polybius has added, that the breadth is, in parts, equal to one-third of the length of the gulf. Doubtless the site of Utraikee, was one of the many good ports, with which it is said, by Strabo, to abound; even now, it is the occasional resort of some of the boats from the islands, which exchange their commodities for the wools and skins of Carnia. We saw several sail of these small merchantmen proceeding towards Terra Nova, and the lower end of the gulf.

The gulf of Arta, in the time of Barbarossa, was the rendezvous of the Turkish navy, maintained to overawe the armaments of the Christian Powers in the Italian seas; but I am not aware that it was ever navigated by any large ship of war of the modern construction.

I am, &c. &c.

* After writing the above, I find that Casaubon, in his Commentary on Strabo, has compared the two passages without a remark; so that *κυκλος* must be considered to bear the same meaning as *κολπος* would have done, though it is, wherever else I have seen it in this author, to be understood in the sense of *περιοδος*, *περιμετρος*, or *στερογγυλος*, his usual words.

LETTER XVI.

Utraikee—Night Scene at that Place—Route through Carnia—to Catoona—to Makala—Prospects from the Hills of the River Aspro or Acheloüs—and of the Lake Nizeros—Ancient Remains at Aëto and at Ligustovichì—Route continued—to Prodròmo—Passage of the Acheloüs—Arrival at Gouria—Route over the Parachloëtis—to Natolico—Another Route from Arta to Natolico—Boundary of Carnia—Former Inhabitants—Ancient Geography—Present State—Ruins at Teeserènes—The Shallows of Messalonge and Natolico—The Fishery—Conjecture as to the Formation of the Shallows—The Town and Inhabitants of Messalonge—The District of Xerómeros, or Ætolia—Town of Ivoria—River Fidari, or Evenus—Ruins of Calydon—Rocks of Chalcis and Tappiasus—Passage to Patrass.

AT Utraikee there was only a custom-house and a barrack for soldiers, both of stone, close to each other, and surrounded on every side, except to the water, by a high wall. We bathed in a little cove near the house; but were prevented from

strolling any farther, as the woods were suspected to be yet infested by the robbers, who had, five days before, appeared in a body of thirty-five men, and carried off a Greek and a Turk, before the guard had time to shut the gates of the yard. They pointed out to us a small green spot, at the bottom of the bay, where, in the sight of, and as a bravado to, the ten soldiers shut up in the barrack, they shot the Turk, and stoned the Greek whom they had taken.

In the evening the gates were secured, and preparations were made for feeding our Albanians. A goat was killed, and roasted whole, and four fires were kindled in the yard, round which the soldiers seated themselves in parties. After eating and drinking, the greater part of them assembled round the largest of the fires, and, whilst ourselves and the elders of the party were seated on the ground, danced round the blaze to their own songs, in the manner before described, but with astonishing energy. All their songs were relations of some robbing exploits. One of them, which detained them more than an hour, began thus—"When we set out from Parga, there were sixty of us:" then came the burden of the verse,

"Robbers all at Parga!

"Robbers all at Parga!"

"Κλεφτεῖς ποῖε Παργα!

"Κλεφτεῖς ποῖε Παργα!"

and as they roared out this stave, they whirled round the fire, dropped, and rebounded from their knees, and again whirled round, as the chorus was again repeated. The rippling of the waves upon the pebbly margin where we were seated, filled up

the pauses of the song with a milder, and not more monotonous music. The night was very dark, but by the flashes of the fires we caught a glimpse of the woods, the rocks, and the lake, which, together with the wild appearance of the dancers, presented us with a scene that would have made a fine picture in the hands of such an artist as the author of the *Mysteries of Udolpho*.

As we were acquainted with the character of the Albanians, it did not at all diminish our pleasure to know, that every one of our guard had been robbers, and some of them a very short time before. The most respectable and best mannered Bolu-bashee with us, had been, four years past, a very formidable one, having had the command of two hundred upon the mountains behind Lepanto, but he had submitted with his men, and was now in the service of Ali. It was eleven o'clock before we had retired to our room, at which time the Albanians, wrapping themselves up in their capotes, went to sleep round the fires.

We were off at half past eight the next morning, when we took ten other soldiers from the barrack, besides our own party, as for the first two hours there were some notorious passes in the woods through which our route lay. Approaching these spots, fifteen or twenty of the party walked briskly on before, and when they had gone through the pass, halted until we came up to them. We travelled to the south amongst thick forests, with now and then a small opening, through which, his ion botdes, were to be discerned a plain and low hills. In one or two green spots near the road, were Turkish tombstones, generally under a clump of trees and by the side of a stone fountain, the resting place of the traveller.

Having passed the woods, the ten men returned to Utraikée, and we got into an open country. We passed over a low hill, on which was a small village, and a barrack for Albanian soldiers, and leaving this to the left a little, ascended some more rising ground to a village called Catoona, where we arrived by twelve o'clock.

It was our intention to have proceeded farther this day, but our progress was interrupted by an affair between our Albanians and the Primate of the village, for, as we were looking about us, and horses were collecting to carry our baggage, as we had dropped those from Utraikée, after a torrent of words from one of the soldiers, swords were suddenly drawn, and guns cocked, and upon this, in an instant, and before we could stop the affray, the Primate threw off his shoes and cloak, and fled so precipitately, that he rolled down the hill and dislocated his shoulder. It was a long time before we could persuade him to come back to his house, where we were lodged: when he did return, he said he did not care so much about his shoulder, as for the loss of a purse with fifteen zequins, which dropped out of his pocket during his tumble. The hint was understood.

Catoona, inhabited by Greeks only, contains twenty houses, but most of them of the better sort, well built with stone. The Primate's house is a very good one, neatly fitted up with sofas. Upon a knoll in the middle of the village is a school-house and yard, and from this spot there is a very extensive view. To the west are high mountains called Vounstos (that is, the hills), ranging from north to south near the coast. To the east there is also a grand mountain prospect in the distance, but nearer there is seen a green valley, and a considerable river winding through a

long line of country. This river is the Acheloüs, now called the Aspro, or White river. The modern name of the lake is Nizeros, and it is about six miles, they told us, in length.

We had much difficulty in procuring horses at Catoona, so that we were not off until half past eleven the next morning, and did not travel more than four hours that day, to a village called Makala. The path was southwards, tolerably good, through a woody country at first, but on mounting the hill on which the village stood, the prospect widened on every side, and we again saw the lake, the river, and the plain, stretching far down to the south.

Makala is a well-built stone village, containing about forty houses, separated from each other, inhabited by Greeks, a little above the condition of peasants, whose wealth consists in large flocks of sheep of a thick coarse fleece, that is sold into Albania and the Morca. He with whom we lodged was a grave important gentleman, calling himself a merchant, and keeping a secretary. The houses we saw in Carnia were much better than any we had seen in the villages of Albania. The one we slept in at Makala, had very much the appearance of one of those old mansions that are to be met with in the bottoms of the Wiltshire Downs. There were two green courts to it, one before, and the other, round which there was a raised terrace, behind the house. The whole was surrounded by a very high and very thick wall, that shut out the prospect entirely, but was perfectly necessary in a country frequently overrun by large bands of robbers in their way from the island of Santa Maura to the mountains of Triccala and Agrapha. The operations of some of these outlaws were visible in the ruins of a large house, which was pulled down by

them about twenty years past, after a determined opposition from the inhabitants. The possession of Santa Maura by the English, will much tend to free Carnia from these depredators.

From the highest point in the village we were shown two pieces of wall, which our host assured us were remains of antiquity. One of them was on a hill to the west, called Aëto; and another on a hill to the east, overlooking the Aspro, and by name Ligustovich. I should not forget, that on this eminence there was, suspended from a stake, a piece of thick curved iron hoop, which, when struck by a hammer, also hanging from the stake, serves to call the Greeks to church, and also to alarm the country when the robbers appear; for the melancholy noise may, in the silence of the night, be heard in the surrounding woods and vallies for many miles. This is the church bell universally used in the Levant. There is an exact picture of one in Tournefort.

We were detained at Makala a day, because horses could not be found to carry us on, which delay our Albanian, Vassily, assured us was owing to the disuse of the stick; but on the 18th of November we set out at ten o'clock in the morning.

We went through woods along a craggy tangled path to the south, and at half past twelve, passed a village of a few huts called Prodomo; after which, going a point to the eastward of south, we struck into deeper woods of oak, which lasted, with hardly one opening, for five hours, until we found ourselves at a village of huts only a quarter of a mile from the banks of the Aspro. In the course of our journey through the forest we lighted upon three new-made graves, which, as our Albanians passed, they pointed at, crying out, "Sir, the robbers!" and not long after this, as the whole party of them were passing along

in a string, on something being seen in the gloom of the woods, they rushed amongst the trees to practise their manœuvres, but found nothing to attack. They seemed to apprehend some danger during the whole day; they were unusually silent, and did not always keep in the path, but beat about amongst the bushes on either side.

We had once a view through the woods, of the large town named Vraichore, on the left bank of the Aspro, probably about ten miles higher up the river than the place at which we crossed.

The stream of this river was very broad and rapid, and deep, not so broad as the river at Tepellenè, but of a much larger body of water. However, although the sun was set, we passed over in a well-contrived ferry-boat, to a decent village, partly of Turkish, partly of Greek families, called Gouria, where we passed the night.

From Utraikée to Gouria, over a country which it had taken us altogether fourteen hours and a half to traverse, we did not meet or pass a single traveller of any description, and we only saw one more village than those through which we passed. The whole of Carnia appeared to us a wilderness of forests and unpeopled plains. All our route, except a few miles, was, as described, through thick woods of oak; but what we saw of the Ætolian side of the Acheloiüs, seemed very different, less woody and hilly, and abounding with tracts of luxuriant cultivation.

Leaving Gouria the next morning, we changed our southerly for an easterly direction, and continued at first through a plain of corn-fields near the banks of the river, which, we soon left on our right, and continued in a rich open country, sometimes over stone causeways, and between the hedges of gardens and

olive-groves, when we were stopped by the sea. What we had passed over from Gouria, was that fruitful region formerly called Paracheloïtis, which was drained, or, according to one of the prettiest allegories of ancient mythology, torn from the Acheloüs by the perseverance of Hercules, and presented by the demi-god for a nuptial present to the daughter of Oëneus. This was the horn, whose plenty was the prize so often disputed by the rivals of Acarnania and Ætolia. The water at which we now arrived might more properly be called a salt-marsh than the sea, or a shallow bay stretching from the mouth of the gulf of Lepanto into the land for several miles. At the spot where we stood, it was about a mile and a half broad, and not more than two feet deep. Half way over was the town of Natolico, rising out of the water; and to this place, after dismissing our horses, we passed over in several punts, of which there were a great number plying to and fro.

We were treated at first rather cavalierly by the Albanian governor of the town, who, however, on being spoken to a little decisively, and presented with the signature of his master Ali, provided proper lodgings, and billets for our soldiers. We found out, that during our altercation with the governor, a Greek, who had been nominated English Vice-Consul of the place, had sat by without saying a word, or letting us know that there was in the town any such character, to whom we might apply. But the inattention of this man was made up for by the civility of a Jew physician, who told us—I recollect his expression—that he was honoured by our partaking of his little misery.

At Natolico we staid one night. It is a well-built town; the houses of wood, and chiefly of two stories, about six hun-

dred in number; inhabited by some few Turks, but principally by Greeks, who are small merchants, dealing in the coarse woollens made from the fleeces of Carnia, and in boutaraga, with which their marsh supplies them. The water flows through many of the streets, which have wooden causeways on piles.

There is a route from Arta to Natolico, which we had been advised to avoid, on account of the turbulent state of the country. It passes through the district called Macrinoro, under the mountains of Agraphia, and in a country where, near a river, once the Inachus, and something more than six hours and a half* from Arta, one might expect to find some ruins of the Amphiloehian Argos. The first stage is to a place called Pandi, seven hours from Arta: thence to Natolico is twelve hours. The route passes through Mila, a village; then in two hours to Vraikore, a considerable town on the left bank of the Acheloiüs, before noticed, commanded by an Aga, or Bey, in subjection to Ali, who gave us a letter to him, and the residence of a Greek Bishop. After Vraikore, and five hours from Natolico, is Katoki, a village. The road is, for the greater part, on the left bank of the Acheloiüs, and in a flat well-cultivated country.

Carnia is bounded on the land side by the Aspro, and by a branch of that river, called in some maps the Inachus, which, flowing in a curved direction into the bottom of the gulf of Arta, separates it from the district of Macrinoro. Its length from north to south is about forty-two English miles, and its breadth thirty-two. As Natolico is not to be reckoned within its limits, it cannot be said to contain one considerable town, and perhaps it is the least populous of any district of European Turkey.

* Livy (lib. xxxviii. cap. 10) says, twenty-two Roman miles.

This country formerly included Leucadia, and its capital, indeed, was Leucas*, situated (not where the town of Santa Maura now stands) on the narrow flat, five hundred paces long and one hundred and twenty paces broad, anciently joining the main land to the peninsula, afterwards connected by a bridge; but it appears never to have played a considerable part in the flourishing days of Greece. Thucydides† speaks of the Acarnanians as one of those nations, which, as well as the Locri Ozolæ, and the Ætolians, continued in his time the barbarous practice of wearing arms—a sign of their old habits of plunder. As auxiliaries (all but the Leucadians and Anactorii) of the Athenians, they performed some actions recorded in the history of the Peloponnesian war; but their contests were chiefly with the Ætolians‡, until, in the decline of Athens, they dared, with the assistance of King Philip, son of Demetrius, to insult that venerable city. They were the last to desert the alliance of the Macedonian monarch; but three years after their invasion of Attica, and a few days after the battle of Cynoscephalæ, they yielded to the arms of the Romans§. Under the protection of their conquerors, their country flourished, until nearly depopulated by the decree of Augustus, on account of their supposed partiality to the cause of Antony, and in order to form the new colony of Nicopolis. However, their towns were never very numerous or large, and the greater part of the people lived in villages.

Not to reckon Leucas, or any places beyond the Acheloiüs, though from that river to the Evenus was peopled by Acarnanians||, their principal town was Stratus, on the Acheloiüs, two

* Strab. lib. x.

† Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. 25.

|| Strab. lib. viii.

† Thucyd. Hist. lib. i. cap. 5.

§ Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 16.

hundred stadia from the mouth of the river*; Nova Ænea was at seventy stadia; Æniadæ, at the mouth of the Achelœus, and on the entrance of the Corinthian gulf, not more than a hundred stadia from the opposite point of Araxus in the Peloponnesus. Anactorium was within the gulf, forty stadia from Actium, which was at the mouth of the gulf of Ambracia, though Mr. D'Anville† has placed Actium within Anactorium. On the west was Palærus, then Alyzia, fifteen stadia from the sea to the east of Leucas; and, near that, the promontory and port of Hercules, with a temple, whence a sculpture of the Labours of Hercules, by Lysippus, was transported to Rome, on account, says Strabo, of the solitude of the spot where it was placed. The port and promontory of Crithote were lower down on the coast. The islands of the Echinades were also accounted belonging to Acarnania. They were all of them, except Dolicha, which has therefore been supposed to be the site of Natolico, rough barren rocks, the most distant of them only fifteen stadia from the main. We went near them in our first passage to Prevesa, as well as to the small sharp rocks once called 'Thoas, and now Curzolari. Inch-Keith, in the Firth of Forth, would be a fertile domain to any one of them, and would certainly be a more populous kingdom than all of them put together, for they have no inhabitants. Yet 'Thoas, and the Echinades, sent their King Meges, *equal to*

* Stratus is said by Strabo to be half way between *Alyzia* and *Anactorium*, which is irreconcilable with the two positions. Mr. Barbié du Bocage solves the difficulty, by reading *Αντίρριον*.

† See Letter II. of this volume, where Mr. D'Anville is followed: That geographer goes, I suppose, by what Thucydides says of Anactorium, that it was ἐν τῇ στόματι τῆς Ἀμπρακίης κόλπης.—Lib. i. cap. 55.

Mars, with forty ships to the siege of Troy. Astacus was a town not far from *Eniadaë*.

I know of no particular mention of the country from the times of the Roman to the Turkish conquest, when there is a mere notice taken of the Princes of Acarnania, as of the Princes of Albania.' It was conquered, or rather overrun, by Bajazet the First, at the same time with Peloponnesus and Greece. Since it came to the hands of the Turks, it has had one or two important places. Dragomestre, placed by D'Anville on the site of Astacus, was once a considerable town with a strong fortress, but is now only a miserable village, and a post for fishing-boats. Port Candeli is in a deep bay, sixteen miles and a half to the south of the gulf of Arta. Port Petala is at the mouth of the Aspro. The position of Vonitza you are already acquainted with: there is a small river running into the bay, at the bottom of which it stands.

Carnia is peopled entirely by Greeks. The Albanians amongst them are soldiers of Ali Pasha, quartered in their country to preserve them from the robbers, and to keep them in allegiance. They trade chiefly through Natolico.

This last mentioned place we left the day after our arrival, and sending on our baggage in punts, proceeded by land to the next stage, a town called Messalonge. The distance is only three hours, to the south, on a rugged road under low stony hills until the last part of the ride.—At two hours from Natolico, on a hill to the left of the road, are some remains of an ancient wall. The spot is called at present Teeserenes, or some such name. A little way from Messalonge we were met by the Greek, holding the office, which must be almost a sinecure, of Vice-Consul for the English Nation, and were conducted by him through the town

to his house, where we had a comfortable lodging, and staid two nights.

Messalonge is situated on the south-east side of the salt-marsh, or shallow, that extends between two and three miles into the land below Natolico, and six miles about beyond Messalonge itself, into the gulf of Lepanto. The breadth of the bay formed by these shallows, may be, in an oblique direction from Messalonge towards the north, to the other side, not far from the mouth of the Aspro, about ten miles. At the extremity of the shallows, towards the deep water, for several miles in circuit, there are rows of stakes, and also, at intervals, some wicker huts raised on poles, forming, as it were, a line between the sea and the bay, and appearing to those sailing down the gulf like a double shore*. Within this fence, there is a very valuable fishery, and many boats are stationed for that purpose in the marsh.

The port of Messalonge will not admit any vessel drawing more than three feet water, nor is there sufficient water for those of more than five feet any where within the marsh. All vessels or boats, whether going in or out of the bay, are obliged, for want of depth, to pass close to a small fort, built on piles, where there is a cannon or two mounted, and where a Turkish guard resides, to see the passes of those who enter or leave the fishery. The fort is called Basilida, and is five miles beyond the town.

Whether the name Echinades applied to any of the sandy flats now covered by water, and whether the modern town of Natolico can be said to stand on that one of them called first Dulichium, and then Dolicha, will, it appears, admit of some doubt :

* Letter I.

their very name would seem to decide to the contrary. Yet the last-mentioned island is excepted from the character of rugged sterility attached to the other rocks. Some of them were by degrees joined to the continent, and all of them would have been so annexed, had not the discontinuance of cultivation, when the people were transplanted to Nicopolis, diminished the quantity of slime deposited by the Achelôus near the shore: so at least says Pausanias*. It seems to me, that these shallows must have been formed by the gradual junction of the lake Cynia, and perhaps of those of Melite and Uria, with the sea, as well as by the sand washed forwards by the continued torrents from the mouths of the river. The lake of Cynia, which, together with those of Melite and Uria, was not far from the city of Æniadæ, was sixty stadia long and forty broad, and had a communication with the sea†. No such inland lake is at present to be seen, nor did I hear of any answering to the position of Melite (which was half the size of Cynia), or of Uria, one fourth as large; so that it is not improbable, that the whole may have been combined to form the present appearance of the marshes of Messalonge.

Messalonge was formerly the seat of a Pasha of two tails, but is now under a Governor in dependence upon Ali Pasha. The inhabitants are partly Greeks, partly Turks, in number about five thousand. They subsist chiefly on the fishery, where the red mullet is taken in quantities sufficient to supply many parts of Roumelia and the Morea with the boutaraga, and caviar, made from their roes. None of them are very rich, but several possess

* Pausanias Arcad. p. 493.

† Strab. lib. x.

about five thousand piasters per annum—a good income in that country. The houses are chiefly of wood, and two stories high. The bazar is furnished with some neat shops, and the streets are paved. Both Messalonge and Natolico are to be reckoned amongst the best towns in Roumelia; and, except Patrass, they carry on the most extensive trade with the islands, of any ports in that quarter of the country. That part of Roumelia to which they belong, is called Xeromeros (the ancient *Ætolia*), of which, as we saw only a small portion of it, I shall say but little.

It is all, I believe (except the town of Lepanto, called by the Greeks *Epacto*, which is governed by a Pasha of two tails), in the hands of Ali; and both as to its population and productions, is a very important district. Five hours from Natolico, and about the same distance from the Aspro, is the town of Ivoria, of some size, on the site, according to D'Anville, of Pamphlia, a village not more than thirty stadia from Thermus, the former capital of *Ætolia**. The exploits of the *Ætolians* towards the close of Grecian history, which occupy so considerable a portion of Polybius and Livy, have illustrated the geography of their country, so as to afford no little degree of certainty to the conjectures of a modern traveller.

That part of the country which we saw to the south-east, and which forms the north side of the entrance to the gulf of Lepanto, is very mountainous. In a fine valley on the other side of the hills to the east, at the back of Messalonge, we had a view of the river Fidari, the ancient Evenus. Between the Evenus and the inner mouth of the gulf at Antirrhium, were the extre-

* Polyb. Hist. lib. v. cap. 7, which passage traces the march of King Philip into *Ætolia*, and gives many positions.

mities of the mountains called Chalcis. Near these was the village Lycirna, from which, to the city of Calydon, on the Evenus, was a length of thirty stadia, three quarters more than three Roman miles*. Poukeville, I know not on what authority, states the ruins of Calydon to be found a league from Messalonge: perhaps he alludes to the walls at Teeserenes. Next to the hills of Chalcis were those called Tappiasus. One of these presents a very singular appearance: it is a large red rock, and is rent from top to bottom, with a huge chasm, into the bowels of the mountain. It could not fail to attract the notice of any one sailing towards Patrass.

On the 23d of November, we left Messalonge in a small-decked vessel, called a trebaculo, after having dismissed all our Albanians, except one, who was taken into service as a companion to Vasilly. His name was Dervish-'Tacheere: he was a Turk. At parting with him, all his companions embraced him, and accompanying him to our boat, fired off their guns as a last salute to the whole party.

We were two hours in passing out of the shallows. As we showed our pass at the fort of Basilida, we stopped a few minutes, and had an opportunity of looking at the huts built on stakes in the water, which serve as habitations for those who watch the fishery. Three or four rows of stakes are planted before each of them, to break the force of the waves rolling in from the deep water in stormy weather; but, notwithstanding this precaution, neither the huts, nor Basilida itself, appear secure tenements for any animals not amphibious, and they seemed the more wretched

* Strab. lib. x.

to us, as we passed them on a rainy day, and saw the waves washing over them at every gust of wind.

The distance from Basilida to Patrass must be about fifteen miles; for we were two hours and a half making the passage, with several squalls and a strong breeze in our favour during the whole time.

Patrass must be reserved for my next Letter.

I am, &c. &c.

LETTER XVII.

Patrass—Its Situation—Insalubrity—Ancient State—Destruction in 1770—Present State—Trade—Exports of the Morea—Consuls at Patrass—Greek Light Infantry—English Regiment—The River Leucate—Departure from Patrass—The Castles of the Morea and Roumelia—Cape Rhium—Lepanto—Route to Vostizza—Ancient Positions—Vostizza—A Greek Codja-bashee, or Elder—Coursing in the Morea—River Selimus—Ægium—The Plane Tree—Veli Pasha—Population of the Morea—Digression concerning the Mainotes.

WE had, for some time, been very eager to reach Patrass, in hopes of finding letters from England, and for the purpose of making certain necessary repairs in our baggage, which we had deferred until our arrival at this place. Like other travellers, we had fixed upon a point where we were to commence a general reform, and lay in new stores to aid our progress; and, as usually happens, we were disappointed, for there were not at Patrass half so many nor so excellent artisans, as our dragoman George, himself a native of the town, had given us reason to expect. To complete our disappointment, the only tailor who knew how to make a Frank dress, was gone to Zante, at the pressing instance of some officers of the garrison.

However, we were most hospitably entertained by the English Consul-General for the Morea, and his relation the Imperial Consul, son of the gentleman who for many years transacted the English affairs at this port, and who has an honourable place in several books of travels. After a long disuse of chairs and tables, we were much pleased by those novelties at the agreeable entertainments given us by these gentlemen.

I have, in another place, given you a sketch of the situation of Patrass. Nothing certainly, can be more pleasant than the immediate vicinity of the town, which is one blooming garden of orange and lemon plantations, of olive-groves, vineyards, and currant-grounds. The fruit-trees, and the vines, clothe the sides of the hill behind the town, to a considerable height : the currants are on the flats below, and run along the line of coast to the south, as far as the eye can reach. Both on the plain and on the sides of the hills, there is a great quantity of the small shrub called glykorizza by the Greeks, and which is our licorice.

The town itself stands on a steep declivity of the mountain, now called Vodi. The higher part of it is a mile and a half from the port, and in that quarter are all the best houses, surrounded, as usual, with gardens. At the top of the whole is a large old Turkish fortress, which is perfectly useless, and is, so said the Greeks, put in a state of defence, by being white-washed at the beginning of every war. To supply the deficiencies of the citadel, the Turks have lately placed a few cannon on the beach, at a little distance from the custom-house. During the last war with Russia, a line of battle ship and a frigate threw some shot into the town. The Turks depend upon the new battery, for future protection from such an insult.

Notwithstanding the beauty of the situation, Patrass is not a very desirable residence, on account of the contagious fevers and agues with which it is occasionally visited. In the mornings and the evenings of the autumnal season, the lower part of the town, and all the surrounding flats are enveloped in a thick fog, which we experienced in our visit, and found it to throw a chilly dampness even to the upper quarter. Yet you may recollect from a passage in one of Cicero's letters to his freedman Tyro, that Patrae was, in his time, recommended as a resort for invalids, and that Tyro himself paid a visit to it on account of its known salubrity. They told us, that in summer the heat is insupportable; indeed, whilst we were there, the weather was so warm as to render bathing very agreeable on the first of December, though the summits of Mount Vodi were covered with snow.

On arriving from Albania in the Morea, you quit a region little known at any time, for one which the labours of ancients and moderns have equally contributed to illustrate, and after wandering in uncertainty, you acknowledge the aid of faithful guides, who direct every footstep of your journey.

Pausanias alone will enable you to feel at home in Greece, and though the country he describes has not had quite so long a time to undergo a change, as Poukeville imagines (for the author of the *Periegesis* did not write two thousand years ago*), yet it is true, that the exact conformity of present appearances with the minute descriptions of the itinerary, is no less surprising than satisfactory. The temple and the statue, the theatre, the column and the marble porch, have sunk and disappeared. But the vallies and

* En lisant Pausanias on ne peut s'imaginer qu'il ecrivit il-y-a deux mille ans.
— *Voyage en Morée*, page 226.

the mountains, and some, not frequent, fragments “of more value than all the rude and costly monuments of barbaric labour,” these still remain, and remind the traveller that he treads the ground once trod by the heroes and sages of antiquity.

To traverse the native country of those, whose deeds and whose wisdom have been proposed to all the polished nations of every succeeding age, as the models which they should endeavour to imitate, but must never hope to equal, with no other emotions than would arise in passing through regions never civilized, is unnatural, is impossible ! No one would roam with the same indifference through the sad solitudes of Greece and the savage wilds of America ; nor is the expression of feelings, which it is the object and end of all liberal education to instil and encourage, to be derided as the unprofitable effusion of folly and affectation.

Patræ was distinguished by the notice of Augustus, who collected its citizens, scattered by the Ætolian war against the Gauls ; and settling amongst them some of those who had fought with him at Actium, dignified the city with the title of a Roman colony. Some of the cities of Achaia were made tributary to the Patrenses, and they continued to flourish long after the decay of the neighbouring states. They were rich in the monuments of ancient art. Pausanias enumerates nineteen or twenty temples, besides statues, altars, and marble sepulchres, to be seen in his time in the city, the port, and the sacred groves. He mentions also an odeum, or music theatre, the most magnificent of any in Greece, next to that of Herodes at Athens. But there is not a vestige of antiquity to be met with either in or near Patrass, in which the worship of St. Andrew, who was crucified

in the place, has succeeded to that of Diana Laphria, the Olympian Jupiter, and the Bacchus of Calydon.

The modern town, which, from the Italian corruption, is called Patrass, but by the Greeks is still written Patraë, has been the scene of many sanguinary contests. It made the best defence in the year 1447, against the Turks, of any place in the Peloponnesus. In the year 1532, it was taken and ransacked by Doria; and in 1687, Morosini gained a victory over the Ottoman armies near its walls. But of all the distresses suffered by this devoted city, perhaps the last was the most terrible.

It was freed by the temporary success of the Greek insurgents in 1770, from the yoke of the Turks; but the appearance of the Albanians, who rushed through the passes of the isthmus to the assistance of the Mahometans, soon decided the fate of the place. An army of ten thousand, both horse and foot, entered the town through every avenue. It was not a contest, but a carnage. The houses were all burnt to the ground; not a Greek capable of bearing arms was spared.

The son of the English Consul, with about seventy of the wives and daughters of the principal inhabitants, obtained with difficulty permission from a body of Albanians, who were breaking open the doors with hatchets, to retire to the fortress. In passing through the yard of the citadel, they saw it strewed with bodies without heads. A Turkish commander, who knew the young man, assisted him to escape in a barque with his fugitives to Zante, whither the other Consuls and Franks had before fled. Not only Patrass, but the surrounding villages were levelled to the ground; and that part of the Morca called by the Venetians the Duchy of Clarenza, of which this place was the capital, was

for some time an unpeopled wilderness. Yet it has recovered in the course of forty years from the fire and sword of the Albanians, and Patrass may now be considered the most flourishing town in the peninsula. Napoli and Coron, once preferred on account of their superior salubrity, are now upon a gradual decline.

Patrass is one of those towns which is governed by a Bey, as well as Coron, Modon, Navarino, Misitra, Argos, and Corinth, places of which any map of the Morea will give you the position. It contains about eight thousand inhabitants; of which one thousand are Turks, and the remainder Greeks, with a few Jews, and also some Franks, who are under the protection of the Consuls of foreign powers, and are not only free from all extortion and oppression, but do not pay even any tax to the Turkish government, unless a duty of three per cent. upon imported goods may be so called. It is also frequented by many of the Greek islanders, who, with their large loose breeches, wear hats, to give themselves the air of freemen. These come for the butter, cheeses, wax, wines, and fruits, which are sent from the ports of the Morea to Smyrna, Constantinople, and the islands of both seas.

The exports of Patrass are very considerable, consisting principally of oranges, olives, cotton from Lepanto, but, above all, currants, which are here laden for the supply of every part of Christendom. The quantity of currants exported annually from the Morea, amounts to eight millions of pounds weight. This is what Pouverville has asserted; and his volume on the Morea, being collected by himself during a long residence in the country, and being the last account written on the subject, is de-

serving of every attention. The more that gentleman is acquainted with facts, the less, as might be expected, does he indulge in fiction; and as he possesses all the inquisitiveness of his countrymen, and seems to write without prejudice, or the vain desire, so manifest in some French authors who have preceded him, of displaying himself more than his subject, his information will be found generally correct.

The trade formerly carried on between the Morea and the Italian ports, in Dutch or Danish vessels, must now necessarily, in great measure, be diverted to Malta and Sicily, to England and America. Besides currants, eight cargoes of corn have been annually exported, two of wool, five or six of oil, one or two of silk, cotton, leather, vermilion, and gall-nuts. Convoys of thirty and forty vessels arrive from Malta with all the articles wanted in the Levant; coffee, sugar, indigo, cochineal, sulphur, and with silk and gold lace, cloth, hardware, and other manufactured goods of England and France. Patent London shot may be bought, of all numbers, in most towns of the Morea. Besides the convoys from Malta, there are English ships which come directly from Hull and Bristol, and are employed solely in the currant trade. The balance upon the imports and exports is alleged to be one-fifth in favour of the Morea, which is received in silver coin. Of this, two millions of piasters go as tribute to Constantinople, one million is taken by the Pasha of Tripolizza, and the remainder, about one million ninety-three thousand seven hundred and fifty piasters, is the profit of the rich Greeks. The Frank residents are, as the authority before mentioned well observes, only a sort of brokers, who get a per centage upon the intercourse. The most considerable of this latter description in

the Morea is Mr. Stranè, the English Consul, and Mr. Paul, the Imperial Consul.

Besides these gentlemen, there are the French and American Consuls for the Morca settled at Patrass ; and, owing to a system of hostility which, I am sorry to say, has been introduced since the new order of things in France, there is a little war carried on under the several flags of the different nations. Whilst we were at Patrass, the French agent sent an official notice of the peace between Austria and his master ; and this was replied to by a bulletin containing an account of the capture of two French line of battle ships, and a convoy, off Toulon.

A Consul in the Levant is a person of great importance, having a chancellor, as he is called, and secretaries, janissaries, and other dependants attached to him, being inviolable in his person and property, and supposed by the Turks to possess an unlimited authority over the people of his own nation, extending even to imprisonment and death. The French gentleman, before alluded to, seemed, indeed, to be one of those Consuls who, as Voltaire said, fancy themselves to be Roman Consuls, being consequential and decisive to the last degree. He happened, whilst we were in the country, to lose his sword at some place on his way from Tripolizza ; and on complaint being made to the governor of Patrass, the town and district where the accident happened were put in requisition to find it, or furnish his Excellency with another. An anecdote that not only shows the temper of Mr. Vial, but the influence of the French in the Morea. His large tri-coloured flag was hoisted on every occasion for triumph, and, not unfrequently, on reports of his own invention ; and this zeal and activity, though exerted in a manner which one cannot

help thinking a little unjustifiable, have still certainly some effect upon the Turks, and, in some measure, further the views of the Great Nation.

It was this gentleman who gave instant notice to the governor of Patrass, of the attempt making in the Morea by three men in English pay, to raise recruits for the new Zantiote regiment, now called in our army list, the Greek light infantry *, and brought about the tragical exit of one of the persons employed on that service. It is certain, that no English government would knowingly encourage the recruiting of our armies in the territories of foreign states. Yet this is not the first time that interested agents have made a similar effort, and brought disgrace upon the British character. A Frenchman in our employ, was arrested in the execution of the same scheme in the dominions of the Emperor of Austria. Yet this happened whilst a gentleman, who would scorn

* The first service this Macedonian Legion, about which such a ridiculous parade was once made in our papers, was ordered upon, was the storming of the French lines at Santa Maura. They were marched up in our way of warfare, and continued in good order until the batteries opened upon them, when they fell upon their faces, and attempted to dig holes for themselves in the sand. The English who were their officers, in vain endeavoured to raise them, and being left standing alone, were nearly all killed or wounded. The gallant young man at whose wish the experiment had been tried, and who now commands them, was shot in the arm. This was no time to trifle. A company or two of the thirty-fifth were marched up, and carried the place in an instant. I had this account from an officer of rank who was on the spot. It was unreasonable to suppose, that English pay or English discipline had given these troops English intrepidity. They should have been allowed to fight in their own fashion. The habits of men are not so suddenly changed; and, allowing these warriors a due share of personal courage, it should have been recollected, that it had never been their custom to expose themselves to open fire.

every unworthy practice, was at the head of foreign affairs. He knew nothing of the matter.

Thus it is, that the resources of our country are often trusted to unworthy hands, and though no secretary of state would himself connive at sending an emigrant Frenchman kidnapping into the dominions of an ally, yet such a person was sent upon such a mission.

During our stay at Patrass, which lasted eleven days, we took two or three rides into the neighbouring country. A little more than two miles from the port along the shore to the south, is a small river, whose course can be discerned for some distance in a valley between abrupt hills to the south-east. The present name of this river is Leucate; but the river, on that side nearest to the town, was called the Glaucus, according to Pausanias, and the next, the Leucas, which comes so near to the modern name.

At this place we dismissed our dragoman, and took into our service another Greek, a native of the island of Syra, and inhabitant of Constantinople, who wore the Frank habit. He spoke Turkish, Greek, French, Italian, and bad Latin, the last of which languages he had learnt at Rome, having belonged to one of the choirs. His name was Andreas. The pay of a servant of this description is from two to three piasters a day, with provisions and lodging.

On the fourth of December, in the afternoon, we left Patrass. The road, which was much cut up by the torrents, at first led us to the north, towards the castle on the cape, formerly called

Rhium, distant from the town about five miles and a half*. We could discern from the road the other castle, called the castle of Rounelia, as the other is named that of the Morea, at the other side of the strait, which in breadth was reckoned five stadia, three hundred and eighty feet more than half a mile†. These castles, sometimes called the Dardanelles of Lepanto, were built by Sultan Bajazet in the year 1482; they were taken by the Venetians in 1576; blown up by the Turks in 1687, but again restored by them. They seemed strong, but we were informed that the fortifications were entirely neglected, and that the walls were used as an enclosure for sheep. Near the castle of the Morea is a village of thirty or forty houses, surrounded with gardens; and on the other side, towards Patrass, is the cemetery of the Christians who were slain in the battle of Lepanto.

Directing our course to the east, after leaving the castle on our left at a mile distance, we soon had a view of the town of Lepanto, on the north of the gulf. It presents a singular appearance, being seated on the steep declivity of a hill, and having two walls terminating in a vortex, which is crowned by a castle, commanding the town and harbour. The fortifications are strengthened by four walls, which run crossways from one side to the other in parallel lines, and have caused the appearance of the place to be compared to a papal crown. I cannot say the simile struck me; but I read of it in Dr. Chandler's travels.

Lepanto was first fortified by the Venetians. The entrance to the harbour, which is small and circular, and not capable of con-

* Fifty stadia, according to Pausanias; forty according to Strabo, lib. xx.; but perhaps he means the town.

† Οταν δε πεντε σταδια απολειπουσαι προθιμον.—Strab. lib. viii.

taining ships of any burden, is scarcely perceptible at a distance. The present number of inhabitants is about two thousand, mostly Greeks, workers in morocco. The governor of the place is a Pasha of two tails; but his dominions extend only a small distance from the town.

You scarcely need be informed, that Lepanto is on the site of the ancient Naupactus, of which name the modern Greek appellation, Epacto, seems to be a corruption.

Our road took us over rough uneven paths, and through thick woods, sometimes close to the shore, and at others over the feet of high hills to our right, that projected into the gulf, and thus afforded no road along the beach. We travelled due east. It was half past seven, and had been long dark, before we arrived at a solitary han on the shore, where we put up for the night. From Patras to the han, we had passed only one house on the road, and saw no other village than that near the castle of the Morea. The road was very bad the whole distance.

The next day, after walking about most part of the morning on the beach, and viewing the grand mountain scenery on the other side of the gulf, we left the han, and travelling through a more level and open country, and crossing a wide torrent in a situation answering to that of the ancient river Bolinæus, arrived, in a little more than three hours, at the town of Vostizza, which we had seen for some time on a tongue of land jutting into the gulf, shaded at the back with groves of tall trees, and interspersed with orange and lemon gardens, glittering with their ripe fruits.

Between Patræ and Ægium, on whose site Vostizza is supposed to stand, there were the river Melichus, the river Chara-

drus, the city Argyra, the river Selemnus (once a shepherd, but afterwards a stream, whence the neglected swain and the forsaken nymph drank oblivion of their former passion), the river Bolinæus and the city Bolina; and also the city Rhypes, a little above the road, which was a military one, something more than three of our miles from Ægium. Of the three cities, as Rhypes was not inhabited when Strabo wrote, and all were ruins in the time of Pausanias, it is no wonder that there is not a vestige remaining. The rivers also, with one exception before noted, are sunk into streams, which we should call by no other name than that of winter brooks. A promontory, which should be Drepanum, shuts out the view of Vostizza till one is arrived within six miles of the town; for Drepanum, though put by some maps nearer to the cape of Rhium, is said by Pausanias to stretch into the gulf from the place where the Bolinæus flows, and both the promontory, and the torrent we crossed on our second day's journey, correspond to that description*.

The whole distance, by the shortest road, from Patræ to Ægium, was one hundred and ninety stadia, something more than twenty-one miles and a half. The sail round the shore was forty stadia longer. It was first to Rhium fifty stadia, to Port Panormus fifteen, to the walls, called, of Minerva, fifteen, to Port Erineus ninety, to Ægium sixty†.

The gulf, which, as far as Vostizza, is rather narrow, swells beyond that point into a considerable sea.

An hour before we arrived at the town, we had our first view

* But Strabo, in Book viii. says, that the back part of the promontory Rhium was called Drepanum.

† Pausanias-Achaic. p. 441 and 442.

of Parnassus, now called Liakura, on the other side of the gulf, rising far above the other peaks of that hilly region, and capped with snow. The two tops, however, were not discernible; nor did I ever observe that peculiarity during the three weeks we were within sight of the poetic mountain. The spot whence the summit may be most distinctly viewed, is in the neighbourhood of the isthmus of Corinth.

Vostizza contains between three and four thousand inhabitants, chiefly Greeks, who trade in raw silk, cheeses, currants, hides, gums, rackee, the small fishes called sardinias, and houtaraga. The hard cheeses of Vostizza are accounted the best in the Morea. The town and its district are governed by a Greek Codja-bashee, or elder, as are three others of the twenty-four cantons into which the Morea is divided, Caritene, Sinano, and Vasilico. We were lodged in the house of the Codja-bashee at Vostizza, who, notwithstanding his title, was a very young man, not twenty years old, by name Andreas Londo, the son of a Greek in the highest esteem with Veli Pasha, and acting the part of his chief minister at Tripolizza. We could in an instant discover the Signor Londo to be a person in power: his chamber was crowded with visitants, claimants, and complainants; his secretaries and clerks were often presenting papers for his signature; and the whole appearance of our host and his household presented us with the singular spectacle of a Greek in authority—a sight which we had never before seen in Turkey. The Codja-bashee was not quite five feet in height, and, without any exaggeration, his cap, or talpac, was very near one-third of that measure. He studied, as much as possible, to give himself the reserved air of a Turk; but his natural good-humour and liveliness frequently burst through the disguise, and displayed

him in his real character, of a merry playful boy ; so much so, indeed, that before we left his house, we had more than once prevailed on him to throw off his robes and cap, tuck up his sleeves, and attempt several feats of agility, such as jumping over chairs, tumbling, and sparring, with which latter exercise he was so highly delighted, that he now and then started up, called in one of his secretaries, and knocked him down on the sofa, as a trial of his skill. Being under no restraint from a superior, he showed the true bent of his disposition, which, perhaps, would be, in better days, that of the Greeks in general ; for he was passionate, enthusiastic, childish, important, and a little ostentatious ; but polite, kind, and hospitable, and showing many evident traits of an amiable mind.

We were comfortably lodged, and handsomely entertained, by him. His house was large, and built on stone arches, the ascent to it being by a wooden staircase. It contained two wings, the right hand one of which was occupied by the females of the family, whom, by the way, we never once saw in ten days ; the left hand apartments consisted of the room of audience, and of a back chamber, where we slept. The gallery connecting the two wings had a dining-room in the middle ; the culinary concerns were carried on in a place to which the entrance was on the right of the dining-room ; and a door, on the left of that apartment, opened into a small closet, which might as well have been elsewhere. The room of audience was well fitted up with fine sofas, a rich carpet, and sash windows, a great rarity. In the dining-chamber were tables and chairs. We were told the house altogether was the best of any belonging to a Greek in the Morea.

The table kept by the young Londo was good, as far as a

Greek cook can prepare a dinner. The meat was stewed to rags. They cut up a hare into pieces to roast. I do not recollect that any of the flesh dishes were boiled*. The pastry was not good, being sweetened with honey, and not well baked; but the thick ewes' milk, mixed with rice and preserves, and garnished with almonds, was very palatable. The boutaraga, caviar, and macaroni powdered with scraped cheese, were good dishes. But the vegetables and fruits, some of which the luxuriant soil furnishes without culture, were indeed delicious, and in great variety. There were cabbages, cauliflowers, spinach, artichokes, lettuces, and cellery, in abundance; but the want of potatoes was supplied by a root tasting like sea-cale. The fruits, which were served up at the conclusion of the dinner, and before the cloth was removed, were oranges, olives, pears, quinces, pomegranates, citrons, medlars, and nuts, and lastly, the finest melons we ever tasted. These last fruits were, however, not grown in the Morea, but brought from Cefalonia, where alone, and in one spot only of the island, so our host told us, they come to so great a perfection. To transplant them has been attempted, but they lose their flavour in another soil. We were too late for the summer fruit in the Morea; but, in my opinion, the peaches, cherries, apricots, nectarines, and even the grapes, in the Levant, are inferior to those grown in the open air, or in hot-houses, in England; for the Greeks, either not knowing, or too lazy to engraft, have never attempted to improve the quality of their trees. The green fig is reckoned a great delicacy, but to me it seemed tasteless.

* Servius, in a note on line 710, of the first book of the *Æneid*, pretends, that Homer's heroes never ate boiled meat; but Lambert Bos cites Athenæus, lib. 197, to prove the contrary, and settles so important a point.

The dinner hour at Vostizza was four o'clock ; and the supper, formerly the most important meal, but now gradually, in compliance with the fashions of Christendom, supplied by coffee, was entirely dispensed with. In the morning, a cup of chocolate, with fried buttered bread in strips, was handed to each, and no breakfast-table was set.

The Codja-bashce rose about eight o'clock, and generally passed his morning, until twelve, in the concerns of his office, or with the females of his family, or at church : then he mounted his horse, and went into the country to hunt, or called on the Turks or Greeks of the town : after dinner he passed some time in business, or in his " gynæceum," with the ladies : the latter part of the evening was spent in our company, until eleven, when he retired to rest. During the whole day the pipe was seldom out of his mouth, not even when he was on horseback. Being one day informed of the approach of the English Consul from Patrass, he went out to meet him in form, with two of his longest pipes, and they both rode into the town smoking. This is considered the most ceremonious way of receiving a stranger of distinction.

We accompanied our host on one or two coursing parties, and were mounted on some good horses out of his stables. An English sportsman would not fail to laugh at the manner in which this diversion is taken in the Morea. We had with us four wire-haired greyhounds called *Lacouni* (*canes Laconici*), three mongrel pointers, and several curs: we beat about the bushes, making as much noise as possible, with a large party of men on foot and horseback, and the moment the hare was started, all the dogs set off thridding the bushes, of which there were large clumps on the plain, barking and running both by sight and smell. The hare was lost for

a moment, then found again, and after a short run killed. It was of a light grey colour. During our search for hares we put up many woodcocks, with which both the Morea and Roumelia abound in the winter season.

The country behind Vostizza, and to the south-east of it as far as the mountains, about six miles distant, is cultivated, and divided into corn grounds, but very stony, and interspersed with brushwood. Through the plain from a narrow opening in the hills, flows a river, broad but not deep, over which there is a bridge. If Vostizza be Ægium, this stream is the Selinus. Immediately to the east on the shore, there are large groves of olive-trees: on the west, below the cliff on which the town stands, is an extensive flat covered with brushwood, through which runs a small fordable stream, that may be either the Phœnix or Meganetes, mentioned by Pausanias. On the beach under the town, is the enormous plane tree that was notorious in the time of Chandler. One of its largest branches, as thick as the trunk of most trees, has lately fallen off, and many of the other boughs are supported by long beams of wood. Under the shade of it we saw a large vessel building, by which you may judge of the size of the tree itself.

The only remains of antiquity at the modern Ægium, are two fragments of brick wall sunk in the earth, partly of the kind called opus reticulatum, or net-work, and partly of the same sort as those specimens composing the ruins of Nicopolis. What has been considered as denoting the site of Vostizza to be exactly that of the city once celebrated as the place of assemblage for the states composing the Achaean League, is a fountain of clear water, bursting from many stone mouths near the plane tree; for Ægium is described as having been at a short distance from the shore, and supplied with good water from plentiful springs.

The Turks burned Ægium, says Dr. Chandler, by which I suppose he means, Vostizza, in 1536, and put the inhabitants to the sword, or carried them away into slavery.

Either from inclination or policy, the Greeks in the Morea are favoured to an unusual degree by their present Pasha, the son of Ali. Veli employs many of them about his chief concerns, and, what is strange if it be true, is said to profess much greater esteem and confidence for those of his Albanian guards who are Christians, than for the Turks amongst them. The Vizier, for he is a Pasha of three tails, is a lively young man; and besides the Albanian, Greek, and Turkish languages, speaks Italian, an accomplishment not possessed, I should think, by any other man of his high rank in Turkey. It is reported that he, as well as his father, are preparing, in case of the overthrow of the Ottoman power, to establish an independent sovereignty. But all such rumours appear to me highly absurd and unfounded; for to judge from the little I have seen, no Turk, if he contemplates the possibility of the retreat of the Sultans from Constantinople, would make up his mind to live, much less can hope to reign, surrounded by the Infidels. It is more probable that Veli, knowing how often the dominion of the Morea has been disputed, and how constantly the attention of the Christian powers has been, and is fixed upon his pashalik, is willing to court the favour of the great majority of his subjects.

The present population of the Morea has been laid down at four hundred thousand Greeks, fifteen thousand Turks, and four thousand Jews; in this computation the Mainotes are not included*.

* Poukeville, *Voyage en Morée*, p. 234.

Having mentioned the Mainotes, I cannot refrain from digressing a little, to speak of them more at length.

So early as the reign of Constantine Porphyro-genitus, the Eleuthero-Laconians (who had been enfranchised from the dominion of Sparta by a decree of the Roman Senate, a liberation which was afterwards particularly confirmed by Augustus*) had acquired the name of Mainotes. They continued the worship of the Pagan deities five hundred years after the rest of the Roman empire had embraced Christianity. The arrogant author of the philosophical dissertations on the Greeks, to give a baser origin to this people, has reckoned amongst their ancestors some of the foreign satellites of the monster Nabis, who were driven, says he, from the city of Sparta by the army of the Achæan League. But in the account of that transaction by Livy, I find no positive mention of any settlement made by the auxiliaries of that tyrant in the twenty-three maritime cities of Laconia, which were separated from the dominions of Sparta. Mr. Gibbon, with more reason, as it appears, inclines to rank some of the much-injured Helots amongst their progenitors; and, if it were a point worthy the trouble of establishing, the Spartans themselves might, I think, be proved to have transfused some of their blood into the veins of the people of the neighbouring towns. When Sparta (for it was then called by that name) was given up by Thomas Palæologus to Mahomet the Great, those

* Mr. De Pauw accuses Pausanias of "*excessive ignorance*" of history, in referring the establishment of the Eleuthero-Laconians to Augustus; yet it remains a doubt, whether the Laconian states were known by that name until the decree of that emperor. Mr. De Pauw's date is 559, U. C.; but the peace between the Romans and Nabis was in 557, and the death of that tyrant in 560, U. C. Liv. lib. xxxiv. cap. 39, et lib. xxxv. cap. 35.

Greeks who were unwilling to live under the Turks, may be supposed to have fled into the recesses of Taygetus, and to have settled amongst the Mainotes.

But although the true descendants of the ancient Greeks, if any where to be found, should perhaps be sought for amongst the mountains of Maina; yet the character of this people has at all times been such as would reflect no honour upon a noble origin, but would make one suppose them sprung from the Slavonian robbers who overran the Peloponesus in the eighth century. Cape Tænarus, now called Matapan, the most southern extremity of the Morea, has at all times been inhabited by savages, who have not only infested the neighbouring seas with their piracies, but have massacred those that have been shipwrecked on their rocks.

A place on the coast, called now Vitulo, a corruption of the name of Ætylos, an ancient town on the shore of the Messenian gulf, has sometimes been considered the capital of Maina; but Marathonisi, a town on the coast to the east of Taygetus, containing five hundred inhabitants, is now the residence of the chief of the Mainotes; and Vathi, a strong post, with a castle, the property of one of those petty princes who dispute the possession of the country, is considered as next in importance to the principal town. The inhabitants of no other district, however, have ever been reckoned so cruel and ferocious, as those of the hilly strip of land denominated by the Venetians Bassa Maina. The well known character of these ruffians has gained for them in the Morea the name of Cacovougnis, or the villains of the mountains. They live in huts, most part of them near a Turkish fortress called Turcogli Olimionas, and a perpetual exposure to

the sun, and the sea air, has given them a tawny complexion, which adds to the ferocity of their whole appearance.

It appears, that about the year 1474, a person styling himself Nicephorus Commenes, son of David, the last Greek Emperor of Trebizond, retreated to Vitulo, and had the address to persuade the Bishop, who was in a manner the head of the Mainotes, to acknowledge him as an Imperial Prince, and confirm him under the title of Proto-geronte, or First Senior, as the chief of the nation. The Proto-gerontes, and their subject robbers, continued independent of the Sultans, who paid no attention to an obscure and barren corner of their vast empire, until the complaints of the inhabitants of Modon and Coron, and of those of Misitra, the town not far from Palæo-chori, the site of Sparta, and the seat of a Sangiac, awakened the indignation of the Turks. In 1676, the Mainotes of the north were attacked, but they would not stand the contest; for they fled, to the number of four thousand, into six large ships, four of which were lost near Corfu. The remaining two arrived at Corsica, where the fugitives settled; and some of their descendants have been recognised by late travellers in that island.

Amongst the fugitives to Corsica, was a family distinguished by the appellation of Kalomeros; and to the exact identity of this name with that of the French Emperor, may be attributed, in great part, an opinion current in the Morea, that Buonaparte is by descent a genuine Mainote. And, indeed, when the views of the French unceasingly directed towards the shores of the Mediterranean induced them in 1797 to inquire into the actual state of Maina, this conqueror, who was then preparing to sail for Egypt, addressed an epistle to the *Citizen*, chief of the Mainotes.

in which he declares the bearers of his letter (most probably some Corsican fellow-countrymen) to be of Spartan origin*.

After the flight of the northern Mainotes, amongst whom were the Proto-geronte, one Stephanopoulo, and the Bishop of Vitulo, with many of his chief monks, the Cacovougnis, fled to the summit of their steepest rocks; and on being deserted by their chiefs, abolished the office of Proto-geronte, and created four Captains of the whole nation, whose heirs, whether male or female, were to succeed to their power. No farther back than the year 1765, a widow of one of these Captains, by name Demetria, spread consternation amongst the Turks of Misitra, and stopped the communication between that town and Modon. The Mainotes were still independent of the Porte; they lived entirely on plunder; and their caloyers, or monks, issued from their cells to partake of their booty, and encourage their rapacity; so that no ship, under whatever flag, approached the rocks of Matapan without caution, and providing

* Le Général en Chef de l'Armée d'Italie au Chef du Peuple libre de Maina.

CITOYEN,

J'ai reçu, de Trieste, une lettre, dans laquelle vous me témoignez le désir d'être utile à la République, en accueillant ses batimens sur vos ports. Je me plais à croire que vous tiendrez parole avec cette fidélité qui convient à un descendant des Spartiates. La République Française ne sera point ingrate à l'égard de votre nation; quant à moi, je recevrai volontiers quiconque viendra me trouver de votre part, et ne souhaite rien tant que de voir régner une bonne harmonie entre deux nations également amies de la liberté.

Je vous recommande les porteurs de cette lettre, qui sont aussi des descendants des Spartiates. S'ils n'ont pas fait jusqu'ici de grandes choses, c'est qu'ils ne sont point trouvés sur un grand théâtre.

Salut et fraternité,

BUONAPARTE.

against an attack. At the same time, they addressed the Christian Powers to support them in their opposition to the Porte, until the Russians invaded the Morca in 1770, and carried the town of Misitra, in which the Mainotes committed the most frightful excesses, but afterwards deserted their allies, and caused, (such is the accusation of the Russians), the failure of the whole expedition. However, a body of them, amounting to two thousand men, advanced to the relief of Patrass, but were repulsed with great slaughter.

Since that period, the Mainotes have sometimes been considered in subjection to the Pasha of Tripolizza, and at others as independent.

Their mutual dissensions have favoured the views of the Turks; and the ambition of a youth named Constantine, a little before our arrival at Athens, introduced some soldiers of Veli Pasha's into the fortresses of a part of Maina, to the prejudice not only of the former governor of the country, but that of the liberties of the whole people. The other chief, however, still maintained himself in the fastnesses near Bathi, and carried on a predatory war with his rival. Torn by these intestine feuds, and yet willing to retain the shadow of independence, the Mainotes would willingly make every sacrifice in behalf of any foreign power, and, notwithstanding former failures, have made an application to their new neighbours the English.

A deputation from them had arrived at Zante, and offered their service to our garrison. But, at the same time, they seem desirous of submitting, and of being considered subjects of the Porte. A Scotch gentleman, whom we encountered several times on our Tour, and in whose entertaining work the letter of Napoleon has been

already given to the public, assured me that he had seen a formal proposal, drawn up by the Bishop of Vitulo, in which, upon certain conditions, the Mainotes offered to become tributary to the Sultans. The principal article was, that they should be the collectors of their own tribute, without the interference of any Turk. My informant added, that the memorial was written in a style truly laconic; but of this, I hope we shall have an opportunity of judging for ourselves, as I am promised a copy of this document. I own myself incredulous, though desirous enough to see, in what terms the descendants of the Spartans have made a voluntary surrender of their liberties.

Whilst, however, their fate is undecided, they suffer all the distresses of anarchy, and their barbarism is increased by their misfortunes. No Turk, without a large armed force, can travel in their country; but a Frank, by putting himself under the protection of their Bishop, or one of their Captains, may be secure against all danger.

They still render the navigation of the Archipelago in small boats, very perilous, and they make occasional descents on the main land. My fellow-traveller, on a visit to Cape Colonna, ran a chance of being surprised by a party of twenty-five of these pirates, who were lying hid in the caves below the cliff on which are the ruins of the temple of Minerva, but would not venture upon the attack of twelve men well armed with guns, pistols, and sabres. Two Greeks, who were their prisoners at the time, and were afterwards liberated, gave an account of their deliberations on the subject.

Such are the people who must in some future time co-operate in, what has been called, the deliverance of Greece. Without

believing that they are man-eaters, a story propagated by the terror of the Turks, you will not think them very honourable allies ; and an inspection of the rocky spot which they occupy in the map of the Morea, will give you no exalted notion of the importance of their aid.

LETTER XVIII.

Distance from Patrass to Corinth—and to Athens—Passage across the Gulf of Lepanto to the Scale of Salona—Circumference of the Corinthian Gulf—Galaxcithi—Evanthe—Route to Crisso—Salona—View at the Foot of Mount Liakura, or Parnassus—Crisso—Site of Crissa, or Cirrha—Visit to the Ruins of Delphi—Castalia—Treasures of Delphi—The Brazen Serpent at Constantinople—Parnassus—Ascent to the Summit of it impracticable—Route from Crisso towards Livadia—to Arakova on Parnassus—The Road Schiste—The Three Roads—Distomo—Asprospitia—Monastery of St. Luke of Stiris—Arrival at Livadia.

THE point to which we wished to direct our steps was Athens, and had it not been our desire to visit Delphi, we should probably have travelled to that place by the shortest road, keeping on the south side of the gulf, and passing across the isthmus directly into Attica. From Patrass to Corinth is reckoned a journey of twenty-four hours. The road from Vostizza passes through Vasilico, which travellers have decided to be on the site of Sicyon, about three hours from Corinth. From the isthmus to Megara is nine hours journey, and from Megara to Athens eight,

When Pococke travelled, there were two ruins, apparently antique, between Vostizza and Vasilico; the first, a piece of thick wall on the shore, belonging, it is supposed, to the ancient Helice, forty stadia from Ægium, and twelve from the beach; the second, about six miles from Vasilico, and more than a mile from the water on a hill, corresponding with Ægira.—The whole coast had been anciently shaken by violent earthquakes, a calamity to which other parts of the Morea are now also much subject: Coron has, on that account, been of late years not a safe residence, and has therefore been partially deserted.

A strong easterly wind, by no means unusual at the end of autumn, setting out of the gulf of Lepanto, detained us until the 14th of December at Vostizza, when we got into a strong Cefalonian boat, with fourteen men and ten oars, and made the best of our way towards the scale of Salona, at the head of the deep bay called the Crissæan gulf, though that name has been indiscriminately applied to the whole sea from the isthmus to the mouths of the Evenus.

It was half past ten in the morning before we left the shore. We crossed the gulf in an oblique direction to the north-east, and came, by half past one, to the beach of a small bay in Roumelia, where we anchored, and the boatmen cooked their dinner. We saw a small village on a hill to our left, called Petrinizza; and between us and the village, a mile distant, was a han on a road leading from Lepanto to the town of Salona. In an hour we were off again, and the wind failing us, our sailors rowed close under the land, keeping towards the east, and tracing all the creeks and windings of an uneven shore. In many places we skirted the feet of high rocky cliffs, the resort of innumerable

flocks of wild pigeons, that were frightened from their crevices by the dashing of the oars, and whistled round us in every direction. In three hours we saw another village in the hills, which had a wild and barren appearance. We continued along a bold rocky shore until seven o'clock when we pulled into a small creek, where there was a fishing-boat, and near which some men were sitting round a blazing furze fire, under a hanging rock. Here also our boatmen refreshed themselves for an hour. They then began rowing stoutly, and in a short time doubled a headland, which was the last before we entered into the gulf of Salona. We afterwards went northwards; and skirting the land, at first came to a small bay with a good harbour, which we crossed, and soon passed by the town and port of a place called Galaxcithi, where some little trade is carried on, and where we saw the masts of some large trebaculos swaying about in the moonlight. After this we went near a little island, also in the mouth of a deep bay, on which there was a church, and we arrived at twelve o'clock at night at the scale of Salona, where there was only a custom-house and a very miserable han, already so occupied that there was only one room for our lodging, and that nearly full of onions.

From our entrance into the gulf of Salona to our arrival at the scale, which is nearly at its extremity, we had been four hours constantly rowing fast, and this must give a length of sixteen miles to the bay, which is also very broad at its mouth, and swells into the land in several other small harbours on both sides*.

The unskilfulness of ancient mariners regarded a lake of little more than two hundred and fifty-six miles in circuit, as a formi-

* "The Corinthian gulf has a perimeter, from the Evenus to Araxus (Cape Papa) of 2240 stadia."—Strab. lib. oct. p. 336, edit. Casaub.

dable expanse of waters, and the Corinthian gulf was sometimes called the Crissæan, sometimes the Alecyonian sea.

Galaxcithi, three hours and a half from Salona, has been said to be on the site of Evanthe, a town inhabited by the Locri Ozolæ.

Evanthe sent out a colony to the promontory called Zephyrion, in Italy, a little after the foundation of Syracuse and Crotona*; it must, therefore, have been a city of some size. There are no remains at Galaxcithi, and perhaps the conjecture has no probable grounds of support.

The morning after our arrival we sent for horses from Crisso, a town not more than an hour's ride from the lan.

On leaving the scale we went northwards, and proceeded a short way over a rising ground, called by Chandler a root of Cirphis, the mountains whose ranges formed the eastern side of the gulf of Crissa. We then came suddenly in view of a very romantic prospect. Before us was a well-cultivated corn plain, bounded by Parnassus, and interspersed with extensive groves of olives; to the right was an opening in the mountains, appearing at first like a chasm, but enlarging by degrees into a valley, through which there ran a small river. Advancing towards Crisso, we had a prospect to the left between the hills of the large town of Salona, the capital of the district, containing two thousand Turkish families. It stands on the brow of a hill, as did Amphissa, the ancient town on whose site it is said to be placed†. The last part of our ride was up an ascent, for Crisso is placed on the roots of Parnassus.

* Strab. lib. vi.; called by Pausanias *Æanthéa*; "near to Naupactus."—Phoc. p. 686.

† *Κατα καὶ πόλις μακρὰ τῆς ἑλῆς*.—Paus. Phoc. p. 686. It was one hundred and twenty stadia from Delphi, a little more than thirteen miles and a half,

· Crisso is a poor Greek town of three hundred houses ; but it is the seat of a Bishop, to whom we had a letter from the Consul-General at Patrass. We did not, however, lodge at his house, but at that of two very decent women who gave us a comfortable apartment.

The modern town does not stand on the site of Crissa, afterwards called Cirrha, which was the maritime town of Delphi, and sixty stadia from that place ; a distance sufficient to allow of a memorable war between the two cities*. Crissa, after a stout resistance to the Amphictyons, was taken possession of for Apollo, by poisoning the waters of the Plistus, the river we had seen in the valley which supplied the town†. There are, however, no remains to be seen lower down than where the town now stands, except a few pieces of wall. Neither the temple of Apollo, nor the Pythian hippodrome, have left a vestige on the plain where they stood.

The writings of well known travellers, and the accurate though popular work of the Abbè Barthelemy, have rendered even the unlearned reader so familiar with the ancient wonders of Delphi, that I shall do little more in this place than minutely note what I myself saw, when conducted to the spot by a Greek guide from Crisso, on the 16th of December, 1809.

On that day we ascended the mountain on horseback, up a very

* Strabo speaks of Cirrha and Crissa as two cities, and says, Cirrha was eighty stadia from Delphi, p. 418 ; but this was a more ancient town, destroyed by the Crissicans, and not the Cirrha, which Pausanias says was sixty stadia from Delphi, so that Casaubon need not have tried to reconcile the two measurements, by saying, that the eighty stadia alludes to the channel or course of the Plistus from Delphi ; besides, the Plistus is only a torrent, and does not flow from Delphi.

† Pausan. Phocic. p. 684.

steep craggy path to the north-east, which obliged us often to dismount. We could see for some time nothing but the bare rocks which we were climbing, for the summits of Parnassus were totally invisible, and cannot at any time be seen by those who are in that position.

After scaling the side of the hill about an hour, we saw the first remarkable object, which is a large piece of rock on the left, a little above the path. This apparently has been loosened from its base, and contains an excavation, the shape of which being a segment less than a semicircle, like the mouth of an oven, wide but not deep, with a sort of trough below, denotes it to have been a sarcophagus.

Ascending a little higher, we saw another immense stone, or rather mass of stones, also on the left, and of a regular shape, that seems to threaten the passengers below.

Behind one of these fragments, the murderers employed by Perseus to kill Eumenes may have lain concealed before they endeavoured to overwhelm him with pieces of rock from above. The description given by Livy* answers most exactly to the spot, and might have been written yesterday by an actual observer of the positions.

Just beyond the fragments, we climbed up, to the left of the path, to a small cave facing the west on the side of the hill. In this there are three sepulchral cavities, one on each side, and over the oblong troughs where the body was placed, is a niche which may have contained the lamp, or the small ornaments occasion-

* Adscendentibus ad templum a Cirrhâ priusquam perveniretur ad frequentia ædificiis loca, maceria erat. ab læva semitæ paulum extans a fundamento, quâ singuli transirent, &c. &c.—Liv. lib. xlii. cap. 15.

ally deposited in the ancient tombs, and discovered in some of them at this day. Some of these troughs are of a length and depth sufficient to make one suppose that the bodies they contained were not burnt, but buried entire, or at least that their bones were disposed into their proper places, and not thrown together into the urn, according to the common practice.

Proceeding up the steep, we soon had a view of Castri, a small mud town situated a little to the east of a circular hollow in the mountain, round which are the rows of seats belonging to the Pythian stadium. But the casing of Pentelic marble, with which this building was adorned by Atticus Herodes, has disappeared, and the original structure of Parnassian stone, alone remaining, has the look of fragments of old walls rising a little above the earth, in a regular order one over the other. Each stone is about two feet and a half in length, and of a proportionate breadth and thickness*. Above Castri is a perpendicular rugged rock; below it is a steep descent into the vale of the Plistus, on the other side of which are the stony, flat, hills of Mount Cirphis.

After the first sight of the town we turned to the left hand, towards the stadium, and were led to a cave immediately on the left of the path. In this cave there are, as in the one described, three sepulchral cavities, but the arches and niches are larger, and more carefully worked, and the troughs are longer than in the

* Any attempt to ascertain the true length of the Pythian stadium, fixed by Mr. D'Anville at four-fifths of the Olympic stadium, or five hundred Greek feet, from the remains at Castri, would, such is the state of the ruin, most probably be unsuccessful. M. Spon has observed, that it is shorter than that whose circuit is now seen at Athens. It appeared to me considerably so; but the form is also very different, being semicircular, whereas, that of Herodes at Athens is in the shape of an oblong horse-shoe.

other tombs. To the entrance of it, which is an arch high enough for a man to stand upright, the Castriotes have adjusted a wooden door, so that it serves as a dark stable for two or three of their cattle. Over the tomb, opposite the entrance, is the carved head of some animal, so much battered as to be scarcely distinguishable, but looking like that of a horse, a well-known sepulchral ornament. Above the tombs, on the side, are oval niches. Our conductor informed us whilst in this cave, that we were standing over a pit which he had seen open, and knew to be fifty (πενχίς) cubits in depth. That this was the cavern whence the Pythia received the divine subterranean vapour, does not seem at all probable; yet the people of the country have fixed upon it for the sacred spot; "for," said our guide, "here the Greeks worshipped, in the days of Apollo, the king of these places."

A few paces below the cave, to the right, is a small church dedicated to St. Elias, built on a spot of flat ground, where is a large piece of ancient wall, with fragments of carved marble, and the capitals of two columns inserted in the work.

On the left of the cave, beside the path, there is a seat cut out of the rock, for the refreshment of those who have climbed the mountain.

Going into the town of Castri, which is about two hundred paces beyond the cave, but a little lower down in the hill, we were taken to a hovel, in a dark room of which, half underground, there was a piece of rough wall several feet in length and height, entirely covered with ancient inscriptions, quite undecipherable in the situation where they are placed. They register, says Chandler, the purchase of slaves, who had entrusted the

price of their freedom to the God, containing the contract between Apollo and their owners, witnessed by his priests, and by some of the Archons.

We next scrambled up the dirty lanes of the town to two stone fountains, one above the other, of modern workmanship, and of the same sort as are to be met with all over Greece. They are both supplied, as a woman of Castri told us, by the same stream—the once prophetic spring Cassotis.

From this spot we descended gradually towards the east, and leaving the town, in half a quarter of a mile found ourselves in a position, where, turning suddenly to our left, we saw an immense cleft rending the mountain from the clouds down to our feet. Down the crags of this chasm, a stream trickled into a stone basin sunk in the earth just above the path, overflowing whose margin, and enlarged in its progress by other rills, it was seen falling over the rocks into the valley beneath. We clambered up into the chasm by means of some grooves cut in the rock, but almost worn away by the dripping water, as far as it was possible to go; and here, if any where, being literally “dipped in dew of Castaly;” for this was the immortal rill, and we were sprinkled with the spray of the falling stream; here we should have felt the poetic inspiration.

But the evening began to close in upon us, and we descended into the path we had left.

Just above the basin, in a niche of the rock, is a small hut, which is called the church of St. John, and which contains part of the shaft of a large fluted column of marble, with a marble slab.


In a little grove of olive trees, on a green plot a few yards

below the basin, is a monastery of the Panagia, or Holy Virgin, which we entered. Here are two marble columns, about eleven feet in height, supporting the shed of a pent that stretches out from the chapel. On one of them was scratched ABERDEEN, 1803; and in another place, more carefully cut, H. P. HOPE, 1799. There is something agreeable in meeting even with the name of a countryman; and I know not if we did not contemplate these inscriptions with greater pleasure, than that which is seen on a piece of marble wedged into a low wall close to the columns, and which is still very visible, though the letters are wearing fast away. This is a fac-simile of it: the letters are rudely cut.

ΑΙΑ ΚΙ ΔΑ
ΧΑΙΡΕ

The simple sepulchral inscription so common amongst the Greeks, “Æacides—Farewell.”

Under the window of the sacristy, behind the altar, there is also the following inscription in good preservation, and nicely carved:

ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ 
 ΠΡΩΤΟΥ ΘΕΣΣΑ
 ΛΟΣ ΑΡΕΙΣΑΙΟΣ
 ΓΙΕΛΑΣΣΙΩΤΗΣ
 ΗΤΩΝ
 ΙΗ
 ΗΡΩΣ

You will pardon me for troubling you with this latter unimportant inscription, which may have been often noticed before, though Chandler, who has got the former, says nothing of it in his Travels.

Beyond the monastery, and from the path approaching Castri from the east, are to be seen some sarcophagi, and niches in the mountain similar to those on the other side of the town.

Perhaps it may increase the interest in perusing this account of the present appearance of Delphi to believe, that the basin below the church of St. John is that in which the Pythia bathed, before she ascended the sacred tripod; that the cleft in Parnassus is the one which divided the two summits of the poetic hill; and that the monastery stands on the site of the Delphic gymnasium.

Dr. Chandler's conjectures as to the first point, were somewhat confirmed by washing his hands in the cool water of Castalia, when he was seized with a shivering fit. We drank deep of the spring, but (I can answer for myself) *without feeling sensible of any extraordinary effect.*

Leaving the monastery to return to Crisso, we did not pass a second time through Castri, but took a path a little below the town, when we came, in not more than a hundred yards, to a long piece of ancient wall, built of the same rough stones as the other before-mentioned, and entirely covered with inscriptions, some of which have been copied by the well-known Mr. Wood. The letters are still very visible; but there are so many breaks in the stones, which are honeycombed with age, that the whole inscription, had we had time to copy it, would be as difficult to be understood as the meaning of the EI that is the subject of Plutarch's treatise.

Near this wall was the shaft of a marble fluted column about three feet in length, lying neglected on the ground, the last we saw of the few remains of those masterpieces of art, which rendered Delphi the delight, not only of all the Greeks, but of the other most polished nations of antiquity, and a residence worthy of the god to whom it was consecrated.

On the whole, you would I think be disappointed with the situation of this place, which is so hidden in a nook, or a sort of natural amphitheatre about a mile up the mountain, as to afford a prospect neither of the depth of the precipice below, nor of the height of the rocks above. You would be very much at a loss to guess where a town of nearly two miles in circumference could have been placed, for there are not more than two small spots of level ground, any where within the circuit of the present remains. You would look in vain for the "woods that wave," as, except in the little olive-grove surrounding the monastery, there is not a single tree on the rocks either above or below. The laurel has been again transplanted to her native Tempe. If, however, forgetting the poetic raptures you expected to feel in the bosom of Parnassus, you should consider only the object which the Greeks must have had in view in offering their wealth, and the richest productions of art, at this favourite shrine, you would at once allow, that no place could have been selected better adapted for the security of their united treasures, than the steep of Castri, which to an open enemy must be perfectly inaccessible. Indeed, though Delphi was often plundered, yet when a serious resistance was made, the Gauls under Brennus, as well as the Persians of Xerxes' army, were repulsed, and did not dare to advance into the fastnesses of the mountains. The same object of security induced the Greeks to fix their other magnificent

temple of Apollo on the island of Delos, which modern travellers have described as one mass of rugged rocks.

Before it was pillaged by the Phocians, Delphi was reported to contain more wealth than all the rest of Greece put together, and these sacrilegious invaders carried off gold and silver, amounting to ten thousand talents, equal to 1,937,500 pounds sterling, yet there were so many materials left for the plunder of more powerful robbers, that neither Sylla, nor Nero, who at once transported five hundred brazen images to Rome, could exhaust the sacred treasury. A very large collection of some of the finest specimens of ancient painting and sculpture, together with the sacred temples themselves, remained to excite the admiration of Pausanias, who must have visited Delphi nearly two hundred years after the oracle had fallen into contempt, for the power of Apollo did not long survive the Grecian confederacy to which it had owed its importance; and though the Pythia was consulted by Nero, and was once heard to speak in the days of Julian, yet, her responses were disregarded long before the age of Cicero*, and had begun to yield to the Sybilline books, the aruspices, and the observers of omens and astrological signs, brought into repute by the prevalence of the Roman superstition. It was not, we may suppose, the sanctity of the place which preserved so many monuments of ancient art from the rapacity of the first Latin conquerors of Greece, but rather an ignorance of their true value in those warriors. I need only allude to the common anecdote of Mummius, as related by Velleius Paterculus†. The golden, the silver, and even the brazen ornaments of the temple, were stripped by suc-

* Cur isto modo jam oracula Delphis non eduntur, non modo nostra ætate, sed jam diu, ut nihil possit esse contemptius?—Cic. De Div. lib. 2. cap. 57.

† Hist. lib. i. cap. 13.

cessive plunderers, but the marbles were spared, and the greater part of them may be believed to have been crushed under the falling fragments of the mountain, or sunk into the ground; for I believe there is not in the collection of any antiquary, a statue or a bust, that can be proved to have once stood in the Temple of Delphi.

One only of the masterpieces which adorned this sacred place can be said now to remain. But that is by far the most ancient and the best authenticated Grecian relic at present in existence. The triple-twisted serpentine column of brass, whose three heads supported the tripod dedicated by the Greeks, after the battle of Plataea, to Apollo, is still to be seen, though mutilated, in the spot to which it was conveyed from Delphi by Constantine, to adorn the hippodrome of his new capital. The column, as much of it as is seen above ground, is now about seven feet in height, and of a proportionate thickness. It is hollow, and the cavity has by the Turks been filled up with stones.

Parnassus is not so much a single mountain, as a vast range of hills, which was once the western boundary of Phocis, and the line of separation of the Locri Ozolæ and the Locri Opuntii and Epicnemidii, and is now the limit between the district of Salona and that of Livadia. The two tops have a sort of poetical existence which one would not be inclined to dispute; but the summits of the crags separated by the clasm of Castalia, must have been those dedicated to Apollo and the Muses, and to Bacchus, as the mountain itself is not notorious for this singularity.

To go from Castri to the tops of Liakura, there is a rocky path, beginning a little to the east of the ruined stadium. For the first hour the ascent leads up a water-course; there is then a plain to the right, in the direction of the summits of the Castalian precipices. These and some other flat spots were cultivated in the twelfth century* by some Jews, who, to the number of two hundred, lived in Crisso, and gave the name of Jerusalem to a village on the mountain. The path continues to ascend a hill covered with pines; then passes through a plain, four or five miles in compass, to the foot of a craggy peak, where there is a strong bubbling spring called Drosonigo, flowing into a lake a quarter of a mile to the south-east. Higher than this no traveller has ventured to go; the peak is covered with perpetual snows; and Wheler, who went to the spots mentioned, thought the extreme summits, called Lycoréa formerly, as high as Mount Cenis. They were anciently reckoned sixty stadia above Delphi, by the nearest path, and that could be ascended on horseback most part of the way, as far, at least, as the great Corycian cave†, which evaded the search of the famous English traveller, and has not, that I know of, been ever discovered. The summits of Parnassus, says Pausanias, are above the clouds, and upon them the Thyades perform their mad orgies to Bacchus and Apollo‡.

* Voyage of Benjamin of Tudela, translated into French.

† To this cave the Delphians retreated when the barbarians invaded Phocis, and were so completely concealed, that, *as safe as the Corycian Cave*, became afterwards proverbial in Greece; and we see it so used in the fragment of Cebes.

‡ Phoc. p. 672, edit. Xylander.

WAVES OF LIFE IN THE SUBSIDIARY OF THE WILDA



At present, they are the summer retreats of the Albanian robbers, who issue thence upon the plains of Thessaly and Ætolia, but are seldom known to lay waste the country to the east, now called the district of Livadia. Their fires are seen by the peasants in the villages below, and are not extinguished until the snow has whitened the rocks above the ruins of Castri.

The day after our visit to Delphi, we set out from Crisso, in order to proceed towards Livadia.

The road led at first down into the valley, and then through some gardens belonging to the Greeks of Crisso, in a south-east direction, and by the side of the small stream of the Plistus. We continued for an hour in this very narrow valley, with the precipices of rocks, under Castri, hanging over our heads, and now appearing very stupendous.

Certainly it is from the valley of the Plistus that the appearance of Parnassus is the most striking; and the ancient Greek traveller, who believed it the favoured mansion of his gods, and the centre of the universe, and from this position saw the rocky summit rising in a blaze of light into the clouds, must have been agitated by a mingled commotion of piety and fear*.

* Τὴν λάμπουσα πέτρα πῦρ
Διόρυφον σίλας, ὑπὲρ ἄκρων
Βαχχείων, Διονύσου
Οἶνα θ', ἃ καθαμίριον γάζει
Τὸν πολύκαρπον
Οὐρανὸς εἶσα βότρυ
Ζεῦθι τ' ἄντρα δράκοντος,
Οὔρειαι τι σκοπιὰ θεῶν,
καὶ τ. λ. καὶ τ. λ.

Εὐριπ. Φων. Χο. Ι.

Several caverns are to be seen in the sides of the rock, some of which may be supposed artificial.

Leaving the valley, we began to ascend the side of the mountain, in order to get to the village where we were to sleep. In a little time, we had a view of Castri, to our left, and rather behind us. We crossed the stream of the Plistus, which, in its passage down the hill, turns two large overshot mills. From the first mill, close to which we passed, the torrent was conveyed down several small precipices in wicker troughs, and then over an aqueduct of two arches, connecting two hillocks. The side of the mountain is here covered with vineyards, and the valley with groves of olive trees.

We continued in a slanting direction, ascending a very rugged steep, till we came to where a path from the northwards, that leads from the summits of the mountain, crosses the road, or rather forms an acute angle with it. By this path Wheeler descended, after his ineffective search for the Corycian cave. We were now much higher than the position of Castri; the rocks of Mount Cirphis appeared like a plain on a level with us; yet we still ascended, until we arrived, in four hours from Crisso, at Arakova, which is the most considerable town on Liakura. It is built of stone, and contains, perhaps, three hundred and fifty houses, of the poorer sort, inhabited by Greeks.

We were here lodged with females, who were very attentive and obliging, and did not seem so terrified at our Albanians as had been the people of the other villages. They danced at our request, and their performance was succeeded by that of our men in the usual style. The music was a large drum, which, in our cottage, was louder than thunder, and was beaten without any

regard to time, or the motions of the dancers. A squeaking pipe was also added to the entertainment; it sounded like the most unharmonious bagpipe, and the person who played on it, either from the quantity of wind required for the instrument, or for effect, made the most frightful contortions.

After the dancing, the good folks of the cottage sent for a boy out of the village, who had been to Malta, which place, it was evident from their manner, that they all looked upon as the Ultima Thule. They showed him to us as a sort of wonder, and appeared to question him, if we were like the kind of men he had seen on that island.

On the morning of the 18th of December, we left Arakova, and kept, for half an hour, in an easterly direction, along the side of the hill, a little on a descent. Looking before us to the south-east, as far as we could see, we beheld what appeared the sea, but which afterwards turned out to be the Theban plains, and the lake Copais, covered with a white mist. We began to descend, and observing the place we had left, Arakova seemed just under the clouds, amidst the snowy crags of the mountain, which was here and there spotted with dark forests of pine.

We were now in a green valley, where were large flocks of sheep, and goats, but no appearance even of a single hut. The road still answered to the description of that called Schiste, or the Rent, for we were, as it might be, inclosed by Parnassus on our left, and the stone hills of Cirphis on our right hand.

The geographer Meletius talks of some large sepulchral stones, denoting the spot where Iaius and his attendant were buried by Damisistratus, King of the Platæans. These, if they are still to be seen, escaped my observation.

We travelled in this vale, eastward for two hours, and southward for another hour, until we came to where three roads meet; one, from the north-east,*from Caperna, three hours distance, on the site of Chæronéa and passing by a village still called Thavlea, nearly the modern pronunciation of Daulis; another, from the south, from Livadia; and the third, on which we were travelling, from Castri. Would you not have felt inclined to exclaim, "Here Laius was killed by Œdipus; here are the three roads, and the narrow pass between the triple path?"

..... τρεῖς κίλευθοι.....
 καὶ στενωπὸς ἐν τριπλαῖς ὁδοῖς*.

After this spot, which, wherever the fatal accident happened, the poets certainly had in their eye, the valley widens to the south-westward, and the hills which inclose it to the right become low and flat. We continued, for a short time, by the side of a brook, which flows from the same direction as the path from Caperna and Daulis. We crossed the brook, and struck into a path to the east, leaving our former road, which we saw stretching over the plain to the south. In an hour from where we turned off, our guides informed us, that this road arrives at a town called Distomo, which Meletius has placed on the site of Ambryssus, a conjecture confirmed by the observation of travellers†.

* Oἶ. Τυρ. 1410.

† Chandler discovered the name of the city, more properly called Ambrosus, upon some inscriptions, which are thus given in Meletius. On one stone:

From Distomo to Asprospitia, so named from some white buildings once standing on the spot, is two hours to the south. Asprospitia is on a bay of the gulf of Lepanto, and has been laid down on the position of the ancient Anticyra, though that city may be put rather farther, on a spot now called Sidero Kauchió. The port is frequented by small corn vessels.

An hour and a half to the eastward of Distomo, two hours from the sea, and four from Livadia, is the monastery of St. Luke the Less, a summary of whose pious, unprofitable life, is given in Dr. Chandler's 'Travels. He flourished in the tenth century; he is called, "the glory of Hellas," and is worshipped on the 7th of February*. I regret that we did not visit the monastery, which

Αυτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μαυρώλιον Κομνην Αντωνῆινον Αυτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος λ'. Σεπτیمیε Σεουήρη Περτίνακος Σεβασῦ Α'ραβικῦ Α'διαβηνικο-
παρδικῦ, μεγίςου ἀδελφῶιν, ἡ Πολις Α'μβρωσσίων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς
ἀντέρωτος τοῦ ἀντέρωτος καὶ ἐντυχεστάτου τοζηθου. ἐπιμεληθῆν. ρος
τοῦ ἀρχοντος ψ β'.

On another stone:

Αυτοκράτορα Νέρωνα Τραϊανον Καισαρα Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικόν, ἡ
Βουλὴ καὶ ὁ Δῆμος Α'μβρωσσίων. . . .

And on other stones also:

Α'λκαῖος Αμβρωσσίων Α'μφίδαμος Σάοαπι, Γ'τι, Α'νουβι, ἀριστάδας. . . .
πιριαον ,, Καλλισγράφτα ,, Απόλλωνι ,, νικίας. . ,, Ε'παφρόδειτον
χαῖρι.

* Chandler, cap. lxiii.

was built with the ruins of the ancient town of Stiris*, and contains a church, once the pride of Greece, and even now splendid in decay. It was built by the Emperor Romanus, son of Constantine Porphyro-genitus.

After quitting the road to Distomo, we again got into a rocky path, between hills, with some intervals of wild, uneven moorlands. In this country we continued three hours, when we saw some hedge inclosures, and gardens, on our left; and passing through a lane, over a path, raised, in many places, on stone causeways, we arrived, in another hour, at the end of our day's journey, at Livadia†.

* Part of an inscription, alluding to a fountain under the town of Stiris, is on one of the stones of which the monastery is built :

Θεοῖς, Σεβαστοῖς, καὶ τῇ Πόλει, καὶ τὸ Ἐποικίον Ξενοκράτης καὶ Εὐμαρίδας
ἀνέθηκεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, καὶ γῆν τοῦ ὕδατος εἰσαγωγὴν.

The ruins of Stiris are still called Stiri, or Palæo-Stiri.

† From Chæronæa to Panopæa, a town situated in a pass in the mountains (near a village now called Agios Blasios), and protecting Phocis, on this side, from the incursions of the Bœotians, was twenty stadia, or two Roman miles and a half; from Panopæa to Daulis, seven stadin*. Amongst the remarkable objects to be seen on this road, was the sand-like clay, out of which man was made by Prometheus; it was in large masses, near a rivulet, perhaps that which we crossed in this day's route. Also, the grave of nine acres of the giant Tityus, whose magnitude Pausanias thinks worthy of belief, because Cleon, the Magnesian, avers, that incredulity is the child of ignorance, he himself having seen, at Gades, a man of the sea, five acres in length. From Daulis to the tops of Parnassus, the way was a little longer, but not so difficult as that from Delphi. On the road from Salona to Zeitoun, on the straits of Thermopylæ, is the town of Turco-chorio, or, as it is called by the Turks,

* Pausan. Phoc. p. 611, et seq.

“Esed,” to the north, half north-north-east, of the summits of Liakura. To the north of Turco-chorio, at a small village called Leuta, are marks of the ancient Elatia, not far from the confines of Thessaly, whose capture by Philip awakened the Athenians to a sense of their danger. The expedition of the Consul Flaminius into Greece, gives the position of this, as well as of many other of the towns of Phocis, and is accordingly referred to by Pausanias.

At Leuta were seen the following inscriptions :

Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Αὐτωναῖνον Εὐσεβὴ Σεβαστὸν τὸν Μέγιστον,
ἡ Βουλὴ καὶ ὁ Δῆμος Ελατέων.

On another stone :

ἐπὶ Ρωμαίῳ φίλῳ Καλλιδώρα.

On another :

Νέμεια Ἐφeson, Αἰδριανία β’.

The sites of several of the cities of Phocis are determined by Meletius. Lilæa, one hundred and eighty stadia from Delphi, is now called Souvala ; Amphiclæa, sixty from Lilæa, Dithadthi ; Tithronéum, fifteen stadia from Amphiclæa, Palæa Thevæ, or Velizza ; Drymæa, twenty stadia from Tithronéum, Agia Marina ; Abæ, twenty stadia from Elatia, Modi ; and Hyampolis, is still Hyampali.

LETTER XIX.

Livadia—The Archon Logotheti—Rate of Living in Roumelia—Imitation of European Manners—The Cave of Trophonius—the present Appearance of the Entrance to it—Ruins of a Castle built by the Catalans—The Settlement of the Catalans in Greece—Little Impression left by the Franks on the Manners of the Greeks—Visit to Caperna—Ruins of Chæronéa—the Plain—Departure from Livadia—Visit to Scripoo—the Site of Orchomenos—the Treasury of Minyas—The Lake Copais—The Village of Mazee—Arrival at Thebes—View of the Theban Territory—Difficulties attending a just Description of Modern Greece—The Measurement of Stadia—Diminutiveness of the Country.

LIVADIA is on the site of the ancient Lebadéa, the Midéa of Homer, a town of considerable note in Bœotia, built on the side of a hill, which was between Mount Illicon and the territory of Chæronéa.

The modern town, which is written by the modern Greeks, Lebadéa (Λειβαδεία), is on a declivity, and it requires some climbing to reach the upper part of it. It contains fifteen hundred houses, of stone, many of them very good ones: one hundred

only of the families are Mahometans. Yet there are six moscs in the place, as well as six Greek churches.

Livadia has given its name to great part of the country, which is sometimes called Greece Proper, and was the Achaia of the Romans. It is a place of considerable trade, and the residence of several wealthy Greeks. The house at which we were lodged belonged to one of the richest subjects in Roumelia, and was spacious, and handsomely furnished.

The name of this gentleman was Logotheti, though, more properly speaking, that is only a title, which, from having designated the receivers of the finances of the Greek empire, is now applied to those who are appointed managers of the revenues of the church. He was also one of the rulers of his own nation, or a magistrate, who is dignified with the appellation of Archon, one of the vain names which still adhere to the modern Greeks, and serve to remind us of those to whom they were once attached. The peculiar distinction of an Archon is a high fur cap, something in the shape of a mitre, and yellow boots or shoes, which, as well as some other of the favoured rayahs, he is by the Turks permitted to wear, instead of the dark purple and brown*.

The Archon Logotheti had a numerous retinue of servants, two or three secretaries, several priests who officiated as domestic chaplains, and a family physician, making in all an establishment of fifty persons. Yet he himself assured me, that the whole annual expence of his household did not amount to more than twenty thousand piasters, about eleven hundred and forty-two pounds sterling. This will afford some means of making a comparison between the rate of living in the Levant, and our own.

* See page 54.

Our host told me, that he had sent cargoes of cotton and oil to London, and was surprised to see the accounts returned to him ; “ which,” said he, “ being made up in English pounds, made my bargains look very insignificant indeed.” The Archon was oppressively polite, and fell into an error for which he may well be forgiven ; he would show us that he was acquainted with the manners of civilized Europe, and accordingly he brought his wife and family from their seclusion to introduce them to us ; nay, he would have her and the little family dine with us, a ceremony which we could well have excused, as the Archontissa had made but little progress under the tuition of her husband, and, being evidently doing what she was not accustomed to, filled us with terror and confusion. De Tott has not exaggerated, when he says, that, in the Levant, a lady, to imitate European customs, takes up an olive in her fingers, and afterwards sticks it on a fork.

At Livadia we remained the greater part of three days, and took the opportunity of seeing the only curiosity in the town which travellers are directed to notice ; this is the entrance of the cave of Trophomius.

Behind the town, in a chasm of the mountain shaded with groves of trees, there is a small stream, which falling over the rocks, forms a pretty cascade, and flows, a little to the east into the plain below. A short way from the inner recess of the chasm, and a few yards above the river, on the right (west) there is an artificial hollow in the rock. The cave at the entrance is a semi-circular arch, much resembling the mouth of an oven, and preserves the same form throughout its whole depth, being regularly excavated out of the rock, and having a surface not on the descent but horizontal. It is high enough to admit a person walking up-

right, and the depth of it may be a little more than twelve feet, that ascribed to it by Pausanias, whose minute description answers most exactly to the present appearance of the place*.

But this cave was only the entrance by which those who went to consult the oracle of Trophonius approached to the interior cavity. The hole, through which the descent was by a ladder, was just big enough to admit a man's body, but after sliding a short distance, the consultant was hurried downwards, with his knees to his chin, and as if drawn into a whirlpool of waters; so that it is evident, that in order to practise their mysterious juggling, the priests must have excavated much of the inner part of the hill. But these interior caverns, if they still remain, have now no entrance to them, except a very small hole, which there is to the left of the arch, may be supposed, as the Greeks affirm it does, to lead into them. The inside of the cave has been blackened by the smoke of the fires, kindled there by the women who wash in the river below.

This river was anciently called the Hercyna, and of its two springs, which were, as they are now, in the chasm of the mountain at no great distance from the cave, one was named the foun-

* In the chasm on the banks of the Hercyna at the back of Lebadea, was a sacred grove, in which was the temple of Trophonius, or the Trophonian Jove; and a chapel of Ceres. An unfinished temple of Proserpine the Huntress, and Jupiter, was on the hill, and a temple of Apollo. The oracle was above the grove. At the entrance of the cave was a circular step of white stone, less than two cubits high: on this step, whose surface was a vestibule to the cave, were two brazen obelisks, between which was the mouth of the cave, *like an oven*, four cubits wide, eight cubits deep. It was the work of Dædalus. The statue of Trophonius, personifying Æsculapius, was by Praxiteles.—Pausa. *Bœotic*. 602, 603.

tain of Oblivion, and the other that of Memory. For Lethe, though a river in the infernal regions, was, above ground, only a spring: nevertheless modern poets have talked of it as a stream.

It was one of the obligations of those who visited the cavern of Trophonius, to write down every thing they had seen or heard; but as this duty is not still in force, one would not feel much inclined to give a detail of its present appearance, which, though in form and symmetry, much the same as it must have been in the second century, would not call from a modern such encomiums as have been bestowed upon it by Pausanias*. *The skill and harmony, with which, to the last degree of ingenuity, it was constructed,* would not save it from total neglect, were it not for the former repute of the unerring oracle, the last which was heard to utter the decrees of fate.

On the top of the rock, above the cave, is a ruin that more forcibly reminds one of the latter miseries and degradation of Greece. This is an old castle, part of which still serves the Turks for a fortress, and which was built by the Catalans.

These barbarians, called by the Greeks Amogavares, first entered into the service of the emperors of Constantinople, and Roger de Flor, who commanded a great body of them in 1303, was made Duke of Romania by Andronicus the elder, and afterwards created Cæsar. But they were not willing to be dismissed from the armies and pay of the Greeks, and seized Gallipoli, by which they made themselves masters of the Hellespont. They then marched through Thrace and Macedonia, encamped for a year on the plains of Thessaly, then passed the straits of Ther-

* Bæot. page 603.

mopylæ, and established themselves in Greece; of which they continued in possession for the remainder of the fourteenth century; when they were first partially dispersed by the Florentine Acciaceli, and afterwards totally expelled by the armies of Mahomet the Great. The Sultan Bajazet the First, had before been more lenient; he suffered the widow of a Spanish chief, who was mistress of the recesses of Delphi, to retain her possessions, but he accepted of her daughter as a reward for his generosity.

The independent chieftains, French and Italians, as well as the Spaniards, who ruled in Greece during the interval between the Latin and the Turkish conquests of Constantinople, filled the country with their strong holds, of which several vestiges yet remain, though not entire, as at Livadia. Walter de Brienne, Duke of Athens and Thebes, is said to have himself had thirty castles, all of which, together with his dukedom, he lost in a great battle fought on the banks of the Bœotian Cephissus against the main body of the Catalans*.

These ruins are the only traces left in Greece of her Latin conquerors, who, though in possession of the country during two hundred and fifty years, failed to make the least impression upon the manners and customs, much less upon the disposition and prejudices, of their subjects.

There is nothing of the Frank discernible in the Greeks of Ronmelia: notwithstanding their long connexion with the barbarians of the west, they retain inviolated those habits of living, and the manners which we are accustomed to call Oriental, and which they did not learn from the Turks, but had derived, as

* Knolles says, the Asopus.

might easily be proved, from the immemorial usages of their remotest ancestors. But of this elsewhere.

From Livadia we rode to a village called Caperna, near the site of Chæronéa.

Chæronéa has been said by Strabo to be near Orchomenos, and Pausanias calls it in the neighbourhood of Lebadéa, which has made some persons suppose it to have been in the way from the last-mentioned place to Thebes; but it is directly out of the road to the north, and at no inconsiderable distance, according to Grecian measurements, from each of the two cities.

From Livadia it may be about eight of our miles. The country through which the road passes, is neither hilly nor yet a plain, but wild and rugged, and for the most part covered with brown heath and low brushwood. Soon after the first view of the large open country, the road turns to the left, and brings the traveller first to the mud village of Caperna, of about thirty houses, in the hollow of a hill, and then to the site of Chæronéa itself.

This town appears to have been situated under and upon a rocky hill once called Petrarchus, near the north-east foot of Parnassus. The sole remains at present visible are some large stones, six feet in length, in the ruins of a wall on the hill, and part of the shaft of a column, with its capital; the seats of a small amphitheatre, cut out of the rock, on the side of the same hill; in the flat below, a fountain, partly constructed of marble fragments, containing a few letters not decypherable; some bits of marble pillars just appearing above ground, and the ruins of a building of Roman brick. Meletius has copied some inscriptions, to be seen in his time in two churches, which are not at

present to be found*. Pausanias speaks of two trophies erected by Sylla, and of a large lion of marble, placed over the tomb of the Thebans who were slain in the battle against Philip. I observed nothing like what might be taken for an artificial tumulus near the place.

Immediately before the hill Petrarchus, to the north, is the fatal plain, which, commencing three or four miles beyond Caperna, from the roots of Parnassus, runs from west to east, to the village of Scripoo, near the site of Orchomenos, about seven miles distant, whence it spreads into a wider plain, more to the south. Opposite to Caperna, it is about two miles in breadth, a dead flat, with not a tree to be seen upon it, and being of so great an extent, forms a striking contrast for the traveller who has just emerged from the mountains of Phocis. No spot in the world can be better calculated for deciding the quarrels of nations. There does not appear to be even a mole-hill to impede the manœuvres of hostile armies, and there is space sufficient for a slaughter ten times more considerable than that of the myriads who fell before the Macedonian and the Roman conquerors.

The northern side of the plain is bounded by a chain of low hills, interrupted by two or three vallies. They seem to belong to the mountains called Acontius, which stretched from Orchomenos sixty stadia to Paropotamii, a village five miles from Chæronéa, in the vicinity of Phauote, and five stadia from the river Cephissus†, on a little hill, commanding the pass from Bœotia

* For these, see Appendix.

† The Cephissus flowed from the town of Lilæa, under Mount Æta, in Phocis, one winter day's journey, or one hundred and eighty stadia, from Delphi; from Lilæa to Amphiclæa, fifty stadia; thence to Tithronum, on a plain,

into Phocis. On the other side of these hills, is the valley watered by the Cephissus; a branch of which, a small stream, divides the plain of Chæronéa*.

The day after our visit to the poor remains of the birth-place of Plutarch, we left Livadia, and set off for Thebes, or, as it is pronounced by the modern Greeks, who have mostly rejected the old plural terminations in the names of places, Theva (Θῆβα). We sent our baggage by the straight road, but proceeded ourselves to Scripoo, which took us considerably out of our way.

From Livadia to Scripoo, between seven and eight miles, the road is north-east-by-north, over a flat, for the first hour close to low hills on the left, and for the last hour over part of the Chæronéan plain. Before the town itself, which is a very poor one, inhabited by Greeks, there is a river of no great size, over which there is a stone bridge. It has no name at present; indeed there are very few streams that have any known to the country people,

fifteen stadia; to Drymæa, twenty stadia; Elatia, or Elatéa, one hundred and eighty stadia, opposite Amphiclæa. As far as Elatia, the course is from north to south-east, thence more easterly. Strabo adds, that from this place it flows near Paropotamii and Phanote, by Chæronéa, through the country of Orchomenos and Coronéa, into the lake Copaïs; but this cannot be reconciled with present appearances, if the conjectures of all travellers be at all well founded. Coronéa must have been much more to the south than the course of the Cephissus. All the maps of Bœotia appear to be incorrect; Thebes is placed too much to the south, and Orchomenos too near the lake Copaïs.

* A small stream, formerly called Boagrius, but now Gavriàs, rises also near Lilæa (Souvali), and receiving the Cephissus, now the Mavroneri, flows on to the lake Topolias, formerly Copaïs. The Gavriàs, the name of the united streams, is often quite dry, and at other times overflows the plains.—Extracted from Meletius.

and one is frequently provoked by having the same answer to all questions of, What do you call that water? “The river,” (τὸ ποτάμι), and by repeating the query, one has the same reply, “It is called the river.” A Greek of Livadia said he had heard it was named Mavro-Potam, the Black River, which looks as if it were the stream of the Melas, “seven stadia from Orchomenos, between that town and Aspledon, in the lands called Eudeeilos.” I did not see enough of the country to decide whether it was the Cephissus itself.

Behind Scripoo are craggy hills, on one of which, about a mile off, is an old tower, one of the Latin ruins. There is a certain persuasion in the country, that the town stands upon the site of Orchomenos, which, though its inhabitants lived originally more to the south-east in the plain, was finally obliged to retire before the continual encroachments of the lake Copais, and settle at the foot of the hill Acontius. Our host at Livadia, who is the owner of the lands in the vicinity, gave us a letter to Scripoo, addressed, “*To the People of the Signor Logotheti, in Orcomenos.*” There are, however, no remains at Scripoo decisive of the site of the ancient city. All we were taken to see, by a monk of the place, was a church, at a little distance to the east of the town. In the walls of this church are some pieces of carved marble, on one of which is a sepulchral inscription:

ΑΘΕΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ



ΑΡΙΣΤΕΑ

ΧΑΙΡΕ

An inscription, in very large letters, is seen on some stones which run round the whole of the back part of the building, or

the semicircle of the sanctuary, at about a foot and a half from the ground. It was so hidden by rubbish, which we could not remove, that only parts of it could be read. It seemed to record a grant of one of the Cæsars, I think Adrian, if I recollect right ; no doubt, however, it has frequently been copied.

Lying on the ground, near the church door, is a marble nearly eight feet long, nine inches wide, and three in thickness, inscribed in very legible characters, with a list of the victors in the games given at Orchomenos in honour of the Graces, and called *Charitiesia**. This inscription is given in Meletius' Geography, as well as that of a similar stone, formerly lying near the other, but transported into England, I believe, though into whose collection I know not. The stone is in two pieces, but it would be very difficult to remove it, as no horse would well bear the weight of either part, and as there is no other conveyance in the country†.

Between the church and the village, there are two very large flat stones, forming the entrance of a hole in the side of a hillock, that has been filled up with earth. We were directed to consider these as the remains of the very ancient building called by Pausanias the Treasury of Minyas, King of the country, and grandson of Neptune ; one of the wonders of Greece. It was arched, and the top was formed by a single stone, artfully adapted to the lateral walls, and shaped so as to be a kind of dome in miniature.

There is nothing else remarkable at the modern Orchomenos, except a living curiosity, which is seen by most visitants. This is a shepherd, named Demetrius, the fattest man I ever saw, who,

* This inscription will be noticed in the Appendix.

† Yet, since writing the above, I learn that it has been carried away by an English traveller.

in the summer, passes the hottest hours of the day up to the neck in the neighbouring river. This practice, not only does not injure him, but has become by habit so necessary to him, that he declares he should not, without it, be able to support the rage of the summer sun.

To the north and north-west of Scripoo, are low hills; to the west, the plain which stretches to Caperna; to the south-west, south, and south-east, an uninterrupted flat, partly a green plain, and partly divided into corn and cotton grounds, and vineyards. To the east and north-east, three or four miles distant, is the lake once called Copais, from the town of Copæ, on its northern extremity, and now, the lake of Livadia, or, according to some maps, lake Topolias.

In passing from Scripoo, to join our baggage, over the plains to the south for six or seven miles, we were very near being swamped in the bogs formed by the inundations of the lake branching out into wide ditches and fens over the flat grounds. These inundations are ascribed by Pausanias to the violence of the south winds prevalent during the winter season. In summer, the Greeks told us, the lake itself is nearly dry. We could just discern it, at a distance to the east, though with some difficulty, as the whole of the country was teeming, and was half hidden in a thick mist, the ancient characteristic of Bœotia.

After crossing the Orchomenian plain, we got into the direct road from Livadia to Thebes, and turned to the left, (east by south): low hills were on our right; on one of them was a ruined tower. We passed over a rivulet, flowing round the foot of a little rocky knoll.

We did not overtake our servants and baggage until after night-fall, when we found them rambling in the low hills to the right of

the road. They had lost their way, and were firing guns by way of signal, which were answered by the Albanian in our company, and soon brought us together.

We arrived after dark at a very poor village in the hills, called Mazee, belonging to the Archon Logotheti, and inhabited, as are most of the smaller places in this district, by Albanian peasants, of the class already noticed.

Mazee is reckoned four hours distance from Livadia, in a direction a little to the southward of east. It contains fifty huts, which hold much more than the usual proportion of inhabitants, about five hundred. Most of those whom we saw were females; they told us that the males were scarce in that part of the country, and that, therefore, contrary to common custom, no woman could get married without bringing about a thousand piasters to her husband.—Accordingly, several of those whom we saw, in compliance with a fashion before noticed, were collecting their portion on their hair; and the tresses of a pretty young girl amongst them hung down nearly to her feet, entirely strung with paras from top to bottom. Yet, though in a starving condition, and passing, as they assured us with tears in their eyes, whole days without food, neither the mothers nor the daughters will strip off any of the ornamental coin which has been once assigned for the portion-money, so much does their hope of a future good overcome their feelings of a present suffering.

On Friday, December 22d, after travelling four hours to the east from Mazee, we arrived at Thebes, whose cypresses and moscks, rising from between the hillocks on which the town is built, are visible from a low hill over which the road passes three hours before it enters the place. With the exception of this hill, the whole road from Livadia to Thebes is over flat plains,

for we need not have digressed into the hills to the right, had we not been obliged to find out some village in which to pass the night.

A person standing on a small hill, which is a few paces to the south of the modern city of Thebes, has the following view of the surrounding country:—From immediately beyond the town, to the east, the ground rises into bare, rugged inequalities, not high enough to be called hills, beyond which there is a plain, well cultivated, called the plain of Scimitari, (anciently that of Tanagra), bounded by the strait of the Negroponte to the east, and to the south by the Attic mountains, now named Ozea, and a ridge of mount Elatias, or Cithæron. To the south, the ground rises by a gentle ascent, and then falls into another large plain, bounded by Cithæron, and stretching to the south-west. Through this plain, as well as through that of Scimitari, runs a river, now without a name, but formerly the Asopus; the ruins of Plataea are to be seen about six miles to the south-west of Thebes, near a village called Cocli. To the west, is the flat plain of Thebes; and far off, beyond Livadia to the south-west, is seen the mountain Zagari, the modern name of Helicon. To the north-west the Theban plain is separated from the flats overflowed by the lake, by a stony hill, not very high, at seven or eight miles from the town. In this direction the view is terminated by the snowy summits of Parnassus. To the north, and to the north-east, in which direction there is a road to the town of the Negroponte, there is an uneven plain*, washed by a river that flows not far from Thebes.

* These should be the *amfractus viarum vallesque interjectæ*, which concealed the approach of the two thousand Roman Hastati until they came close to Thebes, and surprised the city. Yet Flaminius had come from Phocæ, and in

This is terminated by mountains, once called Ptoüs and Messapius. The eastern extremity of the latter is bounded by the strait to the north of Euripus.

In the description of ancient Greece, every name of every brook, grove, and hillock, served to preserve the memory of her demigods and heroes, to whom her sons, as they believed, were indebted for their origin and their fame; thus Strabo and Pausanias, more especially, have presented us with works, no less historical, than geographical. It may, besides, be observed, that the diminutiveness of the country, which might seem to lessen its importance, is well concealed by their measurements; for the distances which would appear nothing when reduced to our miles, sound very considerable when reckoned by stadia*. On the other hand, a person delineating the topography of modern Greece, is obliged to put down the ill-spelt names of miserable villages, badly measured, and insignificant distances, and mountains, plains, and rivers, without any name by which to distinguish them from each other; so without a map the greatest accuracy and minute-

that direction the plain of Thebes is an uninterrupted level; nor is there to the north any such uneven ground within two miles of the modern town.—See Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 1.

* The stadium of 125 Roman paces, commonly in use, contains 604 of our feet, besides some inches and a fraction, say 604 feet. There are 5280 feet in a mile, which is five less than $604 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, so that to reduce the measurement by stadia to about our miles, we should divide by eight and three quarters. When in the course of these Letters, the word mile is made use of, an English mile is meant. I recollect being much struck with the perseverance of that student who was said to walk forty stadia and back every day, for the purpose of hearing a philosophical lecture—it did not enter into my head, that this was only nine miles and a little more than a furlong.

ness in the account of the traveller is likely to cause a confusion in the head of the reader, who may after smile, at hearing so much about such trifling journies*.

A man might very easily, at a moderate pace, ride from Livadia to Thebes and back again between breakfast and dinner, particularly as he would not have a single object to detain him by the way; and the tour of all Bœotia might certainly be made in two days without baggage. The diminutiveness of these classical countries will appear more striking, when we come into the vicinity of Athens.

Bœotia is singularly destitute of any marked remains of antiquity, consequently the modern traveller has but little to assist his conjectures. A short extract, however, from ancient geographers, may be of some little service, and shall be subjoined to my next Letter.

* And even in the case of a traveller adding a map to his book, some mistakes may arise. Mr. Barbié du Bocage says, that he cannot reconcile Wheeler's charts of Phocis and Bœotia with the journal of that author.

LETTER XX.

Thebes—its Modern Insignificance—The Town—The Fountain Dirce—The Ruins of Pindar's House—The Ismenus—The Fountain of Mars—Tomb of St. Luke of Stiris—An Inscription—Departure from Thebes—Route towards Athens—The Village Scourta—Passage of Mount Parnes—Ruins of Phyle—Prospect of Athens—Town of Casha—Entrance into the Plain of Athens—Arrival at Athens.

THEBES has been, in a manner, blotted out of the page of history since the last battle of Chæronéa between Sylla and Taxilus. In the time of Strabo it had the appearance of a village, which was the case with all the other Bœotian cities, except Tanagra and Thespiæ. Onchestus, Haliartus, Coronea, and other towns, once of considerable magnitude, were almost in ruins, and hastening fast to decay. In the second century, the whole of the lower town, except the temples of Thebes, had fallen to the ground, and the citadel alone, no longer called Cadméa but Thebes, now continued to be inhabited. It never appears to have recovered its importance under the Emperors, though it must have been of some size; for, in the year 1173, it contained two thousand of the Jewish nation only, who were the best workers in silk and purple of any in Greece, and had amongst

them some of the most learned rabbins of the age*. At the Latin conquest, being, as well as Athens and Argos, totally incapable of making the least resistance, it was attached to the territory of Attica, and ruled by a follower of Boniface, Marquis of Montserrat, one Otho de la Roche, a Burgundian, who had the title of Duke of Athens, and Grand Signor, or Sieur of Thebes. But it was for a short time separated from the other state by the will of the Florentine Acciajuoli, who gave his Athenian dukedom to the Venetians, but left Thebes to his illegitimate son Francis. This prince, by the expulsion of the Venetians, soon reunited the principalities, and they continued in the same hands until the final establishment of the Turks in Greece, when the liberties of Thebes, if she might then be called free, had the fortune to survive, for a short time, those of her ancient rival; for the last of the Acciajuoli

* Voyage du Benjamin, fils de Jonas, p. 9.

The following Note contains a short summary of the topography of part of Bœotia, collected from ancient geographers and modern travellers, independent of the remarks of Meletius, which are given by themselves, as they do not coincide with the observation made by the actual surveys of Wheler, Chandler, and other writers.

Tanagra was fifty stadia from the strait of Eubœa, under a hill called Cerycius; mention will be made of it elsewhere. Thespiæ was situated under Helicon; forty stadia higher up was Asera, the birth-place of Hesiod; on Helicon was the grove of the Muses, whose statues, as well as those of the early Greek poets, were removed thence by Constantine the Great; on the left hand of this was the fountain Aganippe; Hippocrene was twenty stadia farther up the mountain. In the confines of the Thespian territory, was the village Hedonacum, and the fountain in which Narcissus gazed. The sea-port of Thespiæ was Creusa, now called the port of St. Basilio; the town of St. Basilio itself is near the site of Thespiæ, about an hour from the sea. Travelling from this place to Thebes, Sir George Wheler saw ruins called, as usual,

was suffered to remain Lord of Bœotia, after he had lost Athens, but was carried off in the same year, 1455, by the command of Mahomet the Great. Since that period, though occasionally harassed by the incursions of the Franks for some time in possession of Eubœa, the Theban territory has remained in subjection to the Sultan, who governs it by an Aga, called by the Greeks a Waiwode: it is, however, considered as attached to the pashalik of the Negroponte.

Thebes is a very poor town, containing about five hundred houses, mostly of wood, and inhabited chiefly by Turks. It has two moscks and four churches. We slept two nights in the town, and were lodged in the house of a Greek bishop. There is nothing worthy of notice in this place; though a public clock, certainly without a rival in this part of Turkey, is considered by

Palæo-castro, and supposed by Chandler to be Haliartus. Beyond the harbour of St. Basilio is that of Livadostro, to the east, which gives the name to the deep recess formed by the promontory once called Olmiæ. Near Livadostro, at a spot called Castri, are the ruins of Thisbe, a town eighty stadia from Bulis, on the confines of Phocis and Bœotia. To the westward of Livadostro, a high rock juts into the sea, beyond which is the harbour and town of Cacos, once Typha: near this are the roots of Helicon, or Zagari. Four miles to the west of Castri, and five or six from Cacos, Wheler found ruins, which Chandler supposes to be on the site of Coronæa.

The cities in the neighbourhood of the lake Copaïs, or Cephissus, were Acræphia, Phœnicis or Medcon, Onchestus, Haliartus, Ocalea, Alalcomenæ, Tilphosium, and Coronæa.—Acræphia, or Acrœphium, was behind the mountain Ptois, which was at the back (north-east) of the field called Tenericus, and the lake Copaïs: Onchestus was on a hill towards the territory of Haliartus, the Campus Tenericus, and the lake, fifteen stadia from the mountain called Sphinx: it was the seat of the Amphictyonic assembly. Near it was

the people of the place, and pointed out to travellers, as a great curiosity. The bishop directed us to visit the fountain of Dirce, and the ruins of Pindar's house, and an old Greek church. I accordingly walked about a quarter of a mile to the south-east of the town, keeping by the side of a ravin, through which runs a very small stream, which Wheler calls the Ismenus. Coming to a chasm in an eminence from which the stream flowed, I there found a fountain, which has been dammed up so as to make it twenty feet in length, ten in breadth, and five deep in the middle, where there is the shaft, about a foot high, of a small marble pillar. The water was tepid, as I found by bathing in it. To the left of the fountain, in a sort of quarry, were fragments of some building buried in the earth, and these, say the Greeks of Thebes, are the remains of Pindar's house. Some traveller, I presume, has told them this,

a town called Medeon, on the hill Phœnicus, and one hundred and forty stadia from a place of the same name on the Crissæan gulf. Haliartus was on a narrow spot, between the mountain and the lake Copaïs, near the rivers Perœssus and Olmæus, flowing from Helicon, and a reedy lake. At Haliartus was the tomb of Lysander; fifty stadia (north-east) of Haliartus was Mount Tilphosium; Ocalea was thirty stadia from Haliartus—the small river Lophis flowed through its territory; Alalcomenæ was thirty stadia from Ocalea, near or upon Mount Tilphosium; Coronæa was situated on a high spot near Helicon, not far from Lebadæa, forty stadia from Mount Libethrius, and twenty stadia from Mount Laphystium, from which ran the river Phalarus into the Copaïs. It seems that the hills, in which is the village of Mazæe, must be part of Mount Libethrius; and that somewhere on the right hand of the road from Livadia to that place, one might look for the site of Coronæa: Haliartus may have been on the left in the plain farther on than Mazæe. The low hill, three hours from Thebes, appears in the position of the mountain of the Sphinx; and on a rocky eminence, at no great distance from the west, one might expect to see some vestiges of Ouchestus. The plain at the foot of this hill, to the

on the authority of Pausanias, who says, that “ after passing the river called Dirce, are the ruins of Pindar’s house;” but the water of Dirce was more to the west, near the gates Neitis and Electris, and if the stream in the ravin be the Ismenus, which it must indeed appear to be, the fountain would be that which the above author mentions to have been sacred to Mars. A considerable hillock to the right, just beyond the suburbs of the town, seems to strengthen the conjecture, and to correspond to that which was to the right of the gate Homolis, opposite the Ismenus, and dedicated to the Ismenian Apollo.

The stream of the river has been much diminished, by the means taken to make part of its waters flow in an artificial channel, for the sake of turning an overshot-mill about a hundred paces below the fountain. We stepped across it with ease, and, had

south, now part of the great plain of Thebes, may have been the Campus Tenericus, or portion of Tenericus, where was a large temple of Hercules Hippodotus; to the left (south) of this must have been the site of the grove of the Cabirian Ceres and the Cabiri, twenty-five stadia from the gate of Thebes, called Neitis, by the way which led perhaps a little to the southward of west: fifty stadia to the left (south-west) of the Cabirian grove was Thespiæ; at the gate Neitis was the tomb of Menæceus, where the battle between Polynices and Eteocles was fought, in the part of the city called Syrma Antigones. The gate that led towards Plataea was called Electris; it must have been, therefore, next on that side to the gate Neitis, and looking about to south-west by south; between the position of these two gates there is a high hillock. One may also pretty well ascertain the position of the gate Prætis; for the road to it led to Chalcis, that is about to the north-east. This would be the quarter for the antiquarian to commence his researches; for here was the theatre, the temple of Bacchus, the tombs of Zethus and Amphion, the stadium, and (to the right of the stadium) the hippodrome, in which was the tomb of Pindar. On the whole of the road to Chalcis there were monuments, temples, and the remains of ancient

we walked through it, should not have been wet above the angles.

Returning from the fountain, I was conducted to the remains of a Greek church, on an eminence not far from the left bank of the rivulet, and a little distance from the suburbs of the town. This church was in a very dilapidated state; it had no door, and the roof was in parts uncovered, yet it contained a treasure, to which I should be almost afraid that the Greeks of Thebes cannot well substantiate their claim. This was a stone sarcophagus of considerable dimensions, not under ground, but in the nave of the church, covered with a massy slab of marble, and supposed to contain the precious remains of St. Luke, the Saint of Stiris.

cities. In this line, the sepulchre of Menalippus; the three large stones denoting the grave of Tydeus; the sepulchres of the sons of Œdipus; thence, fifteen stadia, the tomb of Tiresias; seven stadia to the left of a village called Teumessus, the ruins of Glissas, under a mount (Hypaton), and near the river Thermolon; the ruins of Harmatos and Mycalessus were also visible from the road; the plain under Mount Hypaton was called the Ionian, and belonged to the Thebans.

All the aid which Meletius affords towards understanding the comparative topography of Bœotia is, that Mount Cythæron is now called Elatias; Mount Helicon, Likóna or Palæovoonā; Thespiæ, which once had a bishop, Kakosi, forty miles to the south of Thebes, where there are some massy ruins of ancient walls, and the following inscriptions:

. . . .ον Δακικὸν Παρθικὸν Ὑπατον τὸ Β : Μ'
 Οὐλπίος Βράχας Ἐπιφανιστὸς φιλοκᾷσαρ, καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ
 Οὐλπίος Δημοσθένης, Οὐλπίος Κράτων, καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες Οὐλπίᾳ Εὐπορίᾳ,
 Οὐλπίᾳ Βροχίλλᾳ, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.

On another stone:

Λαδάμας.

Yet though the principal bones of *the glory of Hellas* were carefully preserved on the spot which had been the scene of his sanctity and mortification, all his relics were not confined to one tomb. The monastery of St. Laura, on Mount Athos, possessed a portion of St. Luke; and the same blessing may, perhaps, have been granted to the more neighbouring sanctuary at Thebes.

Whatever may be the justice of its pretensions, the holy coffin is regarded with great reverence. In a hole which has been scooped out under the projecting cornice of the slab, there is a lamp, which it is the duty of a monk to keep perpetually burning, but which was not lighted when I saw it. The powder from the marble is considered to possess potent medicinal qualities, especially in affections of the eyes; and our Albanian Vasily, after crossing himself most devoutly, scraped off a quantity of it into his tobacco-box.

There is a large marble pillar, without either base or capital,

Creusa, the port of Thespiæ, Saranti—Thisbe, Gianiki—Siphos, Livados-tro—Coronæa, the seat of a Bishop under the Archbishop of Athens; Kamari, on a hill, with a very few remains, except some inscribed stones to be seen in a couple of Greek churches near the spot. On one:

Πόπλιον Αἴλιον Ἀδριανὸν ἡ Βουλὴ καὶ ὁ Δῆμος.

On another: Θεὸν Ἀδριανὸν ἡ Βουλὴ καὶ ὁ Δῆμος ἐπικαλουμένους—and very many with the χαῖρε.

Alalcomenæ, between Coronæa and Haliartus, is now Emcenæ—Haliartus, Palæopanagia or Tridoueni—Platæa, Cocli—Eleutheræ, Petrocraki—Scolus, between Cocli and Thebes—Oropus, Oropo—Delium, Delis—Aulis, Carababa—Anthedon; under Mount Messapius, Lukisi—Larymnæ, Larnes (here are some purgative springs, which the people of the country drink twice a year, in May and August, and are sometimes cured, sometimes killed, says Meletius)—Alæ,

wedged into the wall of the church; and another ruined edifice of the same kind, a little distance from the church of St. Luke, contains some pieces of carved marble, parts of pillars, broken capitals, and plain stones, inscribed in characters not intelligible, except, perhaps, they could be taken down from their present position. Part of an inscription I read was Latin, and of a modern date.

The Greeks have done a service to antiquarians, by heaping up into the composition of their churches all portable remains, not however so much, it must be owned, from a knowledge of their value, as from a preference of the materials, and the size of the marbles of which they are generally composed.

Our Greek bishop showed me a flat piece of marble in his

dividing Bœotia and Locris; Hagios Joannes ho Theologos, under the village of Mallesinæ. This is in a district called Talandios; and in a church dedicated to St. George, is an inscription (given in the Appendix), pointing out that the spot was anciently the sacred portion of Asclepius. Potniæ; some ruins a little more than a mile from Thebes, on the road towards the Negroponte—Teumessus; ruins farther on in the same line—Glisas; ruins on a hill about a mile beyond Teumessus—Tanagra, Tenagra—The river Lophis is that which flows to Kanavari, near Thebes—The Melas, the Mavropotamo, near Scripoo. The modern geographer here, as well as in other places, appears to have given some scope to conjecture in this survey, and in the course of his detail now and then contradicts himself, for example, Petroyeraki is here said to be on the site of Eleutheræ; in tracing the Megaris, it is made (and properly) to be Οἰνοῖ. He says, in the chapter from which these extracts are made, that Athens is fifty miles from Thebes; and in his description of Attica, that Thebes is forty miles from Athens. I suspect him to have taken but little pains to assist his topography by personal experience, but rather to have followed ancient authorities; for he calls Oropus forty-four miles from Athens, a blunder copied from the Antonine Itinerary, it not being above twenty-four.

court-yard, a foot and a half long and half a foot wide, containing an inscription, which I copied as far as the letters were legible, but the greater part of them had been worn away by the service to which the marble had been put: when I saw it, it was lying under the pump, half covered with mortar, the mixing of which was the use to which it had latterly been applied, and would have been so had it contained an ode of Pindar's.

We had some difficulty in procuring horses at Thebes, as we were not provided with a travelling firman from the Porte, and as we had now left the dominions of our patron Ali, and were in the territory of Bekir, Pasha of the Negroponte. However, we at last accomplished this point, and set out late in the day for Athens.

The road took us across the rivulet in the ravin, and near the tepid fountain, which we left to the right, and proceeded for two hours over a plain to the south-east, well cultivated, but without a single tree. We then crossed the Asopus, a small stream, at a bridge called Metropolita, in a situation near about the site of Erythræ, whence the troops of Mardonius were encamped, along the banks of the river, as far as Hysiæ, on the confines of the Plateæan territory, and near which the Greek forces were also stationed when Masiæstius was killed by the Athenian horse*. We here found ourselves at once in another kind of country; for the soil, which had been before rich and deep, was now rocky and light, and we began to scale low stony hills, going to the south-south-east for three hours. We passed a small marshy plain, and then ascended a zig-zag path on a rock, which is a low ridge of

* Herod. Calliope. cap. xxii. et seq.

Mount Elatias, or Cithæron. When we got to the top we had the ruins of a small tower on a crag to our left. Descending a little, we came at once upon a green plain, about four miles in length and two in breadth, running from west to east. On entering this plain, we left on our right hand a small village, with a church of some size, and proceeded eastward for an hour, when we arrived at a most miserable and half-deserted village, called Scourta.

Here we passed our Christmas Eve, in the worst hovel of which we had ever been inmates. The cows and pigs occupied the lower part of the chamber, where there were racks and mangers, and other appurtenances of a stable, and we were put in possession of the upper quarter. We were almost suffocated with the smoke, a common calamity in Greek cottages, in which the fire is generally made in the middle of the room, and the roof, having no aperture, was covered with large flakes of soot, that sometimes showered down upon us during the night.

The next day we crossed the plain, which has here and there a vineyard, and continued in a southern direction for an hour, until we came into some pine woods, on the side of hills that terminate the plain to the east as well as to the south, and which are a part of the Attic mountain once called Parnes, but now having different names in different ranges—here it is called Casha. The path was very bad indeed, up rugged ascents, through woods of pine, not thick, but covering the whole mountain as far as we could see before us. Depending from the boughs of the pines, and stretching across from tree to tree so as to obstruct our passage, were the pods, thrice as big as a turkey's egg, and the thick webs of a chrysalis, whose moth must be far larger than any

of those in our country. We now went more to the south-south-east, still amongst hills, and generally upon the ascent. We once caught a view, from the summit of a precipice, of the strait of the Negroponte. We passed over a part of the path called "Kake Scala," or the Bad Steps, where it leads over some large slippery stones on the ledge of a rock to the left, and has a little wall to the right, which is not high enough to prevent a horse from falling over into a torrent that rolls beneath the precipice. Kake Scala is not wide enough for more than one horse to pass at a time, and the rider generally chuses to dismount—it lasts about fifty paces.

At half after two, having been travelling very slowly for four hours, just as we had got to the summit of the mountain overlooking a deep glen, one of our guides called out, "Affendi, Affendi, to chorio," Sir, Sir, the town! This word chorio we had so often heard applied to the villages on our route, that we were not a little surprised, upon looking up, to see in a plain at a great distance before us, a large town rising round an eminence, on which we could also discern some buildings, and beyond this town, the sea.

This was our first view of Athens; and you, my friend, who by this time will not think me apt to fly into frequent raptures, you will yet give me credit for feeling some little enthusiasm at the sight of such an object. On a rugged rock, rising abruptly on our right, were the remains of ancient walls, composed of massy stones, and encompassing the summit of the hill. These cannot but be the ruins of Phyle*, a fortress commanding one of the

* Phyle was a strong fortress, one hundred stadia from Athens, belonging to the tribe of Æenis.—Xenop. lib. ii. de Reb. Gr. c. 8. Note to Cor-

passes from Bœotia into Attica, and famous for having been the resort of those Athenians who destroyed the thirty tyrants. But not Thrasybulus himself could from these hills have surveyed his own Athens, the object of all his patriotic efforts, with more ardour and affection, mixed with a not unpleasing melancholy, than were felt by him who is now employed upon this imperfect relation.

The ruins are now called Bigla Castro, or the Watch-tower.

From this spot we began to descend, and soon lost sight of Athens in the windings of the hills, which now became more steep, and clothed with thicker woods. Our road was a zig-zag rocky path, along the side of a precipice, overhanging a deep ravine, on the other side of which was a stream flowing through an artificial channel cut out of the rock, or a kind of half-natural aqueduct. Descending an hour and a half, we came by four o'clock to the Greek town of Casha, where the houses were of stone, and well built, and where we had been recommended to pass the night, if we could get so far from Thebes the first day.

After leaving Casha, we went eastward through some olive-groves, where is a monastery, and passed by a gentle slope into the plain of Athens, which, however, we did not again see until we had turned round a low hill, when it rose before us to the south, and distinctly showed us its citadel, and another hill near it, with what appeared a tower on its summit. The new object was the Muséum and the tomb of Philopappus.

incl. Nep. Life of Thrasyb. It is noticed by Strabo, p. 396, edit. Xyland, as one of the places in Attica worthy of mention, from the memory of the transaction alluded to above.

The plain, after the wild unpeopled regions through which we had passed, appeared highly cultivated, and it was of considerable extent, with a belt of olive-groves running from the extremity of it behind us as far as the eye could reach towards the city and the sea. It was, besides, intersected with several broad, well-beaten roads, and every thing seemed to announce that we had passed into some more-favoured country, saved, by a happy exception, from the desolation of surrounding tyranny. Vineyards and corn-grounds, green even in this season, were on both sides of us, and from these the peasants were returning in long trains after their winter labours, and wished us good evening as we passed.

In something more than two hours from Casha, we entered the olive-groves, and crossing a bridge over a river, the Attic Cephissus, traversed them obliquely for an hour, when we came again into the open plain. In one hour more, travelling on the same fine road, we arrived at the city walls, and passed under one of the arched gateways into the open space before the town. A few minutes brought us into Athens, at half after eight in the evening of Christmas day, 1809, and we proceeded immediately to the house where our countrymen are usually lodged, and where we found an English traveller to congratulate us on our arrival.

LETTER XXI.

Athens—its Situation—Appearance—present Inhabitants—Short Notice of its Modern History.

MUCH greater hardships and perils than it can be the lot of any traveller in European Turkey to undergo, would be at once recompensed and forgotten on arriving at Athens—you there perceive an agreeable change in the aspect of all around you; the Turk, subdued either by the superior spirit of his subjects, or by the happy influence of a more genial climate, appears to have lost his ferocity, to have conformed to the soil, and to have put on a new character, ornamented by the virtues of humanity, kindness, and an easy affability, to which he attains in no other quarter of the Mahometan world. After having, in the course of your journey, been constantly on your guard against the outlaws of the land or sea, you feel that you may throw aside all unpleasant apprehensions, and, free from the cumbrous attendance of soldiers and servants, indulge in the contemplation of Athens, not, indeed, such as she was, but venerable from the recollection of her former renown, and still possessed of many objects worthy of admiration*.

* Athenas plenas quidem et ipsas vetustate famæ, multa tamen visenda habentes. These expressions, the encomiums of Livy, may be applied, even now, to modern Athens.

Were there no other vestiges of the ancient world than those to be seen at this day at Athens, there would still be sufficient cause left to justify the common admiration entertained for the genius of the Greeks. If the contemplation of the productions of antiquity, such as they are seen in the galleries of princes, or the cabinets of the curious, affords so pure a delight, how much more gratifying must it be to behold the stupendous monuments of the magnificence of Pericles and the skill of Phidias, still standing on the very spots on which they were originally fixed, by the united taste of the statesman and the artist. These noble master-pieces still retain their grandeur and their grace, and towering from amidst their own ruins, and the miserable mansions of barbarians, present a grand, but melancholy spectacle, where you behold, not only the final effects, but the successive progress of devastation, and, at one rapid glance, peruse the history of a thousand ages.

You must be already so well acquainted with the antiquities of this city, from examining the designs of modern artists, and the exact descriptions of celebrated travellers, who, from the days of Nointel and Wheler up to this period, have laboured to acquaint the world with the ancient remains to be seen on the spot, that you will hardly require from me a particular detail of the wonders of modern Athens; but as the desolations of time, and, of late years, the spoliatory taste of some amateurs, have caused many decays and dilapidations, I shall, in a cursory manner, and perhaps with less precision than the subject demands, attempt to notice the present appearance of the Athenian remains.

But before I proceed to these particulars, let me describe some circumstances attendant on our residence in the place, and take a view of the present state of the town itself.

During our stay at Athens, we occupied two houses, separated from each other only by a single wall, and through this we opened a door-way. One of them belongs to a Greek lady, whose name is Theodora Macri, the daughter of the late English Vice-Consul, (for we are represented at Athens), and who has to show many letters of recommendation, left in her hands by several English travellers. Her lodgings consisted of a sitting-room and two bed-rooms, opening into a court-yard where there were five or six lemon-trees, from which, during our residence in the place, was plucked the fruit that seasoned the pilaf, and other national dishes served up at our frugal table. The site of this house is easily distinguished at a distance, as there is a tall flag-staff rising from the yard; and on this the English Ensign, in the time of the late Vice-consul, used to be displayed. The person at present holding that sinecure is a Greek, whose name, like that of our host at Livadia, is Logotheti. He, of course, called upon us on our arrival, and, together with Mr. Lusieri, Lord Elgin's agent, attended us on a visit, always customary, to the Waiwode, the Turkish Governor of the town, whom we found a well-mannered man, with more information than is usually possessed by those of his nation, and who, having served with our forces in the Egyptian wars, was somewhat partial to our countrymen—his name and title were Suleyman Aga.

Mr. Lusieri, the only one remaining of the six artists settled during three years by my Lord Elgin at Athens, contributed to render our residence more agreeable; and the same attentions were paid to us by Mr. Fauvel, the French Consul, well known to the public as the coadjutor of Mr. Foucherot, and gratefully remembered, I believe, by every traveller, who, for these twenty years past, has visited this part of the Levant.

It was, however, during our stay in the place, to be lamented, that a war more than civil, was raging on the subject of my Lord Elgin's pursuits in Greece, and had enlisted all the Frank settlers and the principal Greeks on one or the other side of the controversy. The factions of Athens were renewed.

A few days after our visit to the Governor of the town, we prepared for an inspection of the Acropolis, by sending the usual present of tea and sugar to the Turk who has the command of the fortress erected on that hill, and who is now called the Disdar. The gates of this citadel have of late been shut upon all those who do not settle this important preliminary; and the Disdar has, not unfrequently, exacted a present previous to every visit; an extortion justly complained of to me by a French Gentleman, who averred, that it had put a stop to the researches of many ingenious travellers, that could not afford such repeated demands upon their purses.

Before these particulars were adjusted, we took every opportunity of surveying the modern town.

Athens is placed at the foot of the rock of the citadel, as represented in the annexed picture, which is exceedingly correct in every particular, and must serve better to give an idea of its situation and appearance than the most minute and animated description. The view is taken from the foot of a craggy hill, once called Anchesmus, on which was formerly a small temple of Jupiter, and where there is now a chapel dedicated to St. George. It is about three quarters of a mile from the walls of the city, in a north-easterly direction from the Acropolis. There are no houses to the back or south of the citadel, which included the Ceramicus within the walls (a populous quarter of ancient Athens), but on every other side the city stretches into the plain, and more

particularly to the north and north-west. It was in modern times so subject to the incursions of pirates and robbers, that it has been surrounded with a wall, about ten feet high, with apertures for the use of musquetry. These walls, about forty years ago, were enlarged and repaired, and now comprehend a much wider space than when Chandler wrote, taking in two antiquities, the temple of Theseus and the arch of Adrian, not included in their circuit, according to the plan which he has given of the city. The gateways to the wall, six in number, were formerly always closed at night, but the gates are now removed. The open space between the walls and the city, one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards in breadth, is laid out in corn-grounds, and there are gardens attached to most of the principal houses. I walked round these walls at a brisk pace in forty-seven minutes—a circumstance which conveys an idea of the size of their circumference, and of the city itself.

The number of houses in Athens is supposed to be between twelve and thirteen hundred; of these, about four hundred are inhabited by Turks, the remainder by Greeks and Albanians, the latter of whom occupy about three hundred houses. There are also seven or eight Frank families, under the protection of the French Consul. None of the houses are well built, nor so commodious as those of the better sort of Greeks at Ioannina or Livadia; and the streets are all of them narrow and irregular, a peculiarity remarked in ancient Athens, even during the days of her splendour*. In many of the lanes there is a raised causeway on both sides, so broad as to contract the middle of the

* By Dicaarchus, who wrote a short time after the death of Alexander.

street into a kind of dirty gutter. The bazar is at a little distance from the foot of the hill, and is far from well furnished, but has several coffee-houses, which at all times are crowded by the more lazy of the Turks, amusing themselves with drafts and chess. It is formed by one street, rather wider than usual, intersecting another at right angles; and a little above where the two meet, is an ornamented fountain, the principal one in the town, supplied by a stream, which is brought in artificial channels or stone gutters, from a reservoir under Mount Hymettus, at about a mile and a half distance. The water found in the wells belonging to the town is generally brackish; lukewarm in winter, but cold in summer.

The house of the Waiwode is of the poorer sort, though the entrance to it would become a palace, as it is between the columns of that antiquity distinguished by the name of the Doric Portico. That of the Archbishop is the best in the town, containing within its precincts a spacious yard and garden.—There are only four principal moscks with minarets in the city, although there are eleven places of worship for the Turks. The number of Christian churches is out of all proportion to the Greek population; thirty-six are constantly open, and have service constantly performed in them; but, reckoning the chapels which are shut except on the days of their peculiar saints, there are nearly two hundred consecrated buildings in Athens. The metropolitan church, called the Catholicon, is the only one of these that can be accounted handsome, and the temples, neither of the Mahometans nor the Christians, add any thing to the appearance of the town.

The Greeks of Athens are, as has been remarked, less op-

pressed by the tyranny of the Turks than those of any other part of the empire; and, notwithstanding the lamentation of some classical philanthropists, who have deplored that a people unconquered by Xerxes, should become the portion of an Æthiopian eunuch, the Athenians have been benefited by the resolution, which they adopted about the middle of the seventeenth century, of putting themselves under the protection of the Kisklar Aga, by paying a voluntary tribute of thirty thousand crowns to that officer; for the Waiwodes appointed since that period, have felt themselves so much dependent upon the good-will of their subjects, who, by a sacrifice of part of their wealth, have it in their power to remove him, that they have generally treated them with justice and lenity. The Greeks have, indeed, more than once revolted, and expelled their governor; and, in one instance, they drove an unpopular master into the Acropolis, besieged him in that fortress, and, lastly, cut him to pieces on endeavouring to make his escape.

About fifteen years before our time, a Waiwode, by name Hadji Ali Chaseki, presumed to treat them with great rigour, and to extort from them large sums, part of which he employed in buying a great extent of olive-groves, and in the erection of a magnificent kiosk, surrounded with spacious gardens, which are still seen near the site of the Academy. After repeated and unavailing complaints (for Ali was befriended by the chief Archon of the city), nearly half of the inhabitants of Athens retired into the villages, where (like the seceders on the Aventine mount) they continued for three years, until the tyrant was removed, at first to Rhodes, and then to Constantinople, where he lost his head. Many of the Athenians at this day are as familiar with the Alba-

nian language as with their own ; an acquirement to be referred to the period of their voluntary exile amongst the peasants of Attica, nearly the whole of whom are Albanian colonists.

The government of the Waiwode continues nominally only for one year, but frequently lasts nine or ten, according to the satisfaction expressed by his subjects. He interferes but little with the management of the Christians, and generally contents himself with the receipt of the tribute which is collected by the Codja-bashees or Archons—the immediate rulers, and, it should seem, the oppressors of the Greeks. The Archons have been, until lately, eight in number; they are at present only five, whose names, not quite so agreeable to the ear as the Cleons or Phormios of antiquity, are Stavros-to-maras, Nicolettos, Capitana-chis, Zingaras, and Zakarichas ; another person, by name Logotheti, the friend of Hadji Ali, was formerly an Archon, but being now considered English Vice-Consul, no longer holds that station. There are six secretaries attached to the Archons ; but I did not learn that the whole of these rulers ever assemble at any stated time, or have any regular system, for the transaction of business.

The regular tax transmitted from Attica to the Porte, is between seven hundred and seven hundred and fifty purses (three hundred and seventy-five thousand and three hundred and fifty thousand piasters); but the Codja-bashees, under various pretences, exact as many as fifteen hundred purses ; and as they never give any account to the people of the manner in which their money has been disposed, do not fail to enrich themselves by the surplus amount. Threats, and sometimes punishments, are employed to wring from the peasants their hard-earned pittance ;

and such is the oppressive weight of the tyranny, that the murmurs of the commonalty have frequently broken out into open complaints, and even a complete revolution, involving the destruction of the Archons; and an establishment of a better order of things, has been meditated by the more daring and ambitious amongst the oppressed. An unfortunate malcontent, who, in fond recollection of better days, has given to his three sons the names of Miltiades, Themistocles, and Alcibiades, talked to me of this glorious project (το καλο πραγμα). “The Turks,” said he, “will be on our side, if we get the better; but, alas! the influence of money is all-powerful; and Demosthenes himself, were he alive, and (like me) without a para, would not have a single listener.” He added besides, that their priests, a powerful body, would espouse the cause of their Codja-bashees.

The Archbishop of Athens, whose ecclesiastical dominion extends over Bæotia, and even into some parts of the Peloponesus, exercises an absolute authority over the whole of the clergy of his see, and has a prison near his house for the confinement of offenders, whom he may punish with the bastinado, or in any degree short of death. His place is purchased of the Patriarch, and is consequently the object of many intrigues, which not unfrequently terminate in the expulsion of the incumbent, and the election of another archbishop. Popular clamour has also sometimes displaced such of these priests as have exceeded the usual bounds of extortion*.

* I read, in the Life of Meletius, prefixed to his Geography, Αθηναῖοι. . . . βουλόμενοι τὸν ἴδιον Ἀρχιερέα ἀποδιῶξαι ὡς ἄχρηστον ἐζήτησαν αὐτὸν διὰ γνήσιον τοὺς Ἀρχιερέα, οὐ καὶ δίδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὃ τε Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Πατριάρχης. The custom, it appears, has not been confined to Athens; the same biographer,

Some of the Athenians are fond of tracing back their pedigree, which, however, according to their own account, they are unable to do beyond the Turkish conquest. The name Chalcocondyles was, till lately, the one held in the greatest repute; but the person who at present professes himself to be, on his mother's side, a descendant of the family, has not assumed the appellation. The character of the modern inhabitants of this town does not rank high amongst their countrymen, and the proverb which is to be seen in Gibbon, I heard quoted against them in their own city—"As bad as the Turks of Negroponte, the Jews of Salonica, and the Greeks of Athens." A French resident, who had lived amongst them many years, talking to me of their propensity to calumniate and supplant each other, concluded with this lively expression, "Believe me, my dear Sir, they are the same canaille as they were in the days of Miltiades."

We were not amongst them long enough to discover any very unamiable traits by which they may be distinguished from other Greeks, though I think we saw in them a propensity to detraction and intrigue. Whatever may be their talents this way, they are now chiefly employed in debating whether the French or English, nations inhabiting countries unknown to their ancestors, shall deprive them of the last memorials of their ancient glory. To retain them themselves never, I believe, is an object of their wishes.

The Greeks of Athens are all of them employed in carrying on a small commerce, by exporting part of the produce of their lands, and receiving in return some Italian, and, of late, English

a little farther, talks of a certain Clement, Metropolitan of Ioannina *ἰνδημήσαντος*, an expression savouring of ancient Greece.

manufactured goods, together with corn. One Athenian trader has accompanied his merchandize as far as London. The olive-trees still continue the principal wealth of Attica, and between three and four thousand barrels of oil are usually exported in a year; though, in a very abundant season, perhaps once in twenty-five years, there is a much greater quantity shipped from the Piræus. In 1808, it surpassed more than twenty times that amount; and a Greek, who had given two thousand piasters for eighty trees, the preceding year, gained two thousand five hundred by a single gathering. There is a small quantity of butter, cheese, silk, honey, resin, and pitch, besides some cattle, also sent annually out of Attica.

The families of Franks settled at Athens, some of which have intermarried with the Greeks, are those of Mr. Rocque, Mr. Andrea, Mr. Gaspari, his relation Mr. Gaspari, and Mr. Louis; to these may be added, two establishments, one belonging to Mr. Lusieri, and the other to Mr. Fauvel, the French Consul. These gentlemen, with the exception of the two last, chiefly support themselves by lending money, at an interest from twenty to thirty per cent., to the trading Greeks, and in a trifling exportation of oil. They add, it must be supposed, considerably to the pleasures of a residence in this city, by their superior attainments and the ease of their manners. The gentlemen amongst them, all but Mr. Andrea, wear the Frank dress; the ladies, that of the country. They have balls and parties in the winter and spring of the year, in their own small circle, to which the principal Greeks are invited, and particularly during the carnival, when they and many of the inhabitants are in masquerade. We were present at that season, and were visited by a young Athenian in an English

uniform, who was highly delighted with his metamorphosis. The most favourite fancy of the Greeks seemed to be that of dressing themselves up like the Waiwode, the Cadi, or other principal Turks, and parading the streets with attendants also properly habited. One more daring humourist of my acquaintance, on one occasion mimicked the Archbishop himself as if in the ceremony of blessing the houses, but found the priests less tolerant than the Mahometans, for he was excommunicated.

The French Consul, the head of the Nation, as the Franks are called, has long enjoyed a high degree of consideration at Athens, whose inhabitants have, for some time, felt a lively interest in every thing relative to the affairs of France. At a short distance from the Doric Portico, over the door of a house formerly belonging to the Consulate, there is a bas-relief, representing Liberty with her spear and cap, encircled with a laurel wreath, and the inscription, "La Republique Française." Amongst so many memorials of the ages, when the inhabitants of this city were a great and independant people, I was not a little struck with being thus reminded of the former freedom of another republic, also overthrown, and no less to be numbered with the things that have passed away, than the long-lost liberties of the Athenians.

The French have had a Consul established at Athens since the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the Jesuits of Paris settled a Missionary in the country about the year 1645. The Capuchins also began their pious labours on the same spot in 1658; and, eleven years afterwards, one of them, Father Simon, purchased the building which includes the famous choragic monument of Lysicrates, commonly known by the name of the Lantern of Demosthenes, and which still continues attached to that

mission. The Jesuits, whose convent was in the quarter of the town near the Catholicon, have many years ago retired to the Negroponte.

The Roman Catholic service is performed for the Franks in the Capuchin convent. The present Padre is an intelligent man, who, besides the duties of his holy office, is occupied in instructing from twenty to twenty-five or thirty of the sons belonging to the Frank families; he has fitted up the circular chamber formed by the monument of Lysicrates, with shelves that contain a few volumes of choice books.

The world was indebted to one of the early Missionaries for the most circumstantial account of the antiquities of modern Athens, in the work of the Jesuit Babin, published by Spon in the year 1672; and if the Propaganda Society has not had to boast of many Turkish or Greek converts, they may at least reflect with pleasure, that their Ministers in this quarter of the Levant have been gratefully remembered by many travellers, to whom, from, and probably long before, the days of Chandler, to the present period, the Capuchin convent at Athens has afforded a secure and agreeable residence.

Until within a few years, a journey to Athens was reckoned a considerable undertaking, fraught with difficulties and dangers; and at the period when every young man of fortune, in France and England, considered it an indispensable part of his education to survey the monuments of ancient art remaining in Italy, only a few desperate scholars and artists ventured to trust themselves amongst the barbarians, to contemplate the ruins of Greece.

But these terrors, which a person who has been on the spot

cannot conceive could ever have been well-founded, seem at last to be dispelled: Attica at present swarms with travellers, and several of our fair countrywomen have ascended the rocks of the Acropolis. So great, indeed, has been the increase of visitants, that the city, according to a scheme formed by a Greek once in our service, will soon be provided with a tavern, a novelty surely never before witnessed at Athens. A few more years may furnish the Piræus with all the accommodations of a fashionable watering-place.

It is scarcely necessary to account for the eagerness to visit the city of Minerva. In addition to other attractions, there is a consideration which cannot fail to increase the interest of surveying such an object: dating the settlement on the Acropolis from Theseus, which is later than generally allowed, three thousand and forty-six years have elapsed since Athens began to fix the attention of the civilized portion of mankind, and, for more than half that period, it continued, through all the gradations of increasing prosperity, unrivalled glory, and splendid decay, to furnish materials for the historian, the poet, and the orator, of every succeeding age. From the reign of Justinian until the thirteenth century, very few notices of its existence have been discovered by the researches of the learned. Spon and Chandler could only discover, that it supplied Roger, King of Sicily, with silk-worms and silk-workers, about the year 1130; and a late writer, who has given himself some credit for the success of his enquiry, has only been able to add to this information, that, about the year 590, a Byzantine historian talks of the splendour of the Athenian Muses of his age, and that, in the reign of Constantine the Seventh, Chases, Prefect of Achaia, was stoned to death in a church at

Athens*. Yet during these unnoticed ages, the city may be conjectured to have maintained at least its present size; for, when the accounts remaining, of the irruption of the Latins, again fix our regards on Greece, we find it of sufficient importance to be made the head of a state, comprising Thebes, Argos, Corinth, and part of Thessaly; and its western Princes of the fourteenth century, if they did nothing worthy the panegyric of the sober historian, have still been the heroes of romance, as from them, Boccace and Chaucer, and after their example, Shakspeare, have borrowed their “Theseus, Duke of Athens.”

It cannot be thought that the town has increased since the Turkish conquest; so that he who at this day surveys the hill of the Acropolis, has the view of a site which has been covered with the habitations of men, and maintained, probably without intermission, a population of eight or ten thousand souls, for more than thirty centuries; a fortune to which no other spot, that I know of, in the world can justly pretend, and which a view of its revolutions and disasters must render still more surprising.

From the invasion of Xerxes to the irruption of Alaric into Greece, in 396, Athens changed masters at least twenty-three different times, and; during this period, the town was twice burnt by the Persians; the suburbs, and every thing valuable in the vicinity, destroyed by the second Philip of Macedon; the port, suburbs, and the whole city, nearly levelled with the ground, and all its ornaments defaced by Sylla; the Acropolis plundered by

* The first anecdote is extracted from the work of Theophylactus Simocatus; the second, from Leo the grammarian. The travels of the author who has made use of them, Mr. Chateaubriand, unfortunately did not come to my hand until the principal part of these Letters was already composed.

Tiberius, surprised and ravaged by the Goths in the reign of Claudius; and lastly, the city and territory utterly ruined, and stript of every portable curiosity of value by Alaric.

In the ages during which we are ignorant of its fate, it may have suffered by the many competitions for the eastern empire: on the opening of its renewed history, we find it besieged by Sgure*, a petty Prince of the Morea, in 1204, but successfully defended by its Archbishop, Michael Choniates, the brother of Nicetas the historian. It was then taken by Boniface, Marquis of Montserrat, who appointed one of his followers, Otho de la Roche, a Burgundian, Duke (Δουξ) of Athens, a title borne by its Governor since the time of Constantine the Great†. After being in the hands of the son and two grandsons of Otho, it was seized by a Prince of the house of Brienne, who married a female of the line of the last possessors of the sovereignty, and whose son, Walter, was the Duke of Athens and Grand Signior of Thebes, who lost his crown and his life on the banks of the Cephissus, fighting against the Catalans. In this fatal battle, the army of the Athenian Prince amounted to nearly fifteen thousand men, a number which might make us suppose that the vigour of this Grecian state was renewed, did we not know that the troops serving under Brienne, were all either Frenchmen, or other mercenaries, most of them of the same nation as the enemy. Amongst

* This person, whom Mr. Chateaubriand mentions on the authority of Nicetas, may be he whom Chandler calls a General of Theodorus Lascars.

† Ο' Ἡγεμὼν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου τίτλον (what a word for the ear of an Hellenist) Μεγάλου Δουκὸς καθὼς καὶ ὁ τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὸ τῆ Πρίγκιπος, ὁ δὲ τῆς Βοιωτίας, καὶ τῶν Θηβῶν τὸ Μεγάλη Πριμικηρίος, ὃν ὕστερον κατὰ φοράν τῆς λέξεως, Μέγαν Κύριον ἐκάλουν.—Melet. Attic.

the other noble victims of English valour who bled in the field of Poitiers, is mentioned a titular Duke of Athens, the son of the unfortunate Walter.

The claims of the Catalans, who remained tyrants of the place for a few years, seem to have been merged in Delves of the house of Arragon. I have been unable to understand Chandler, when he talks of the taking of Athens by Bajazet, subsequently to the incursion of the Catalans. The Sultan, if he did make himself master of the city, which does not appear, must, I should believe, have preceded those invaders.

During the latter part of the fourteenth century, by a sad reverse, of which there are examples in the fortune of states as well as of individuals, Athens was a fief of the kingdom of Sicily, and then fell into the possession, whether by gift or conquest is not distinctly known, of a Florentine, Reinier Acciajuoli, who bequeathed it by his will to the Venetians. During the reign of Reinier, Amurath the Second besieged and took the city, but soon retired, leaving it in the possession of the same prince.

The Venetians were driven from Athens by Anthony, Signior of Thebes, natural son of Reinier, and the dukedom continued in his family, but frequently disputed by competitors of the same kindred*, until Omar, a general of Mahomet the Great, seized

* Anthony was succeeded by Nerius; Nerius was dethroned by his brother Anthony the Second, but recovered his dominion after the death of that prince. The widow of Nerius reigned after her husband, but was, with the assistance of the Turks, expelled, and afterwards poisoned at Megara, by Francus, son of Anthony the Second, the last Duke, who, after a year's reign, was deprived of his dominions, first of Attica, and afterwards of Bæotia, and finally strangled by order of Mahomet. It is said that Athens, in her last extremity, when be-

upon the city in 1455. But this was not its last distress; it was plundered and sacked by the Venetians in 1464; taken, after a bombardment by the army of the same nation, under Morosini, in 1687; and, lastly, besieged and again recovered by the Turks, in 1688.

That Athens should still remain a well-peopled city, after such repeated miseries, is surely somewhat astonishing; and, indeed, from the Turkish conquest by Mahomet, until about the year 1584, it was believed in Christendom to have been almost deserted*. At that period, the learned Martin Crusius† published his *Turco-Græcia*, which contained two letters, one from Zygomalas, a native of Nauplia, in the Morea, the other from Cabasilas, an Acarnanian, both of whom attempted to describe the state of the city, and its remaining antiquities. But long after that time, and so late as the beginning of the last century, a very learned author wrote thus, in summing up its history:—

sieged by Omar, refused the assistance of the Latin Princes, who demanded the conversion of the heretic Greeks as the price of their aid. All the latter revolutions of Athens are detailed in a work called *Atene Attica*, by Fanelli, written at the beginning of the last century, which is referred to by Chandler; it was lent to me, at Athens, by the kindness of Mrs. Fauvel.

Atene Attica contains a plan and a picture of Athens, as it was besieged by Morosini, and also some rude cuts from wood, representing all the Dukes who successively governed this state.

* There are four authors quoted in the introduction to the travels before mentioned, who talk of Athens as in that deplorable state: Nicholas Gerbel, in 1550; Dupinet, in 1554; Laurenberg, in 1557; and the geographer Ortellius, in 1578, who says of it, “*nunc casulæ tantum supersunt quædam.*”

† Kraus, professor of Greek and Latin in the university of Tübingen.

“ Lastly, in the year of our Lord 1455, it was so despoiled by the Turks, that it is now no longer a town, but a village, under the dominion of that people, who have given it the name of Setines*.”

But if the mere existence of the town, after the revolution of so great a portion of the ages of the world, excites our wonder, we must be more surprised that it contains at this day, more objects of admiration than would be displayed by an assemblage of all the monuments of ancient art to be found in every other part of Greece.

* Lamb. Bos. Antiq. Græc. p. 29.

LETTER XXII.

*Antiquities of Athens—Temple of Theseus—Areopagus—Pnyx
Museum—Monument of Philopappus—Odéum—Theatre of
Bacchus—River Ilissus—Adrian's Temple—Callirhoë—Sta-
dium of Atticus Herodes—Adrian's Arch and Aqueduct—
Monument of Lysicrates—Monument of Andronicus Chyr-
restes—The Doric Portico—Many smaller Remains.*

DURING our residence of ten weeks at Athens, there was not, I believe, a day of which we did not devote a part to the contemplation of the noble monuments of Grecian genius, that have outlasted the ravages of time, and the outrage of barbarous and antiquarian despoilers.

The Temple of Theseus was within five minutes walk of our lodgings; for the site of it I must refer you to the annexed picture, where it appears entire, which is almost its actual state; for, excepting the sculptures on the back and front porches, and the roof, which is modern and vaulted, the outside of the building has been but little affected by the injuries of four-and-twenty centuries*, and is, to this day, the most perfect ancient edifice in

* It was built a little after the battle of Marathon, fought four hundred and ninety years B. C.

the world. In this fabric, the most enduring stability, and a simplicity of design peculiarly striking, are united with the highest elegance and accuracy of workmanship; the characteristic of the Doric style, whose chaste beauty is not, in the opinion of the first artists, to be equalled by the graces of any of the other orders. A gentleman at Athens, of great taste and skill, assured me, that after a continued contemplation of this Temple, and the remains of the Parthenon, he could never again look with his accustomed satisfaction upon the Ionic and Corinthian ruins of Athens, much less upon the specimens of the more modern species of architecture to be seen in Italy.

A person accustomed to the cumbrous churches of Christendom, those laboured quarries above-ground, spreading over a large irregular space, would not be struck with the site of the Grecian temples; on the contrary, he would think them rather small. The Theséum is only one hundred and ten feet long, and forty-five feet broad, and appears less than it is in reality, from the proportion of the columns, which, though only eighteen feet high, and without bases and plinths, are nine in circumference at their lower extremities. But the materials of the building being of a sort which we are accustomed to think most costly, and the inimitable skill of the artist becoming more apparent at every investigation, the first slight disappointment is succeeded by the purest admiration.

The four-and-thirty columns of this Temple, and their entablatures, as well as the steps of ascent, and the walls of the cell itself, are of the finest Parian marble, the natural colour of which may be perceived where the stone has been recently broken, although its general surface has been tinged by the hand of Time with a pale

yellow hue. The shafts of some of the columns, (whose tambours, as has been discovered by the fragments of the Parthenon, were not united by any cement, but by a sort of leaden or iron cramp), and especially the corner ones on the right of the Pronaos, have been disjoined by earthquakes, but are not yet sufficiently injured to threaten a speedy fall. The flutings of many of them have been broken by stones, and other species of injury, as is the case with the figures in mezzo-relievo on the metopes, and those of the frizes of the western porch of the Temple.

The sculpture on the western front, the posticum, though it has been struck with lightning, is in the best preservation. The prominent figure, of Theseus killing a Centaur, who is struggling on his back, wants the head and a right arm, but the body of his enemy is very entire. Two of the Centaurs laying a large stone over one of the Lapithæ in a pit, are, as they were noticed by Chandler, less injured than the other figures. Is not this the fable of Ceneus, who, when he could not be otherwise slain, was buried alive? Two figures with shields, supposed to be Hercules and Iolaus descending into Hell, have lost their heads, arms, and legs.

The whole of the sculpture of the Theséum has been modelled by Lord Elgin's artists, as well as by the French agents, but the noble Ambassador did not suffer any part of it to be separated from the building, and for this forbearance he gives himself all due credit. The opposite faction assert, that the endeavour was made, but interrupted in the outset. I could not decide on the motive, but was contented with the fact.

“ Blest be the great for what they took away,
“ And what they left me.”

The cell of the Temple, the outside walls of which were anciently adorned with paintings by Micon, and where the modern Greeks formerly drew pictures of their Saints, now quite effaced, is converted into a church, dedicated to St. George, but, with the exception of the festival of that Saint, is never opened, unless to gratify the curiosity of travellers. The door to it, on the south side of the church, is but small; it is plated with iron, which is perforated or indented, in every part, with pistol and gun bullets. The pavement on the inside having been removed, the floor is of mud; and, in the middle nearly of the building, there is a small sepulchral mound of earth, like those in our churchyards. This is the grave of Tweddle. A slab of marble, with an inscription, is in preparation, at my Lord Elgin's expence, and under his direction. An epitaph for such a person, and to be placed in such a spot, must be a work of some nicety. The interior of the church has a melancholy appearance; the walls are quite bare, and the pictures of Saints in the sacristy, or oval recess, erected in the eastern porch, are of the most pitiful kind. The round marble with the four faces of inscriptions, three of which were copied by Lord Sandwich, and made it appear to have belonged to the Prytanéum, still remains in the south corner of the western front.

The Theséum stands on a knoll of open ground, cultivated for corn, between two and three hundred yards from the town, and not more than twenty yards from the wall of modern Athens. Under the slope of the hill is one of the gateways, through which those who live to the north of the Acropolis take their road to the Piræus.

A person walking from the Temple towards the Acropolis, and

passing out of this gate, if he still keeps in the direction of the walls, would immediately ascend the craggy hill of the Areopagus. This hill is very uneven, consisting of two rocky eminences, on the lowest of which is a small chapel, dedicated to St. Dionysius the Areopagite. A cave below this chapel, always shown by the Athenians, and which contains a cold spring, perhaps the fountain mentioned by Pausanias as being near the Temple of Apollo and Pan, on the descent from the Acropolis, is no otherwise curious, than as being reported by the devout Christians to have given shelter to St. Paul. The Areopagus is within a stone's throw of the craggy sides of the Acropolis, which is mentioned, that you may not attach too important a signification to the words mountain, hill, valley, and rock; for, in fact, the scene presented by the city, and the immediate vicinity of Athens, is a landscape in miniature, the most lovely in the world, indeed, but by no means corresponding with the notions of those who are acquainted with the vast exploits, without having beheld the country of the Greeks. There are no remains of any ancient building which may have been the place of assembly on the Areopagus, although that celebrated court continued to exist to a late period, as Rufius Festus, Proconsul of Greece during the reigns of Gratian and Theodosius, is called an Areopagite.

The ground at the west of this hill is a hollow valley, which is inclosed on the other side by the sloping concave ascent of another eminence, less rocky than that of the Areopagus, but covered only with a very thin soil. This hill, though considerably inferior in height to the Acropolis, is, in the ancient descriptions, ranked amongst the Attic mountains, under the name of Lycabettus. The region between the Areopagus and Lycabettus, was

part of the old city, and included within the walls, which may be yet traced over the brow of the last-mentioned hill. The part in the valley was the Cœle of Athens, the Hollow; and above this, there are very evident vestiges of Pnyx, the place of public assembly. These are immediately fronting, (westward), the Acropolis, in the concave slope of Lycabettus, which, in this place, presents the appearance of being hewn perpendicularly, so as to form the cord of the semicircular arc.

In the middle, or rather in a niche of this part of the hill, there are two pieces of wall, composed of stones of an immense size, meeting in an obtuse angle, in which there is a flat area, raised upon a flight of four or five steps. This appears to have been the Bema of the orators, or at least the platform on which the pulpit was raised, after the conquest of the city by Lysander, when it fronted the Acropolis, and had no view of the sea. The ground has been cleared away in several parts, so as to show other portions of the same wall, by the activity of Lord Elgin's agents, who would have obtained much praise, and escaped a good deal of obloquy, if they had confined themselves to such labours and researches.

Just above the stone platform is the brow of the hill, whence there is a view of the Piræus, the peninsula of Munychia, and the whole line of coast. The west side of Lycabettus falls, by an easy descent, into the large plain of Athens. Cœle, the area of Pnyx, the sides and summits of Lycabettus, are ploughed up and cultivated, where there is any soil on the rock. They were covered with the green blades of wheat and barley, as early as the month of January; and, on the clear warm days which often occur in the depth of an Athenian winter, swarmed with trains of

Greek and Turkish females, clothed in their bright-coloured hoods and mantles, some strolling about, others sitting in circles, with their children playing on the 'Turkish guitar, and dancing before them. As the season advances, many of the poorer sort of women are seen in these corn-grounds, picking the wild salads and herbs, which constitute so material a part of their diet during the long fasts of the Greek church.

In the middle of February, the corn was a foot high, and then, to crop its luxuriance, the horses of the Turks were tethered in the fields, amongst the standing barley, and were continued in the pasture for a fortnight or three weeks.

Nothing can be more full of life than the picture to be viewed, particularly on this side, close to the walls of Athens. A pleasing object, and one which I have often encountered in my rambles near the town, was a well-drest boy, generally a Turk, leading, in a coloured string, a favourite ram*, whose horns were crowned with flowers, and sometimes playing or struggling with him, in an attitude often represented by ancient sculptors. It is usually towards the Bairam, the Mahometan festival, and the Christian carnival, that these pretty animals are thus adorned, previous to their sacrifice. The children attending their mothers in their walks, are also often followed by tame lambs.

To return to our survey: on your way from the city-gates towards Pnyx, before you come to the side of the hill, there is on the right hand, an assemblage of low crags, separated from

* Poukeville says, that in the Morea the shepherds will call a ram *Tityrus*! If he were to travel in Ireland, he would as gravely swear that the peasants of that country call a pig "*Horace*," and without being far from the truth.

Lycabettus by a small gap in the rocks. On these crags is a little Greek chapel, and at the lower end of them, towards the Areopagus, is a smooth descent, which has been worn even and slippery, by the effects of a singular persuasion prevalent amongst the females of Athens of both religions—the married women conceive, that by sliding uncovered down this stone, they increase their chance of bringing forth male children; and I saw one of them myself at this exercise, which appeared to me not only disagreeable, but indeed rather perilous.

Above the steps of Pnyx, keeping rather on an ascent to the right for a hundred paces, you reach the highest part of Lycabettus, where there is a windmill; on which spot, as Chandler was informed by an eye-witness, the Venetians, in 1687, placed four mortars and six pieces of cannon, when they battered the Acropolis*.

To the south of the steps of Pnyx, lower down, but at no great distance in the side of the hill, are the three artificial excavations, looking like square caves, conjectured by Chandler to be the sepulchres of Cimon the father of Miltiades, and of his mares, thrice victorious at the Olympic games. When Lycabettus was supposed to be the Areopagus, these were thought to be the prisons of that court, and are so laid down in the plan of Athens attached to the *Atene Attica* of Fanelli. *

Descending from the Cimonian sepulchres into the hollow valley, Cœle, you arrive at the rocky ascent just under the Acro-

* The same traveller places the Persian camp on this spot; but Herodotus, lib. viii. *Urania*, cap. 52, expressly says, that it was on the mount called by the Athenians “the Hill of Mars.” The fact is, that what Dr. Chandler calls a part of Lycabettus, was thought by early travellers to be the Areopagus.

polis, covered with tomb-stones, one of which is erected to the memory of a pious Mussulman, who has also a tomb at Constantinople and at Smyrna, and is believed occasionally to revisit the earth, and appear amongst the true believers.

Turning again to the right (south-west), and having the Acropolis at your back, you proceed, for a short time, over a flat, now a corn-ground, and then begin to ascend a steep hill, separated from Lycabettus by a rocky hollow, through which there is a path from the Piræus to the city. This hill, much higher than Lycabettus, is that once called the Muséum, a half cannon shot from the Acropolis; and, on the top of it, is the monument, visible at a great distance, going by the name of the tomb of Philopappus*.

What is now seen of this structure is of very white marble, the substructure of which being partly above ground, gives it a height of twelve or thirteen feet. Its form is that of a very elliptical curve; and the concave part of the ruin, looking towards the Acropolis, contains two oval niches, in each of which there is a statue, one of them (that on the right) being seated in a chair. A square column is between the two niches, and the base of this pilaster represents, in very prominent figures, as large as life, a person drawn in a chariot by four horses, with a procession in front, and a Victory following. The figures have all lost their heads, and the horses' legs are broken; but the sculpture, though

* Philopappus lived in the time of Trajan, and it is thought probable, from part of an inscription containing the words, "King Antiochus, son of King Antiochus," and from Pausanias (Attic. p. 46), who calls this the tomb of a Syrian, that he was a descendant of the Kings of Syria, settled by Pompey at Rome.

of a late date, is very bold and animated. To the right the monument is entire, but, to the left, in ruins; the marbles composing it jutting out, so as to form a set of steps for any one who may wish to climb to the higher part of it, and view the ornaments more closely. The part destroyed, it is thought, contained a third niche, and completed the structure; the remaining portion seems in such a condition as to be likely to fall with the first earthquake. Many parts of the marble are covered, not to say defaced, with names of travellers. The name of an artist, Romaldi I think, who travelled with Mr. Dodwell, is, with an unpardonable vanity, written up in half a dozen places. A picture taken from this spot, would comprehend all the south-west of the city, and, with the annexed sketch, complete the view of Athens.

Here the Venetians, under Morosini, had also a mortar, and one of the bombs fired from it was fatal to some of the sculpture on the west front of the Parthenon. The same spot had been before selected, as a position calculated to overawe the city, by Antigonus and Demetrius Poliorcetes, who fortified its summits.

The Muséum contains nothing else worthy of notice, except two sepulchral cavities, much of the same kind as those of Delphi, scooped out on the south side of the hill.

Passing down from the Muséum towards the Acropolis, and keeping a little to the right, you come into a flat piece of ground, which stretches along the southern rocks of the citadel, and was that portion of ancient Athens called "the Ceramicus within the City," but is now ploughed, though but with little advantage to the husbandman, as the soil is very thin, and covered in many places with small fragments of marble, and other ruins of ancient buildings; a circumstance no one will wonder at, who has looked

into the mention made of this portion of ancient Athens by Pausanias*. In this place we were shown several marks of late excavations, undertaken chiefly by Lord Elgin, who had the good fortune to find there a stone with an inscription, in elegiac verse, on the Athenians who were slain at Potidæa.

At about a furlong and a half from the foot of the Acropolis, the plain of the Ceramicus is terminated by the small gravelly channel of the Ilissus, a river, as Boccace calls the Sebeto, “quanto ricco d'onor tanto povero d'acque;” and which, during our winter at Athens, notwithstanding some rain and snow, was never swelled even into a temporary torrent. The channel, however, may not in former times have been always so entirely dry; for water is discovered, at a little depth, by digging into the stony bottom, which may be more shallow now than formerly, and choked up by the accumulation of the surrounding ruins. But the Ilissus, if full to the margin, could never have been more than an insignificant brook†.

Going directly from the Muséum towards the Acropolis, in order to pass close under the rock, you arrive at the western angle of the hill, and at once see the remains of the theatre built by Herodes upon the site of the Odéum of Pericles. These are not of marble, but of stones of large dimension, and preserve exactly the same appearance as when described by Dr. Chandler forty years ago. The entrance to the area of the ruin is still

* Attic. p. 7, beginning το δε χωριον ο Κεραμεικος.

† I see, that on the strength of these pools of water, to which the Albanian women of Athens resort to wash their clothes, Mr. Chateaubriand attacks Dr. Chandler, who laughed at the traveller Le Roi, for representing the Ilissus as a fine flowing river, with a respectable bridge across it.

from the citadel, to which one of the walls, formerly the inner one of the Proscenium, serves as an outwork. What is to be seen of the seats of the Amphitheatre, which, in order to make use of an advantage frequently resorted to by Grecian artists, are scooped out of the side of the hill, is chiefly on the right or west side of the area, the falling rubbish and mould having blocked up those on the other parts of the semicircle. The cord of the arc is about eighty-two long paces.

This, though the original building was of great magnificence, is not a striking ruin, but of a very stable construction, and has served as a model for the study of architects. The very little depth of the scene shows the use to which the theatre was put; not for the representation of plays, but for the contests in music at the Panathenæan festivals. The three rows of arched windows, one above the other, seem more in the Roman than in the Grecian taste.

As you proceed from the Odæum by the rugged track close to the foot of the Acropolis, in the same direction (to the east), the naked rocks, crowned with the projecting battlements of the citadel, are seen high above you to the left. There is some soil and sloping crags about half way up the hill, to which point you can climb, but above this the rocks rise perpendicularly, and are inaccessible.

A hundred paces from the Odæum, there is to be seen, half hidden in the cliff, what looks like the foundation arches of a projecting part of the fortress above. They have been thought part of an ancient portico leading to the Music Theatre.

Unless directed to observe them, you would hardly notice these ruins, nor would you pay much attention to the site of the Theatre

of Bacchus, which occurs at a little distance from the south-east angle of the Acropolis, were it not for the ancient vestiges placed on the rocks above. The circular sweep of the seats, indented into the side of the hill, is scarcely perceptible, nor did I observe the stone-work at the extremities, extant in Chandler's time. But some of the monuments above the Amphitheatre still remain. Three pilasters of the Corinthian order, supporting an entablature, are standing against the flat mouth of a large cave in the side of the hill, which is now closed up, and converted into a church, dedicated to Panagia Spiliotissa, or Our Lady of the Cavern. Over the middle pilaster is an inscription, above which the architrave has some relievos of laurel-wreaths; on the top of the whole, in the middle, was the statue, sedent, thought by Stuart to be the personification of the people, from the word ΔΗΜΟΣ in the inscription to the right, and considered by Chandler to be the statue of Niobe*; but at last determined by my Lord Elgin, who has placed it in his museum, to be the image of the bearded, or Indian Bacchus. The statue had no head so early as 1676, and is dressed like a female†. His Lordship has also taken away the very ancient sun-dial which was to the left of the statue.

Above the cave, and in a position which requires some climbing to reach, just under the walls of the citadel, are two Corinthian pillars, one, three or four feet lower than the other, standing without any other structure attached to them, and having triangular capitals, formerly the bases of tripods.

Leaving the Theatre of Bacchus, you descend to the modern walls of the town on your left, close to which the ground is

* Pausan. Attic. page 37.

† Whether there are any signs of a beard detached from the head, I know not.

ploughed and sowed, and then arrive at one of the gateways, whence there is a road that leads south of the plain towards Cape Colonna, the Sunium promontory. At a few paces to the left of this road, near the gateway, is a circular pavement, an *alóni*, or corn-floor, of the kind so commonly seen in Greece.

Beyond this gate the walls project, and you have to pass round an angle of them, in order to arrive at a ruin of inconceivable magnificence directly before you to the east.

After leaving the walls, and passing over corn-grounds, rugged and interrupted by ravins, at about a furlong distance, you come to a flat paved area, evidently artificially raised, as may be seen from some foundation walls on the eastern side, and towards the channel of the Ilissus, which passes at a hundred paces to the south. On this stand the sixteen fluted Corinthian columns, of the building finished by Hadrian, called by some the Pantheon, and by others the Temple of Jupiter Olympius. Their site is exactly indicated by the pillars at the left extremity of the adjoining picture.

The stupendous size of the shafts of these columns, (for they are six feet in diameter, and sixty feet in height), does not more arrest the attention of the spectator than the circumstance of there being no fallen ruins on or near the spot, which was covered with a hundred and twenty columns, and the marble walls of a temple abounding in statues of gods and heroes, and a thousand offerings of splendid piety. About fifty years ago there was another column standing, which was thrown down to build a mosck near the market-place, and so entirely removed, as not to have left a single fragment of its marble on the area below. Two of the columns fronting the east still support their architraves; and the remains

of a small modern cell of common stone, which, as Chandler observed, must have been erected when the tops of the pillars were accessible from the surrounding ruins, are still seen above the capitals of the two next to the Ilissus. To this the Greeks and Turks direct your attention, and declare it to have been the habitation of a Saint; alluding to a hermit of the sort called Stylites, whose conspicuous penances were once not uncommon in many parts of Christendom. In the tenth century, there was another instance of these voluntary mortifications at Patrass, where a being, who preserved only the figure of man, was seen on the summit of a column, fixed, without motion, for ten years, supported by the bread and the water daily administered to him by the charity of another holy monk, afterwards the famous St. Luke of Stiris.

The solitary grandeur of these marble ruins is, perhaps, more striking than the appearance presented by any other object at Athens, and the Turks themselves seem to regard them with an eye of respect and admiration. I have frequently seen large parties of them seated on their carpets in the long shade of the columns.

At about fifty paces from the western side of the area on which the ruins of Hadrian's Temple are standing, there is a path that leads to the channel of the Ilissus, and conducts you into a wide rocky ravin, close to the bed of the river. Here, after rain, are some pools of water in the hollows, which are frequented by the poor women of Athens for the purpose of washing clothes. Just above the ravin are the ruins of a Turkish fountain; and, near this, is a pulpit of white stone, whence the Imaums, on particular occasions, harangue the assembled multitude.

In the month of March, on the year of our visit, an extraordinary drought had alarmed the Athenians for their future harvest: prayers and holy rites were performed in this place for nine successive days, three of which were devoted particularly to the Mahometans, three to the Christians, three to the strangers and slaves. The people were collected in the ravin, on the corn-fields, and under the columns. The Mahometan priest supplicated for all, and the whole assembly, of all conditions and persuasions, were supposed to join in the prayers; but it was contrived by a little address, that the animal creation should appear to second the entreaty of the Turks; for, just as the turbaned worshippers bowed themselves with one accord to the ground, and called upon the name of their god, the lambs of a large flock collected near the spot, who had just at the instant been separated from the ewes, began to bleat, and were answered by their dames. I know not that any one was deceived by the scheme, but the devouter Musulman may perhaps have believed that the distresses of the sheep were just as worthy to be made known, and as likely to move the compassion of the deity, as the complaints of the Christians.

The ruined fountain seems to have been once supplied by the stream that now flows through artificial channels in the ground into the town, and is collected into two large reservoirs, at a quarter of a mile to the north of the ravin. A small stream, either the overflowings of the reservoirs, or a scanty spring rising in the bed of the river, is generally seen to trickle down the crags, until lost in the gravelly bottom of the Ilissus. This spring has still preserved its ancient name of Callirhoë, and the inhabitants of that part of Athens which stretches towards the columns of Hadrian's Temple, and is the quarter of the Albanians, are called in the

songs of the peasants, Callirhiotes, from their custom of frequenting these pools in the bed of the Ilissus. Callirhoë once supplied the large marble reservoir in this dell, constructed by Pisistratus, the apertures of whose nine pipes, which gave it the name of Enneacrunus, were visible not many years ago, but are not at present to be discerned.

The small Ionic Temple, standing forty years past on the other side of the Ilissus, at a short distance further up to the east, and determined by travellers to be the Eleusinium, where the lesser mysteries were performed, has now disappeared, but a shaft or two of a column is seen, wedged into the wall of a little Greek church near the spot, which may belong either to that Temple or to that of Diana Agræa, once also on nearly the same position.

Following the channel of the Ilissus, about a furlong higher up you reach the site of the marble Stadium of Atticus Herodes. Nothing now remains of this costly structure, except some rubbish, and many pieces of marble raked up by the plough, yet the cavity artificially formed in the side of a low hill still preserves the ancient shape, that of an oblong horse-shoe, of this ancient place of exercise; and the area, which is now a corn-ground, having been measured, has been found to be contained in an arc of six hundred and thirty English feet. But this does not allow for the marble-work, nor for the seats, one row of which may have advanced into the body of the Stadium. Not far from the top of the Stadium, in the slope of the circular range of seats, is a cavern, which, after one or two windings, leads out into the open country at the back of the hill. In this there are no marks of arch-work, or any species of masonry, yet its position has led

former investigators to consider it the private way by which the principal spectators entered, and the unsuccessful candidates in the games retreated from, the area.

On visiting this cavern, your recollections of past times would, for a time, give way to reflections caused by the sight of some present objects. The first day I visited the place, I observed a flat stone in the side of the rock, strewed with several bits of coloured rag, broken glass, flour, and honey, and a handful or two of dry pease. As I was going to examine them, a Greek in company exclaimed, "Don't touch them, Affendi, they are the Devil's goods—they are magical." On enquiry, he assured me that some old women of Athens, well known to be witches, came often to this cavern in the dead of the night, and there performed their incantations, leaving these remnants for offerings to the evil spirit. Another person most seriously informed me, that this was not all, for that these same enchantresses had been often seen during a midnight storm, skimming off the foam of the sea where it rolls against the long pebbly beach, near the ancient port of Phalerus. These witches, (a decrepid creature was pointed out to me as one of them), are hated and feared by Greeks and Turks, and make use of their supposed art to extort charity from the credulous and terrified females of both nations.

Crossing the bed of the Ilissus, at the spot where the marble bridge, (of which there is not now a vestige left), leading from the Stadium to the other side of the river, once stood, and leaving the Corinthian columns to the left, in order to return to the city, you pass over some rough uneven ground, ploughed where there is any soil, and in many places strewed with small pieces of marble, the remnants of New Athens, or that addition to the

old city which was built by the Emperor Hadrian. Keeping a little to the right, you strike into one of the roads to the town, in which continuing a short time, you come to where it divides, one branch going to a gateway not far from the columns, and the other passing nearer to the foot of the hill Anchesmus, whence the view is taken, to another gateway. The first of these is formed by a marble archway, called Hadrian's Arch, from the famous Greek inscriptions on the frize above, showing it to have been one of the boundaries between Old and New Athens. The part of the structure above the frize, presenting a façade, with two small columns, and other ornaments of the Corinthian order, is supported by the arch, and, being out of reach, is not much injured.

The other gateway, to the north, in the walls of the modern city, which in this part stand nearly on the site of the old walls before the Peloponesian war, is covered by a flat piece of carved marble, that, in the year 1765, constituted the frize and architrave of the remains of a marble façade, consisting of two Ionic columns, and a small portion of the arch that stood at the foot of the hill Anchesmus, and denoted the position of a reservoir collecting the waters of an aqueduct, begun by Hadrian and finished by Antoninus Pius. The letters *IMP. CAESAR. T. AELIVS*, and the word *CONSVMMAVIT*, underneath, may be easily read from below, but the intervening line in smaller characters,

AVG. PIVS. COS. III. TRIB. POT. II P. P. AQAEDVCTVM IN NOVIS,

requires a nearer inspection. The stone containing the remainder of the inscription, supplied by early travellers, is now no where to be found.

No other antiquity occurs without the modern city, except the shaft and capital of one column of the Corinthian order, just at the outside of the suburbs to the north-west, between the gate looking towards Thebes, and that near the Temple of Theseus. Whether this column may not be the only remaining vestige of the ruin considered part of the Prytanéum, and having, in 1738, ten columns yet standing, and a marble wall (represented in the Ruins of Athens) I cannot at all decide; but I was told that there had been, not many years past, an antiquity of some importance on the spot, and that a Greek church had been pulled down lately, which stood upon the same area. This may have been the church of Great St. Mary, mentioned by Chandler.

The antiquities to be seen within the town, are the choragic monument of Lysicrates, the Temple of the Winds, and the Doric Portico, or the portal of the new market-place. It is singular enough, that the two last of these should not be mentioned by Pausanias, and, although too considerable to be overlooked as insignificant, be still a portion of the comparatively few remains to be seen at this day.

The peripteral Temple, with a dome supported by six fluted Corinthian columns, or the monument of Lysicrates, called by the modern Greeks and (after them) by travellers, the Lantern of Demosthenes (*Φανάρι του Δημοσθενους*), which is situated under the eastern extremity of the Acropolis, and supposed to be in the line of the ancient street of the Tripods, is the less subject to injury, on account of being attached, as before mentioned, to the Capuchin convent. The good Padre has divided it into two stories; and the upper one, just capable of holding one student at his desk, serves as a small circular recess to a chamber at the

left wing of the convent, from which it is separated by a curtain of green cloth. Only half of this structure, which, like other monuments of the same kind, was only designed as a pedestal for a consecrated tripod, is to be seen from the street, the remaining half of it being inclosed within the walls of the garden, and of the convent itself. The intercolumniations of stone, a modern addition, take away from the effect originally produced by the elegant proportions of this monument; but you would be pleased with its excellent state of preservation, notwithstanding its very great antiquity, which may be dated so far back as the second year of the 111th Olympiad, 330 years before the Christian era. An exact model of it was, some years ago, constructed and placed at the Louvre, and casts of the whole monument, with those of the minute sculpture on the circular architrave, have latterly been taken by my Lord Elgin's artists. The shape of the choragic monument of Lysicrates, can alone account for the strange appellation attached to it by the moderns; and it appears, that an antiquity of the same description, also in the direction of the street of the Tripods, standing in the middle of the seventeenth century, was known by the name of the Lantern of Diogenes.

The monument of Andronicus Chyrrestes, or the octagonal tower called the Temple of the Winds, placed in an obscure part of the town, and very likely to be overlooked, is much in the same state as described by the writers of the last century. It is far from being a striking piece of architecture, and the pyramidal form of the roof, together with the figures representing the eight winds, are of a very heavy kind of sculpture; besides which, the marble of the building has become so dark by age,

us to look like coarse black stone. The wind Zephyr, a winged youth, scattering flowers from his bosom, is the figure now most entire. This portion of the octagon fronts the lane (for it does not deserve the name of a street), and is the only conspicuous part of the monument visible to those who are not within the court-yard of the house in which it is inclosed. The religion of the Mahometans, like that of the Christians in other instances, has helped to preserve this fabric; for the interior of it has for many years served as a place of worship for the turning Der-vishes, who perform their ceremonies every Friday, and a specimen of whose holy exercises we had an opportunity of witnessing at Constantinople.

The Doric Portico, which, from an inscription on the architrave, has been called the façade of a temple dedicated to Augustus, is on the left hand of a yard attached to the Waiwode's house; and part of the building being hidden within the court of a neighbouring dwelling, only one of the four fluted Doric columns composing this ruin, is to be seen from the street, and without getting into a private house belonging to a Turk. The proportions of these columns are much larger than those of the Theséum, but their marble is not of so fine a colour, being almost black.

The conjecture of Chandler, that this portal served as an entrance into the new Agora, built, after the destruction of the old one, on the other side of the Acropolis, by Sylla, received, in the opinion of that traveller, much support from the inscribed marble still to be seen in the walls of a house, to the left hand, close to the ruin, which contains, in very legible characters, some regulations of the Emperor Hadrian's, with respect to the exporta-

tion of oil ; but although this marble is of considerable size, it may still have been brought from any other part of the town, and can hardly be said to determine any thing with respect to the remains, to which it is now, perhaps accidentally, adjoining.

This concludes my notice of the stable antiquities of the town of Athens ; but before I proceed to conduct you to the Acropolis, it would be as well to remark, that there are many detached pieces of carved stone, and marble, inserted in the walls and over the doorways of the modern houses, which arrest the attention of any one who walks the streets, besides such a variety of portable curiosities, as would require more skill and learning than I am possessed of, usefully to illustrate.

These are generally about a foot square, and adorned with small, and not highly finished sculpture, some representing a procession, others a man sedent, with another standing, who has hold of his right hand, taking the last adieu, and having the *χαίτε* underneath. There are many with single figures in the same bas-relief, well executed, containing the name of the dead ; one of them, indeed, which I saw, had not only the name of the deceased, and of his father, but, what is very uncommon, of his trade. A most perfect specimen of the usual subject, the *νεκρὸ-δειπνόν*, or funeral supper, is in my possession. It contains two figures of men recumbent on a couch, under which is a coiled serpent in the act of raising himself, perhaps denoting the cause of the death of the deceased, or an Esculapian emblem ; a female sedent at the foot of the bed, is presenting a cup ; and a boy, in the farther end of the piece, in a spirited and elegant attitude, seems to have been pouring out wine in a flagon. The head of a

horse, the animal sacrificed to Pluto, is very prominent in a small compartment by itself in one corner of the sculpture.

Besides these sepulchral monuments, there are lying in the courts of many of the houses, the small marble pillars, a foot or two in length and four or five inches in diameter, which were the *Στήλαι* erected over the ancient tombs, and containing inscriptions sometimes, but oftener the simple name, or at most the name of the tribe to which the dead belonged: there was one lying in the yard of our lodgings. A great many of them, with their tops rudely carved into the shape of a turban, are stuck up on the graves in the Turkish burying-grounds, especially in that between the rock of the Acropolis and the Muséum.

Fragments of statues, pedestals, capitals of columns, are still to be seen in the walls of the buildings; but the most valuable specimens have been removed by collectors. The sun-dial, and the Gymnasiarch's chair, were taken by Lord Elgin from the court of the Catholicon, where they stood in the time of Chandler.

The marble cistern, or Attic measure for liquids, is yet remaining in the yard of the archiepiscopal house.

Notwithstanding the eager researches, and the extensive collections of all travellers, learned and unlearned, there are still daily discovered in Athens and its neighbourhood, particularly at the Piræus, many smaller antiquities, which are very interesting to any person even moderately versed in ancient literature. We had the opportunity of seeing many lately-found vases (of that kind for the honour of whose invention the Tuscans have been made the competitors with the Greeks), which, though not so large as those collected from the excavations of Lord Elgin at Athens, in the supposed tombs of Antiope and Euripides, and

at Ægina, Argos, and Corinth, were yet very beautiful specimens of the arts, and, besides, suggested one or two curious facts. In one of them, a foot perhaps in diameter, and half full of burnt bones, was a small thin strip of iron, on which was carved the name and the family of Solon. I am not aware that this record of the dead has before been noticed in the sepulchral vases.

The figures on the outside of another vase, much less, but more perfect, which were (as Mr. Lusieri remarked to me) designed, though with the greatest freedom, and perhaps by the hands of a common artist, yet with a spirit and truth not to be imitated by any modern artist, represented Charon ferrying two shades over the Styx; and it was observable, that his boat was, to the nicest point of resemblance, exactly the same in shape as that now in use at Constantinople.

Small busts and fragments of statues are not unfrequently dug up in the grounds in the neighbourhood, or found in the wells. Some of the latter, lately discovered, show faint traces of colours, and prove beyond doubt, what late writers have endeavoured to establish, that the earlier ancients had the practice of painting their statues*; which, though it may seem extraordinary, is not so much so, as that some of them should be composed of various materials, marble, wood, ivory, and gold†: however, we know this to

* A. L. Millan, in his memoir on a bas-relief of the Parthenon, notices this fact, observing, that the ground of the statues was generally blue, the hair and some parts of the body gilt; and the most accomplished antiquarian of the age, in a late magnificent work printed by the Dilletante, has treated of the same subject, and would be consulted with great advantage by every scholar and man of taste.

† The Minerva of the Platæans, made from the Marathonian spoils, had a face, hands, and feet (the work of Phidias) of marble; the other parts of the statue were of gold and wood.—Paus. Bæot.

have been the case, as well as that their figures were dressed in different suits of materials, which were sometimes changed or embellished on particular days. The eyes of most of the marble, and of nearly all the bronze heads, were of some sparkling stone, or else were tinged with a sort of encaustic colouring. Pausanias speaks of a statue of Minerva, that had sea-green eyes, like Neptune; indeed, it does not seem at all improbable, that the epithets of Homer and Hesiod were strictly attended to, in the confirmation and colouring of the representations, afterwards constructed by the Grecian sculptors, of their numerous divinities.

Amongst other small antiquities discovered (as almost all of them are) by excavating tombs, I recollect being shown a Flora of so singular a sort, as to establish, perhaps, the opinion, that the ancients were acquainted with the sexual system of plants; for the upper part represented a female, with her mantle in front full of flowers, and the lower a male figure*.

Mirrors and other utensils of the toilet, alabaster lacrymatories, or rather those sepulchral phials which either contained essences, or, perhaps, the cleansing of the bones when washed in wine and milk†, are frequently brought to the city by the peasants, who are aware of the anxiety of the Franks to obtain such relics. One of them sold me a very beautiful specimen of the

* Το ἄμετρον ἀνδρῶν ἀντὶ supported the folds of the mantle. This sort of representation is a favourite sepulchral emblem: I have seen at Athens, a little Bacchus holding up a large bowl in the same manner. The satyrs on monuments seem a type of this principle—the opposite to that of corruption.

† See Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters, during an excursion in Italy in the years 1802 and 1803, by John Forsyth, Esq. London, 1813, p. 328. A work written during a long captivity, which it ought to terminate.

first-mentioned curiosity for one piaster. One singular remnant of ancient times, in my small collection, I cannot forbear to mention: it is a sling-lead, exactly the shape of an almond-shell, weighing nearly a quarter of a pound*, having on one side the figure of a thunderbolt, and on the other the word ΔΕΞΑΙ ('Take this'), in very plain letters. Another of these, in the possession of an English gentleman, has the word ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩ, "to Philip;" so that the piece of unlucky humour recorded of Aster, who inscribed on an arrow—"to Philip's right eye," was either not very original, or was afterwards commonly imitated by the witty Athenians.

The silver tetradrachm, and a great variety of Athenian and other coins, may be collected with very little trouble; but for detailed observations on these and similar objects of curiosity, I must refer you to the works of professed antiquarians, having by the foregoing hints endeavoured to awaken, rather than to satisfy, your curiosity; and feeling that I have been able to do little more than the pedant, who produced a single brick as a specimen of a whole building.

* Within seven pennyweights

LETTER XXIII.

Ascent to the Acropolis—The Pelasgicon—The Cave of Apollo and Pan—The Entrance of the Citadel—The Propylæa—The Parthenon—The Erechthæum—A Note on Lord Elgin's Pursuits in Greece—The Modern Citadel—The Turkish Garrison.

THERE are two roads of ascent to the gate of the citadel; one over the burying-ground to the left of the Odæum, the other up a steep ill-paved path, commencing from about the middle of the back of the town. There is a wall, making an outwork to the citadel, on your right hand, all the way as you advance towards the entrance of the fortress. Just after you enter the gate of this outwork, there is a niche on the right, where, in 1765, was a statue of Isis. A modern stone fountain is a little above this, and hither the inhabitants of the citadel come for water, as there is no well on the hill.

As you proceed upwards, the rock of the Acropolis is immediately over your left hand, and there is a little soil at the lower part of the steep acclivity, which has been ploughed, but now produces no grain, as the masses of rubbish and large stones falling from the rocks above, must have rendered all labour abortive. Yet this, as we must give credit to the comments on the

earlier history of Athens, was the portion allotted to the people called Pelasgi, who fortified the Acropolis, and were afterwards expelled from Attica for their conduct to the Athenian virgins. The Pelasgicon cannot be more than an acre in extent, and that spread on the rocky sides of a steep hill; a confined territory for a people who dared to rouse the vengeance of the Athenians, and who were thought worthy of a particular execration by the Delphian oracle.

On the left hand also, about half way up the hill, is the cave of Apolo and Pan, which would not be observed, were it not for the stories of ancient mythology which it calls to mind. It is small, and by no means deep, and retains nothing remarkable but two or three square ledges, contrived, most probably, for the reception of votive tablets. The altar of Pan was raised by Evander the Arcadian, in a similar recess in the side of the Palatine hill.

Above this spot, near which the Persians scaled the walls of the Acropolis, the path climbs the hill, taking a direction rather to the left, and you arrive at where a gate in the wall, to the right, leads out over the Turkish burying-ground: ascending thence, straight to the east, you come to the first gate of the citadel, which is furnished with large wooden doors, seldom shut: passing through this, there is, on your right, a small wooden building, and immediately, on the same side, you look into the area of the Odœum.

You pass on upwards to the second gate, the wooden doors of which are shut at night, and entering, have on your right hand an open shed, where a guard of Turks is stationed. Advancing beyond the second gate, you still continue to ascend, but inclin-

ing to your left, until you see at your right the ruins of the Propylæa, and turning round, pass close under them, to get further up into the Acropolis. You turn again to your left, under a square tower, built partly by the Venetians, partly by the Turks, out of the mass of marble remains. The lower part of it is now used as a prison, and has a small iron door of entrance to the dungeons, but was in 1676 a powder-magazine.

You then pass to the left, at the back of the ruins of the Propylæa, and see three of the five door-ways originally behind the columns of that building, and constituting the ancient entrances to the Acropolis. The intercolumniations of the colonnade, an hexastyle, have been walled up, and a terrace, mounted with a battery of cannon, has been raised on a level with the top of the pillars, formed of rubbish and the ruins of the roof, cell, and columns, of the portico of the Propylæa, destroyed by the Venetians in 1687.—The Temple of Victory, once on the right of the Propylæa, was blown up in 1656; the last memorial of its existence was carried away by Lord Elgin, who, from a wall belonging to a rampart attached to the tower, obtained the fragment of sculpture, supposed by Chandler to represent the battle of the Amazons, but decided at last to be the combat of the Athenians and Persians. But a room, to which the entrance is through a hole in the wall, and whose roof is part of the cell of this Temple, is still notorious for the wonder mentioned by Chandler, the miraculous light*. There was a tower, corresponding to that on the opposite wing, standing over the Temple of Victory, when Wheler travelled, but this quarter is now buried under accumulated ruins, and choked up amongst the

* This light is transmitted through a piece of the transparent stone called Phengites.

mean white-washed cottages belonging to the few inhabitants of the citadel. The painted building (οιχημα εχον γραφας), on the left wing of the Propylæa, is also destroyed, but part of it serves as a foundation for the tower before-mentioned.

On the right, as you advance beyond the tower towards the site of the Parthenon, in a poor house, lives the Disdar, or governor of the castle.

The Parthenon stood on the highest flat area of the hill of the Acropolis; and, when the temples on every side of it were standing, whose ruins now serve as foundations for the modern buildings, this magnificent structure appeared to crown a glittering assemblage of marble edifices; and the eye of the Athenian, surveying from below the fair gradation of successive wonders, rested at last upon the colossal image of his Goddess, rising majestic from the summit of her own Temple, the genius of the Acropolis, the tutelary deity of Athens and of Greece.

The ascent to the citadel itself was by a long flight of steps, beginning nearly from the Arcopagus. The very walls of the fortifications were crowned with an ornamental entablature, parts of which still remain; and these, and every other structure, were of the purest Pentelic marble. No wonder then that the Acropolis, in its whole circuit, was regarded as one vast offering consecrated to the Divinity. The portion of the Parthenon yet standing, cannot fail to fill the mind of the most indifferent spectator with sentiments of astonishment and awe, and the same reflections arise upon the sight even of the enormous masses of marble ruins which are spread upon the area of the Temple. Such scattered fragments will soon constitute the sole remains of the Temple of Minerva.

If the progress of decay should continue to be as rapid as it

has been for something more than a century past, there will, in a few years, be not one marble standing upon another on the site of the Parthenon. In 1667, every antiquity of which there is now any trace in the Acropolis, was in a tolerable state of preservation*. This great Temple night, at that period, be called entire:—having been previously a Christian church, it was then a mosck, the most beautiful in the world. At present, only twenty-nine of the Doric columns, some of which no longer support their entablatures, and part of the left wall of the cell, remain standing. Those of the north side, the angular ones excepted, have all fallen: the dipteral porches, especially the Pronaos, contain the greatest number, and these retain their entablatures and pediments, though much injured.

In the interval between two of my visits to the Acropolis, a large piece of the architrave belonging to the exterior colonnade of the Pronaos fell down; all the sculptures from the tympanum

* The Sieur Deshayes (the first who travelled to Athens, and who saw the Temple of Victory almost perfect) in 1625; Nointel and Gallaud, in 1674; Spou and Wheeler, in 1675 and 1676; Lord Winchelsea in 1676, and Vernon; all of whom visited Athens previous to the siege of the city by Morosini, saw the Acropolis, less changed, perhaps, from its ancient state, than it has been from the condition in which it then stood, in the short period subsequent to the days of those travellers. Pococke, Lord Sandwich, Leroi, Stuart, and Chandler, beheld only the ruins of ruins, many of which have since perished—etiam periere ruinae. Even M. de Choiseul's second work, when published, will represent many remains not at present to be seen, for he travelled in 1784; and though Mr. Fauvel, who has been occupied at intervals since the year 1780, in assisting the compilation of Mr. de C.'s *Voyage Pittoresque*, will be able to add the description of some smaller antiquities to the account of those before known, yet very many of the grand monuments of art, for which Athens has been before visited, have within these ten years disappeared.

of this porch have been destroyed ; and the trunks and broken arms of two figures, incorrectly supposed Hadrian and Sabina, or two deities with the heads of those persons, are all now remaining of the grand piece of sculpture which represented the birth of Minerva, and Jupiter in the midst of the assembled Gods. The figure of the Victory, which was on the right of Jupiter, has been recovered by Lord Elgin's agents, who demolished a Turkish house close to the north-west angle of the Temple, for the purposes of excavation, and found it, as well as small parts of the Jupiter, the Vulcan, and the Minerva, underneath the modern building, where they had lain since the Venetians had unsuccessfully attempted to remove them in 1687*.

Many of the sculptures on the ninety-two metopes of the peristyle, representing the battle of the Lapithæ and the Centaurs, particularly those on the entablature of the south side, were almost entire in 1767. I believe there is not one now remaining: the last were taken down by Lord Elgin.

All that was left of the sculpture on the eastern porch, the contest between Minerva and Neptune, has been carried off by the same person. The marks of the separation are still very apparent. Ignorant of the cause, I pointed them out to Mr. Lusieri himself, who informed me of the fact, and showed the places in the pediment whence the two female colossal statues, the Neptune, the Theseus, and the inimitable horse's head, still remembered and regretted by all at Athens, had been removed. Such of the statues as had before fallen, had been ground to powder

* The ropes by which, under the direction of General Kœnigsmark, the workmen were lowering them, broke, and many fine figures were dashed to pieces. Lord Elgin has reaped the advantage of the sacrilege of the Venetians.

by the Turks. It is but fair to mention this fact, at the same time that the other circumstance is recorded.

One hundred and seventy of the six hundred feet of bas-relief sculpture on the frieze of the cell, representing the Panathenæan procession, remained entire in the time of Chandler. A portion of it, containing seven figures, was taken down from its situation by M. de Choiseul Gouffier, and is now in the Napoleon museum. I know not whether the collection of our Ambassador contains any of this precious sculpture, too exquisite not to have been executed according to the design, and under the superintendence, of Phidias himself*. Most part of that portion of it on the wall of the Pronaos, yet remains; and by means of a ruined staircase, once belonging to a minaret built against one of the columns of that portico, I managed to get on the top of the colonnade, and by leaning at full length over the architrave, had a sufficiently close inspection of the work to be convinced, that this sculpture, though meant to be viewed at a distance of forty feet at least from below, is as accurately and minutely executed, as if it had been originally designed to be placed near the eye of the spectator†. Some equestrian figures are remarkably entire, and retain to this day the animation and freshness with which they issued from the hands of the artist.

Within the cell of the Temple all is desolation and ruin; the shafts of columns, fragments of the entablatures, and of the

* Ictinus and Callicrates were the scholars of Phidias, who were more particularly the architects of the Parthenon.

† The learned author, however, of the dissertation prefixed to the great work lately published by the Dilettante, seems to think, and perhaps correctly, that the distant effect was alone intended and studied.

beams of the roof, are scattered about on every side, but especially on the north of the area, where there are vast piles of marble. I measured one piece, seventeen feet in length, and of proportionate breadth and thickness. The floor, also of marble, has been broken up towards the eastern front, and in the south-east angle of the area, is the wretched mosck, as well as some stone-work of the Greek church, into which the Parthenon was formerly converted. A dent in the floor is pointed out as being occasioned by the shell which blew up a powder-magazine, and destroyed the roof of the Temple, when bombarded by Morosini.

Besides the vast magnitude of the marbles composing the Parthenon, which, perhaps, is more easily remarked in the fallen ruins than in the parts of the building yet standing, there is another just cause for admiration, in the exquisite care and skill with which every portion of the architecture appears to have been wrought. The work on the Ovolo and Cavettos is as highly finished in the fragments of the enormous cornices, formerly placed at so considerable a height from the ground, as the minute parts in the lower portion of the building. The same uninterrupted perfection is observable in the flutings of the shafts, in all the mouldings of the capitals, and particularly in the tambours of the fallen columns, whose surfaces are smoothed to such a degree of exactness and nicety, as to render the junctures of the blocks almost undiscoverable.

The part of the area the most clear from ruins, is towards the north-west angle, and the western entrance, where the grooves in the floor, formed by opening and shutting the folding-doors of the Temple, are still very discernable. Faint marks of the painted saints, with which the Christians disfigured the interior of their

Pagan edifice, are just visible on the walls of the south side of the cell.

Of the Opisthodomos, the Athenian treasury, at the back, or eastern portico of the Parthenon, there are now no traces to be seen: but Lord Elgin's agents discovered some columnar inscriptions, before alluded to by Chandler, of great antiquity*.

Descending from the ruins of the Parthenon to the north, you pass through a lane or two of white-washed cottages in ruins, before you come to the remains of the Erechthéum, and the adjoining chapel of Pandrosus. In that portion of the Erechthéum which was dedicated to Minerva Polias, the columns of the front porch are standing, but without any part of their entablature, and unsupported by the walls of the cell, the whole of the south side of which was destroyed during the short war between England and Turkey, and now lies in heaps at the back of the columns, and in the area of the Temple. The corner one of these columns, the best specimen of the Ionic in the world, with its base and capital, has been removed by Lord Elgin to England. The remainder will soon fall.

The marble of this ruin is of a virgin whiteness, and the workmanship, as the structure is very diminutive in comparison with the specimens of the Parthenon, is a still more exquisite example than that Temple, of the polish and edge which were given to all the parts of Grecian architecture. The line of no pencil can excel the delicate accuracy of contour in the swell of the torus

* The whole length of the Parthenon was two hundred and eighteen feet, and its breadth ninety-eight feet and a half, reckoning the flight of three steps upon which the structure was raised. The columns were forty-two feet high. The Opisthodomos was separated from the anterior nave of the Temple by a wall.

and the ornaments of the base; and the hand, in passing repeatedly over the marble, seeks in vain for the slightest inequality, or even roughness, on the surface.

The proportions of this joint Temple are but small; when nearly entire, in 1736, the whole building was but sixty-three feet in length, thirty-six in breadth, and not twenty feet high, but the Erechtem is, in its kind, as complete a proof of the genius and skill of the Greeks as the Temple of Minerva.

From the columns of the Temple of Minerva Polias you come to that portion of the building which was dedicated to Neptune and Erechtheus, and where the wall of the cell is still standing, and, by the help of modern masonry, now serves as a powder-magazine for the supply of the citadel. Here the pillars support, in part, their frize and cornice, as highly finished as the bases of the columns, but much of the shafts of the columns is hidden by the modern wall that fills up the intercolumniations. Within the building, in a part composing the vestibule of the Temple of Neptune, is some fine architecture, consisting of an Ionic door, which was designed by Lord Elgin's artists, but is now not to be seen.

On passing round the portico, you have on your left the marble wall of the cell entire; and at the end of this, there is a piece of plastered wall, now filling up the open-work of the small Chapel of Pandrosos, between the images that yet remain of the famous Caryatides which supported the entablature of the building. There is one of these images before you come to the corner of the chapel, and the angular one remains, but the place of the next, which Lord Elgin has transported to England, is now filled up with mortar, so that there are now only three of the four statues

originally supporting this front looking towards the Parthenon. One of the Caryatides had been carried away, or destroyed on the spot, before the year 1736. On the plaster wall, on the west side of the chapel, these words have been very deeply cut:

QUOD NON FECERUNT GOTTI
HOC FECERUNT SCOTI*.

The mortar wall, yet fresh when we saw it, supplying the place of the statue now in the noble Ambassador's museum, serves as a comment on this text.

* This enlogy of the Goths alludes to the unfounded story of a Greek historian, who relates that Ataric, either terrified by two phantoms, one of Minerva herself, the other of Achilles, terrible as when he strode towards the walls of Troy to his friends, or struck with a reverential respect, had spared the treasures, ornaments, and people, of the venerable city.

This may be as good a place as any other, to say a word on the proceedings of the person whose conduct is contrasted with that of the barbarian.

We heard, I fancy, every thing that could be alleged by either party on both sides of the question, and being on the spot when the most furious struggles were made by both the French and English to gain their point, may be better judges of the facts than those who have since examined the matter at a distance from the scene of action.

My Lord Elgin's agents are not accused on account of any of their excavations, or carrying off the numerous articles they discovered by those proceedings: their rifling of ancient tombs, and pulling down modern houses to get at buried remains, was on all hands allowed to be a fair and laudable proceeding, as was also the modelling of the reliefs and other sculptures. The part of conduct objected to, was the not being content with the casts, which was all the French wanted or obtained when in power, without the possession of the originals, and by that means hastening the decay, and defacing the ancient monuments, so as for ever to diminish considerably the gratification of future travellers and artists.

The injuries seem to be these:—The taking off the metopes, the statue over

The Erecthéum was sacred in the eyes of the ancient Athenians, and may still be regarded with veneration by the modern traveller, as being the spot where Minerva contended with Neptune; and the triple building must appear, even to us, in some degree

the Theatre of Bacchus, and the statues of the western pediment of the Parthenon; and the carrying away one of the Caryatides, and the finest of the columns of the Erecthéum. No other come, I believe, within the limits of censure—no other marbles were detached.

It may be enquired, what excuse can be offered for such a spoliation? It is answered, the French De Choiseul Gouffier detached part of the frieze of the Parthenon many years past. Some of the persons employed in collecting for his museum, and assisting his projects, still remain at Athens, and have the same views, which nothing but inability have prevented them from accomplishing; they had even a plan for *carrying off the whole of the Temple of Theseus!!!* They only complain because they envy our success, and would themselves have been masters of the same treasures. To this the others reply, “With the exception of De Gouffier, no one of us ever injured the temples—we have often had it in our power—we went to great expence in modelling and designing, which would have been unnecessary, had we resolved to take the originals—you, yourselves, when you first settled here, professed no more; we looked on without opposing you; we were your friends—you have not only robbed, but treacherously robbed!”

The answer is, “We are no robbers, we bought, and dearly bought, every article. Admitting your facts, we only took that which would have been destroyed by the Turks, and which was in a state of dilapidation—it was better the sculptures of the Parthenon should be preserved in a museum in England, than ground to powder on their own bases—we took nothing from the Théséum, because it was exposed to no such eminent peril.”

The last retort of the French is, “The case was the same with respect to both; but having been prevented from ruining the latter, you take merit to yourselves for a moderation which was not voluntary. When you talk of buying the right to deface the finest remains of all antiquity, you seem to put out of the question all the proprieties which might in such a case be expected to regulate the conduct of the artist, the scholar, and the gentleman.”

sanctified by the superstition, which believed that each portion of the Temple retained some undoubted evidence of that memorable event. The heaven-descended statue of the protectress of the city was religiously preserved in her own fane; the mark of the trident, and the salt fountain bursting from the cleft whence the horse issued from the earth, and where the murmur of the sea was often to be heard, were long pointed out near the altar of Nep-

This is, as well as I recollect, the sum of every thing adduced on either side, and reduces at once the question to the two points—Would the French have removed, or endeavoured to remove, the ornamental sculptures alluded to? or, if they would not, were those precious remains likely to have been speedily destroyed by their barbarian masters?—It is certain, that if the Turks remain for many more years in possession of Athens, every valuable antiquity will be entirely destroyed. But the French contemplate the chance of Greece being soon attached to the dominions of Napoleon:—in that case, not even our nationality would prefer a possession of some of their broken parts to their integrity in the hands of an enlightened enemy. It is not the vanity of being the owners of such a treasure, but the wish to advance the fine arts in civilized Europe, that should influence the conduct of any collectors; but without enquiring into motives, it is pretty evident, that an infinitely greater number of rising architects and sculptors must derive benefit from these studies, if they can be pursued in a museum at London or Paris, than if they were to be sought in the Turkish territories; and surely, we can hardly complain, if they are to be found in our capital. Present travellers may feel a little mortification, and those who are utterly incapable of appreciating the merit of the remains in question, wherever they may be fixed, will join in the fashionable clamour of the day. I have said nothing of the possibility of the ruins of Athens being, in the event of a revolution in favour of the Greeks, restored and put into a condition capable of resisting the ravages of decay; for an event of that nature cannot, it strikes me, have ever entered into the head of any one who has seen Athens,* and the modern Athenians. Yet I cannot forbear mentioning a singular speech of a learned Greek of Ioannina, who said to me,

tune; and the chapel of Pandrosos preserved within its sacred inclosure, as late as the time of Pausanias, the trunk of the olive which had given victory to the goddess, and a name to the city of Athens.

Below the Erechthéum there is a battery, where there are two cannons, which are used by the Turks to announce the Bairam, or any extraordinary intelligence from the Porte. This battery immediately overlooks the town, presenting a better view of it than any other quarter of the Acropolis, and I have seen several Turkish ladies, on a fine day, walking on this side of the ramparts, and leaning over the battlements, to enjoy the amusing murmur that rises from the city below.

The part of the citadel where the modern fortifications are most entire, is to the east, a few paces below the posterior front of the Parthenon, where they were refitted about fifty years ago. Looking out through one of the embrasures, you there find yourself

“ You English are carrying off the works of *the Greeks*, our forefathers—preserve them well—we Greeks will come and re-demand them.”

A curious notion prevailing amongst the common Athenians, with respect to the ancient statues, is, that they are real bodies, mutilated and enchanted into their present state of petrification by magicians, who will have power over them as long as the Turks are masters of Greece, when they will be transformed into their former bodies. The spirit within them is called an Arabim, and is not unfrequently heard to moan and bewail its condition. Some Greeks, in our time, conveying a chest from Athens to Piræus, containing part of the Elgin marbles, threw it down, and could not for some time be prevailed upon to touch it, again affirming, they heard the Arabim crying out, and groaning for his fellow-spirits detained in bondage in the Acropolis. It is to be added, that the Athenians consider the condition of these enchanted marbles will be bettered by a removal from the country of the tyrant Turks.

at the verge of a very considerable precipice, with the Albanian quarter of the town in the depth below, at a distance which much diminishes every object.

The craggy cliffs on this side of the citadel afford the most imposing view of the Acropolis, and are in appearance so inaccessible as to strike any spectator at once with the improbability of the notion entertained by Stuart, and now adopted by Mr. Fauvel, of the eastern front having been the principal entrance of the Parthenon: for, as that façade is almost immediately over the rocks, the Temple, if its door was to the east, must have had the look of being unapproachable. The first conjecture of Spon, who saw the contest of the rival deities in the remains of the figures on the eastern pediment, has not, I think, been shaken by any late discoveries*. If it should be stated, that the well-known description in Ovid evidently points at this pediment of the Parthenon, and that therefore the principal front was on the same side, it may be answered, that, in describing the contest of Minerva with Arachne, it was more to the poet's purpose to allude to the former victory of the goddess than her birth, which was the subject of the sculpture on the anterior front†.

The crevices of the rocks on this side of the citadel contain the nests of innumerable flocks of daws and crows, which hover

* See the argument stated in *Critical Observations on Anacharsis*, by M. Barbié du Bocage, in note to plate xix, representing the two pediments of the Parthenon, such as they were in 1674.

† The Scholar who has drawn up an account of Lord Elgin's Pursuits in Greece, has decided the "*scopulum Mavortis*" of Ovid (*Metam. lib. vi. fab. 2*), not to mean the Arcopagus, but the eastern cliffs of the Acropolis.

round the hill, but are thought never to soar above the Parthenon*.

You can continue to go round the ramparts to the south of the Parthenon, overlooking the Theatre of Bacchus†, without being interrupted, except by the ruins of four or five Turkish cottages, and blocks of fallen masses, until you come nearly parallel to the western front of the Temple, where the way is completely

* This was an ancient superstition. Dr. Chandler, by no means a credulous personage, says, that he never saw a crow mount above the summit of the Temple; but the margin opposite to this remark of our traveller, in a copy lent to me at Athens, contained these words, “J’ai vue des milles sur le Parthenon.” I affirmed the same to a resident at Athens, a gentleman fond of authorities, who said, “The daws you may have seen; not the crows.”

† It should have been remarked, that in Stuart’s Ruins of Athens, the Odéum is called the Theatre of Bacchus, as it had before been by Wheler, who supposed the semicircular area under the cave of Panagia Spiliotissa to have been part of a Gymnasium constructed by Thrasyllus, and looked upon the remains of Pnyx as the Odéum; but Dr. Chandler’s opinion has been here followed, notwithstanding the later authority of the plans of Anacharsis, which adhere to Stuart’s disposition of the antiquities in question. The only difficulty which Chandler appears not to have surmounted, is the vicinity of the Odéum to Eneacromnos, placed by himself in the dell near the Ilissus, and, therefore, necessarily near the south-east angle of the Acropolis, not the south-west angle. The words of Pausanias are express: *πλησίον δὲ (τῷ Ωδείου) ἔστι κρήνη καλοῦσι καὶ αὐτὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον*. However, the grotto containing the tripod engraved with the story of Apollo and Diana slaying Niobe’s children, mentioned by the same author as being above the seats of the spectators, corresponds exactly with the chapel of Panagia Spiliotissa, and as I could not observe any cave (although Wheler did) above the other theatre, seems to me almost to settle the controversy. The 28th cap. lib. iv. of Meursius’ Attic. Lectiones, collects all the ancient mentions of the Odéum—built by Pericles, burnt by Sylla, and restored by King Ariobarzanes. Atticus Herodes has by some been thought to have constructed a third theatre.

choked up by large masses of ruins, and a few mean houses, the beginning of a quarter of the citadel in which the Disdar is lodged, and some of the soldiers with their families belonging to the garrison. These soldiers, called *Castriani* by the Athenians, are only one hundred and twenty-five in number, and of these the greater part, when not on duty, live in the town below. The only service of the *Castriani* is, to holloa out several times during the night, to inform the citizens below of their vigilance, and to fire the cannon and display the fire-works usual on their festivals, from the battery under the Erethéum.

The citadel, which even in modern times was considered a formidable fortification, and is called by one writer (*Nich Gerbhel**), "*arx munitissima*," would now be unable to make any resistance. There are only twenty-seven cannons mounted throughout the whole fortress, and of these only seven are fit for service. Three of them are of a great length; they were presented by the late Sultan Selim, and are placed on the battery over the Propylæa. The Disdar is an officer of no consideration, his pay being only one hundred and thirty piasters per annum, (his soldiers have only ten), and he is subject to the orders of the Waiwode of the city.

It is not difficult, in viewing the walls of the citadel, to trace the Greek foundation, and the Turkish and Venetian superstructure of the ramparts. On one or two of the parts, where there was no necessity for modern fortification, the old Athenian walls are all that are to be seen, and continue the sole defence of the rock. This is the case on the angle to the north-west, near the site of the Temple of Victory. In this part Antiquarians have

* In a book called "*Pro Declaratione Picturæ sive Descriptionis Sophiarum libri septem*," which I have never seen.

seen, or fancied themselves to have seen, the successive architecture of three different periods, the Cecropian, the Pelasgic, and that of the age of Pericles.

From every quarter of the Acropolis there are the most agreeable prospects: that from the top of the Propylæa, which looks towards the Piræus, is the most extensive, but so soft and blended, in the nearest fore-ground and the farthest distance, as to seem an unbroken perspective, from the corn-fields, vineyards, and olive-grounds of Athens, over the long line of coast, and the smooth expanse of the Saronic Gulf, to the high lands of Salamis and Ægina, and the faint outlines of the Peloponesian hills.

The flat space on the rock of the Acropolis is not more than eight hundred feet in length, and about half as many in breadth*; a small extent for the site of the primitive city of the Athenians†, but an area of great size, when considered as the base only of temples and marble palaces, containing not a single structure which might not be justly denominated a masterpiece of Art.

* It should be understood, that in the few occasional hints at the proportions and sizes of some of the Athenian antiquities, I have not quoted from any notes of my own, but from former details, which may be found to differ with the measurements of those travellers, whose works I was, at the time of writing these Letters, unable so consult.

† On account of its having been the primitive city, the Acropolis continued, even in the time of Thucydides, to be called Πόλις, the city. Καλεῖται . . . καὶ ἡ Ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τῶδε ἔτι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων πόλις.—Lib. ii. cap. 5.

LETTER XXIV.

The Vicinity of Athens—Climate in Winter—The Gardens—The Olive-Groves—Method of Watering them—The Site of the Academy—Route to the Piræus—The Munychian Promontory—Country immediately to the South of Athens.

THE neighbourhood of Athens abounds in pleasant rides; and the roads, which are numerous, are generally broad and well beaten. Notwithstanding we were in the country during the depth of winter, the weather was never so inclement as to prevent an excursion on horseback, and scarcely a day elapsed without our riding to some distance from the city. For this purpose we were furnished with horses belonging to the Post, one of the few institutions which are well regulated in Turkey; and before our final departure, there were, I fancy, very few spots in Attica with which we were not perfectly acquainted, from repeated visits during more than two months residence in the city.

Having alluded to the climate, let me observe, that to the northern constitution of an Englishman the Athenian winters are not, commonly, so rigorous, as, from ancient accounts, you might be led to expect. After having found it agreeable to bathe, a little before Christmas, at Thebes, where a poet of the country describes the cold to be so excessive as to freeze up the spirits of all nature, both animate and inanimate, and to inflict upon man

himself the miseries of a premature decay *, it will not be supposed that the inclemency of Attica was to us such as to be severely felt.

The winter in this country generally sets in about the beginning of January, and in the middle of that month the snows begin to fall. They were a little earlier in 1810, and, being accompanied with a strong north-east wind, made the cold rather unpleasant for two or three days, and drove large flights of wild turkies and woodcocks into the plain close to the city. After the snows are down, which seldom are seen for more than a few days, except on the summits of the mountains, where they remain about a month, there are three weeks of fine weather, frosty and cold in the mornings and evenings, but with a clear blue sky, and the sun shining hotly in the middle of the day. The natives then wear their warmest pellices, and burn large fires of wood, brought into the city by the peasants who dwell on the sides of Mount Parnes. Rain falls, but scarcely ever with any violence, in the middle of February; and, at the end of that month and the beginning of March, if there is no frost, the north-west wind blows furiously; I found it to be so high on the 23d, and the two following days of February, as to be unable to walk without great difficulty; but I cannot say that I experienced that debility, and those effects on the nervous system, which are said to attend this much-dreaded tempest, the Sciron of the ancient Athenians†.

* Hesiod. *Epy.* *xxi.* *Ημ.*

† Pliny (*Nat. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 46*), talks of the Sciron, as a wind peculiar to Attica—" *Ut Atheniensibus Sciron, paulum ab Argeste deflexus, reliquæ Græciæ ignotus.*"

Baron de Riedesel, in his *Voyage au Levant*, p. 291, gives Attica the cli-

The spring commences about the end of the same month, and at that period, and sometimes earlier in the year, the sky is overcast with hot heavy clouds, which settle on Parnes and Brilessus, the mountains to the north of Athens, and are the certain signs of an approaching thunder-storm, and occasionally of earthquakes. This was the case on the 13th of February. These signs were known and consulted by the ancient inhabitants of this region, who, by repeated observation of the summits of their hills, one of which, Hymettus, is close to Athens, became such adepts in meteorology, as to regulate their conduct by their prognostications. A transparent vapour on the tops of Hymettus is accompanied by a strong sirocco, or south-east wind, as I have myself observed, and at that time the sky becomes less clear than usual, notwithstanding there are no black clouds, and the weather, although the sun is not to be seen, is oppressively warm. Such part of the marble ruins as are exposed to this wind, are found to have suffered a more rapid decay than the remainder of the edifices; but nothing can be a better proof of the general dryness of the Attic air, than the wonderful state of preservation in which the most delicate, as well as the most ancient, portions of the remains are at this day found, after having been exposed to all varieties of weather for more than two thousand years.

The corn in the plain of Athens, which is cut in May, is very high at the beginning of March; and then also the vines begin to sprout, the olive-groves to bud, and the almond-trees, of which there is a great number in the neighbouring gardens, are

mate of Petersburg, and avers, that the snows remain on the mountains eight months out of the twelve. The Baron was at Athens a week in August; and no one would think, from perusing his book, that he had been there at all.

so covered with their white and purple blossom, as to impart their varied hues to the face of the whole country. The spring vegetables may also be procured at that early season, particularly lettuces, of which a large bundle can be bought for a para.

The region immediately to the north and north-west of the city, a plain of an irregularly oval shape, is interspersed with small villages, hidden in shady groves; and the modern Athenians, who are equally fond with their ancestors of the luxury of a summer retreat, and who are induced, both by custom and temperament, to prefer vegetables and fruits to less cooling diet, reckon nearly a thousand gardens in the circuit of their small territory. To many of these there are attached kiosks, or country-houses, ill-constructed indeed, being the lower part of them of mud, and the upper of badly jointed plauks, but still capable of affording an agreeable shelter during the intolerable heats of summer. Some of these gardens are near villages, under the hills at some distance from the city, such as Kevrishia, the ancient Cephisia, at the foot of Mount Pentelicus, and Callandri, in the same quarter; but the large tract of them is in the long line of olive-groves which form the western boundary of the plain of Athens. The district watered by the Cephissus, in the neighbourhood of the site of the Academy, and the Colonus Ilippius, about twenty minutes walk from the gate leading to Thebes, is to the south called Sepolia, and to the north Patisia, and is divided into those extensive grounds which are particularly allotted for supplying the city with fruit and vegetables, and are for the most part not cultivated by their owners, but let out to the peasants of the villages. A large garden of an acre and a half, was pointed out to me as being let annually for two hundred and fifty piasters.

The olive-groves of Athens are also on this side of the city,

but they extend far beyond Sepolia and Patisia, both to the north and south, and run in a curved line of seven or eight miles in length, and of an unequal breadth, from one to three miles, commencing not far from the northern extremity of the range of low hills called Anchesmus, and ending a mile and a half, perhaps, from the Munychian promontory. They must have increased, even in extent, since the time of Chandler, if the description of that traveller is, as usual, correct; and they told us at Athens, that the number of trees planted of late years had been very considerable, and having been set too thickly, had much injured the old wood.

Besides this large olive wood in the plain of Athens, there are other groves in the neighbourhood of several of the villages; and in addition to thirty-six olive-presses in the capital, there are eight others in various parts of Attica, of which you will hear in another place*.

The Cephissus, a sort of ditch-stream, almost dry in summer, and in winter only a torrent, flowing from Cephissia, under Mount Pentelicus, passes through the extent of olive-groves and gardens, each of which it serves, by turns, to water. The watering of the olive-groves commences the 24th of September, and ends the 6th of April, and is effected by raising a low mound round eight or nine trees, and then introducing the stream through dykes, so as to keep the roots and part of the trunks under water for the necessary length of time. Each owner waters his grove for thirty or forty hours, and pays a para a tree to the Waiwode, or to him who has farmed the revenue from that officer. During this period, the peasants con-

* There are two at Koukouvaones; one at Menithi; one at Casha; two at Yerika; two at Keratéa; villages whose sites will be mentioned hereafter.

struct huts with boughs, and are mutually watchful, both day and night, neither to lose their own portion, nor allow to others an unfair abundance of the valuable stream. I have several times seen their fires amongst the trees; and, as they watch in parties, and mix, as usual, much mirth with their employment, have heard the sound of their voices, and the tinkling music of their guitars, on returning to Athens from an evening's ride.

The precious water of the Cephissus is the property of the Waiwode only during the season of watering the olive wood; for the remaining months the owners of the gardens, in a proportion settled by long usage, divert the stream into their grounds for one, two, or three hours, in a week or fortnight, according to the bargain at which they have hired or purchased their land. The same jealousy is manifested on this as on the other occasion. The instant that the stream is turned into the required channel, a public inspector, who is called "Dragatis too nero," and is always in attendance, turns his hour-glass, and the gardener also measures the time in the same manner, other Greeks frequently being present to prevent collusion, and cut off the rivulet immediately on the expiration of the stipulated hour. Besides this periodical irrigation of the gardens, those who can afford to procure such an advantage, buy water from the owners of several reservoirs, which have been constructed amongst the gardens, and on the banks of the Cephissus.

Throughout the whole range of the olive-groves and gardens, are to be seen small remains, sepulchral stelæ, shafts of columns, and particularly the marble mouths of ancient wells, which retain the deeply-indented marks of the ropes used in letting down and raising the buckets. A very beautiful specimen of one of

them is now in a large garden at the side of the river, twenty minutes walk beyond the Colonus Hippius. It is a foot and a half high, and, near the rim, ornamented with festoons in elegant sculpture, and serves for the mouth of a well, perhaps the same for which it was originally constructed. The bucket lying by it is a dried gourd, scooped out, and attached to a rope of twisted hay.

One might fairly expect to meet with something to satisfy the curiosity of the antiquarian in every part of this celebrated region; for not only Athens, but Attica, was the handywork of the Gods and ancient heroes*, and no less abounding in the monuments of former splendour than the city itself. Polemo Periegetes composed four books, consisting solely of a catalogue of the gifts dedicated in the Acropolis; and, says Strabo, it would have required as many more to mention those contained in the other parts of the city, and in the towns. Yet, by a perverseness of fortune, the very supereminence and celebrity of Attica, have prevented her towns and positions from being so minutely described as those of other parts of Greece, and the geographer has said but little of this territory, because afraid of entering into too extensive a detail, and of telling what was universally known. The work of Pausanias informs us, however, of the chapels and statues, and points out the tombs of the illustrious dead, immediately in the vicinity of the capital, and adds to the gratification to be enjoyed whilst roaming over the pleasant walks on every side contiguous to modern Athens.

In passing from the town towards the site of the Academy and

* Hegesias in Strab. p. 396.

the Colonus Hippius* (which is now a small rocky eminence, just out of the olive-groves, about north-north-east from the Acropolis, with a Greek chapel on it), you would be pleased with the thought, that you are treading on the graves once filled with the ashes of Thrysabulus, Pericles, Chabrias, and Phornio†, whose inscribed monuments, as well as those of all the great men (except the heroes of Marathon) who fell in battle, were carefully preserved, and pointed out to the enquiring traveller, many ages subsequent to the period that witnessed their glorious exploits. They were seen by Pausanias, in the second century, in the way from the gate Dipylon to the Academy, and in the gardens, and about the Colonus Hippius: not far from the Academy was also shown at that time the tomb of Plato‡. Several temples were erected in and about the celebrated Gymnasium just mentioned; but no material remains have been discovered in that quarter, although small fragments of marble have been ploughed up in the corn-fields now occupying its site.

The gardens of Epicurus, which were on the way to the Academy, not far from the gate Dipylon, have not left behind them a single trace of their marble schools, or even of their groves. The space they covered is now an open plain of corn, rather on the descent towards the olive woods.

The road leading from Athens to the Piræus, is from the gate to the north of the Temple of Theseus. A few paces from this gate, a path going to Eleusis, branches off to the right from the main road; and, shortly after, another path, also to the

* To Colonus Hippius Œdipus fled. On it was a temple of Neptune; it was ten stadia from the city. Meurs. de Populis Atticæ. Κολωνος.

† Paus. Attic. p. 50.

‡ Paus. Attic. p. 58.

right, striking through the olive-groves to Salamis. The road, whose direction is about west-south-west, then continues for half an hour over a corn-plain, skirting the olive-groves to the right, which it then enters, and continues to traverse a little more than half an hour, having on the left hand vineyards and gardens, with here and there a mud cottage.- Issuing from the olive-groves, it passes, on a stone causeway, over a bare plain, in many places marshy.

In this part, the long walls may be traced on the right very distinctly, many large fragments of them being apparent above the ground. The exact breadth of these walls, which was sufficient to allow two carts to pass each other on the top of them, cannot, I should think, be found from the remains; but the enormous size of the single stones would justify a belief in the supposed dimensions of the whole work. They are joined together, like the marbles of the columns, not with any cement, but with clamps of iron and lead, which, with their own weight, might have been sufficient to unite walls even of so great a height as forty cubits*.

Advancing farther towards the sea, the ground is more stony, and the plain in parts uncultivated, and the road ascending a low rocky hill, brings you at once upon the Piræus, which is called by the Greeks, Draco, but by the Franks, Porto Leone, an hour and a quarter's walk, as I found it, from Athens.

Nothing in the present appearance of the Piræus, would enable

* It was originally intended to make the walls eighty cubits in height. The length of the wall to Phalerum was thirty-five stadia; of the exterior wall of the city, forty-three stadia; of the long wall to the Piræus, forty; and of the wall including Piræus and the Munychian promontory, sixty.

you to suspect that it was once a flourishing port, the emporium of a great state, itself a city, and abounding with temples, porticos, and other magnificent structures.

The triple port is not very apparent, the recess on the right hand, the ancient Zea, being like a marsh, and that on the left, Cantharus, towards Munychia, of but little depth. The deepest water is at the mouth of the third interior port, the Aphrodisus of the old Piræus. One does not know what to think of the size of the ships composing the fleets which were anchored in this basin: and yet so late as the time of Constantine, two hundred ships of war were collected in the Piræus. The Athenian fleet consisted at one time of three hundred* ships of three banks of oars. We saw an Hydriote merchant vessel, of about two hundred tons, anchored in the port, for the purpose of carrying off the Elgin marbles, and she seemed too big for the station. Yet Wheeler judged it capable of containing forty or fifty of the great ships of his time, which is sufficient only to convince me, that the size of vessels has been very much enlarged during the last century and a half. An English sloop of war was warned that she would run aground if she endeavoured to get in, and was therefore obliged to anchor in the straits between Salamis and the port once called Phoron†. The direction of the harbour

* Meursius Attic. Lect. cap. 1, corrects those places in ancient authors which mention four hundred.

† Port Phoron is about fifty minutes walk from Draco, at the other side of the projecting land which forms the western quarter of the port of Piræus. The country between is rugged and bare. In a grove of olive trees, on an eminence not far from Draco, on the left of the path going to Phoron, are some remains of an ancient wall.

is from north-west to south-east, and the whole length of it, from the outer mouth to the innermost recess, is not a mile and a quarter.

There is an inner and an outer harbour: the entrance to the inner is made more narrow by stone-work projecting from both sides of the mouth. At the bottom of the harbour is a wooden quay; on which there is a poor custom-house, and a magazine for stores; on the left, under the rocky grounds of Munychia, is a monastery dedicated to St. Speridion, together with a wooden building, formerly used as a warehouse for the goods of the Frank merchants. Some excavations made at Piræus, especially to the west of the harbour, on some high rocky ground, have been attended with success, and produced some antiquities in good preservation.

On the 18th of January, my fellow-traveller and myself made the complete circuit of the peninsula of Munychia. We passed round by the monastery. A little beyond this place, winding by the shore on a stony path, we were shown, on the left hand above, the seats of a small amphitheatre cut in the rock: continuing till we came to the eastern mouth of the Piræus, we saw several very large stones, like part of a pier, built to contract the inner mouth of the harbour; for there was a similar pier on the other side, near the water's edge.

The site of the tomb of Themistocles is supposed somewhere in this quarter, and the modern Athenian guides point it out to you, but it is not very observable. It is a sepulchral excavation in the rock, without any covering, at the point of a craggy tongue of land, on the right hand as you sail into the Piræus, probably the Cape Alcmus, whither the bones of that great statesman and

general were conveyed from Asia. The tomb was formerly like an altar*.

We went round the peninsula as near the shore as possible.—Munychia is high and rocky, capable of cultivation only in a few spots. Besides the port, the peninsula is indented with four small bays: above the second, which is opposite to the island Ægina, are several barrows; the fourth is in a precipitous part of the rock. Stones and rubbish, all that is left of the habitations with which the whole promontory was once covered, lie about in heaps on many parts of the surface. The remains of the fortification may be traced nearly all round, as far as the port of Munychia; but the eastern side of the third bay shows the most entire portion of the old wall. The old harbour of Munychia is of a circular form: there are several remains of wall running into the water, and a piece of pier is to be seen at each side of the mouth of it; so that the entrance, as well as the whole port, is smaller than that of Piræus. If the harbour once contained four hundred ships, each vessel must have been a wherry†. The direction of the port is from south to north. The Munychian walls cannot be traced farther than the eastern side of the harbour; to make the circuit of them at a quick foot's pace, took us just an hour; and in going round the arc of the whole promontory, including Phalerum, we were twenty minutes more. The land between Phalerum and Munychia is high and rocky. On a cliff between the two ports, we saw a singular excavation in a frag-

* Κρίπις ἐστὶν ἐνμεγέθης, καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν βωμοειδὲς, τάφος τῷ Θεμιστοκλῆϊ.
—Plut. in Themist. vit. fine.

† Sylla burnt down the famous arsenal of Philo, in Munychia, θαυμαζομένον ἔργον, says Plutarch, in his Life of that Roman.

ment of rock standing upright, looking like a porch, and having a pilaster on each side, and cornice above, very rudely cut, or perhaps defaced. It was seen by Chandler, who compares it to a sentry-box.

Phalerum is of an elliptical form, smaller than Mumychia; and the remains of the piers on each side the narrow mouth are to be seen. The line of its length is from east to west, that of its breadth from north to south. One solitary skiff was moored in it under the hill, instead of the fifty ships of Menestheus, appointed for their voyage to the shores of Troy. On the north-east side of the port the land is high and rocky, until you come to the fine sweep of the bay of Phalerum, perhaps two miles in length, and terminated on the north-east by a low promontory, once the promontory Colias*, where was a temple of Venus, on the site of which there is now a small church of St. Nicholas, and a spot called *Tres-Pyrgæ*, from some towers not now to be seen; supposed by Wheler to be part of the remains of Anaphlystus.

At a part of this bay the sea is nearest to Athens, being exactly south-south-west from the city, but apparently farther than twenty stadia, the formerly supposed distance. The shore of the bay of Phalerum is shelving, and, in the calmest day, the tumbling of the waves upon the pebbles produces a loud murmur; a circumstance, as my fellow-traveller observed to me, that might have made this beach the resort of Demosthenes, when he wished to accustom himself to the clamour of a public assembly.

In the bay, not far from the port of Phalerum, a small rivulet oozes through the sand, which is the only outlet from a fresh-

* The clay from this neighbourhood was preferred to any other for the use of the potteries.

water lake and marsh, two miles and a half in length, which is near the shore, and into which, in former times, both the Cephissus and Ilissus used to empty their scanty streams. What part of the first river is not absorbed in the olive-groves, now crosses the road to the Piræus into this lake. The lake is now a favourite resort of water-fowl, and, in hard seasons, supplies the city with wild geese, ducks, and other aquatic birds. Just beyond, in the way to the city, begins a long line of vineyards and cotton-grounds, together with a garden or two, which join the olive-groves to the west, and to the east have an open plain, divided, where the soil will bear culture, into wheat-fields. The separation of the gardens and other grounds is made by mud banks; the wheat-fields have deep ditches between them. At the point where the gardens, vineyards, and olive-groves join, to the right of the shortest road from Piræus, and in what would have been the road from Munychia, there are large cisterns, a mile and a half, perhaps, from the city. A country-house or two is near the spot, belonging, I believe, to those who watch the cisterns, and furnish the water to the gardens and vineyards.

The weeping-willow seen in 1765, or another similar tree, still continues to hang over the principal cistern and the marble fount. The ground to the east of the cisterns, in the way to Athens, is quite open, and ploughed up every where, till you come to the back of the hill Lycabettus and the Musæum, when it is, in parts, too rocky to be tilled. There are two roads from the cisterns, one leading to the right, by the course of the Ilissus, to the south of the Acropolis, the other to the great road from the Piræus.

In this quarter of the country you may vary your rides in every

direction. From the Piræus, but especially from Munychia, and from the vineyards near the lake, the approach to the city is very beautiful; and as the remaining columns of the Parthenon appear in a line, and so disposed as not to show the ruined portion of the temple, and as you catch a view of the entire Theséum, you may fancy yourself approaching to ancient Athens.

To the south-west and south-south-west, between Athens and the sea, the country is open and bare, of a very uninviting appearance, only partially cultivated, and having a rocky soil, quite covered in many spots with a low sweet-smelling shrub, like wild-thyme, that seems peculiar to Attica, and perfumes the air, producing a flower of which the bees are very fond, and which gives the flavour, perhaps, so peculiar to Attic honey. At a ruined farmhouse, a mile and a half from Athens, in the middle of the down, are many bee-stands, which are profitable to the owner, who resides in the city, and seldom visits the hives, except in the swarming and gathering season. A marble lion, somewhat mutilated, but of good workmanship, is lying near the bee-stands neglected.

To the south and east of this farm, in the open plain, and nearer the shore, are several lonely houses, very high, of stone, for security's sake, and here are remains of two square towers, now not inhabited, but once built to guard against the incursions of the pirates, Mainotes, and others, who have often landed, and carried off plunder to their boats, and are even now a little dreaded. Two villages are near these towers, surrounded with high walls, inhabited by Albanians.

The gardens and vineyards belonging to these villages, one of which is called Dragonisi, are at a little distance nearer the shore, and all enclosed with high mud walls. There are some low bar-

rows to the east, near these gardens, where Anchimolius and the Lacedemonians, who were slain on their invasion of Attica in the time of Hippias and Hipparchus, are supposed to have been buried. These barrows point out the site of Alopecæ, a town eleven or twelve stadia from the walls of Athens, and the native town of Socrates*. In this part of the plain there are several mouths of ancient wells, all filled up with earth within a foot or two of the top. There is no direct road to these villages, but a path leads to them, to the right of the road that goes to the south towards the Sunian promontory.

From beyond the promontory of Tres-Pyrgæ, or Colias, the shore is rocky and abrupt, but not high. The stone is a sort of sand-stone, very soft, and worn into singular shapes by the washing of the waves: in one place there is a large hole broken away through a little projecting cliff. The plain immediately near the shore is quite bare, and intersected with frequent ravins, and a broad water-course, as wide as that of the Ilissus.

To inform you respecting that part of the territory of Attica beyond the olive-groves and gardens of Athens, I shall, in my next, take from my journal an extract of some expeditions we made in that quarter to Eleusis and Salamis.

* Καὶ Ἀγχιμόλιε ἐστὶ ταφαὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἀλοπεκῆσι ἀγχῆ τῇ Ἡράκλειδι τῇ ἐν Κυνοσάργει.—Herod. T. 9. p. 63.

LETTER XXV.

*Route from Athens to Eleusis—Daphne-vouni—Casha-vouni—
The Monastery of Daphne—The Rhiti—The Thriasian Plain—
—Eleusis—Ruins—The Cambridge Ceres—Route from Athens
to Salamis—The Throne of Xerxes—View from Corydallus—
Salamis or Colouri—Ampelaki—Colouri—Greek Islanders.*

ON the 13th of January we mounted our horses rather earlier than usual, and set out on that one of the roads from Athens, which has the site of the Academy and the Colonus Hippinus a little to the right, and is, on the whole, in a west-north-westerly direction. We rode for nearly twenty minutes before we entered the olive-groves, passing through which for half an hour, we came to the Cephissus: over this river, or ditch-stream, we crossed on a small ill-constructed bridge; and, after riding through some more olive-groves, and near the ruins of a Greek church, in which a carved marble, or two, is to be seen, and also an ancient well, we got into a wide open plain, partly a sheep pasture and partly green with corn: at a distance on our right was the road by which we had come from Thebes, by Casha, to Athens. On our left, the plain stretched towards the sea-coast to the west of Piræus, which, however, was not visible, owing to the inequality of the ground: before us were low hills, running from north-north-east to south-south-west, the

sides of which were only partially cultivated, and of a very sterile appearance. A lonely house, with a few ruined churches, might be seen here and there, but no village. We soon crossed the plain, which seemed a continuation of the sloping hills in front of us, and, ascending by a gentle acclivity, entered through a gap, which is visible from Athens, and which divides the hills on the left, (south), once named Corydallus, from the range on the right which juts out from the great mountain Parnes, and was called Ægaleon. Corydallus has now the name of Daphne-vouni, or the Laurel Mountain, from the shrubs of oleander (called by the modern Greeks *πικραδαφνη*, or bitter laurel) with which it abounds, and Ægaleon is Casha-vouni, from the large village of that name, which gives its denomination also to the south-west range of the great mountain Parnes, whose northern summits are called Ozea.

The travellers who have supposed Daphne-vouni to be Ægaleon, appear to have been induced to that belief by the conjecture, that it was through this gap, that the Lacedemonian army, under Archidamus, marched into that part of Attica called Cecropia, leaving, says the historian, Mount Ægaleon on their *right* hand*. But there is another gap in the hills, two or three miles farther up to the north, near the village of Casha, which leads directly from the Eleusinian territory into Attica, and which answers, it seems to me, more clearly to the defile alluded to by Thucydides. Issuing from the mountains, Archidamus passed through Cecropia, a slope at the foot of the hills, two miles, I should think, in transverse breadth, and encamped at Acharnæ†, the largest town next to the capital, only sixty stadia from Athens, and, indeed, in view

* Εὐ δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ Αἰγάλεων ὄρος.—Thucyd. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 19.

† Χώριον μέγιστον τῆς Αττικῆς.—Ibid.

of the city; a circumstance which must be a sufficient answer to such as suppose *Casha* only a corruption of *Acharnæ*, for that village is four hours, and not visible from the Acropolis*. *Daphne-vouni* stretches to the shore opposite *Salamis*, and there is no separation in the mountain, which will allow of the northern range having been called *Ægaleon* and the southern part of it *Corydallus*.

Soon after we had advanced into the hills, (where, however, the path is level enough, and was probably rendered so by art, in order to facilitate the procession of *Iacchus* on this part of the Sacred Way), we turned more southwards; and continued in the defile, with bare mountains on our right, and woody hills on our left, until, in about two hours and a half from Athens, we arrived at a large monastery, romantically situated in a long recess, at the foot of a high rugged hill, whose pines almost hang over the building. This monastery is called *Daphne*, and though much venerated, and supposed the most ancient in the country, has nothing to detain you. The exterior of the building has more the appearance of a place of defence than of a religious retreat, as the court-yard is surrounded with a wall at least twenty feet high, the angles of which are furnished with towers. Yet this precaution has not been sufficient to preserve the monastery from the visitations of the Turks, who frequently make it their baiting-place, as may be seen from the disfiguration of a Mosaic picture of our Saviour† on the cupola of the church: the eyes of the figure are perforated with bullets. Only one monk ever resides

* *Wheler* says, ten or a dozen miles, and we were from four o'clock to half-past eight on the road from the village to the city.—*De Pauw*, vol. i. cap. 5, to support his opinion with respect to *Casha* being a corruption of *Acharnæ*, contracts the distance to *near seven*.

in the place, who, as the peasant that had the care of the church told us, was gone to pass the winter in town, (*εἰς τὸ χειρὶν*), meaning Athens.

The monastery being placed directly on the sacred way from Athens to Eleusis, has been conjectured to stand nearly on the site of a temple of Apollo; and two Ionic columns, which were wedged into one of the walls, have been said to belong to a temple of Venus, whose site is pointed out by a piece of wall of rude masonry a little further on the road.

From Daphne, Lord Elgin conveyed a shaft, two capitals, and a base, and nothing antique is now to be seen at the monastery, except a stone tomb.

Leaving Daphne, we began to travel on an easy descent, and had at once a vista opened upon us, presenting a view of the sea, closed by two forked hills, those called Kerata, or the Horns, immediately behind Eleusis, and the high mountains of the Isthmus in the back ground.

We continued in a westerly direction through a narrow valley: on the right-hand, nearly opposite the piece of ancient wall above-mentioned, we saw marks of tools upon the rock, which had some grooves and ledges cut on a flat surface, evidently smoothed by art. The grooves appear the same as those in the cave of Pan, and were therefore most probably constructed for the votive tablets of such as journeyed to the Temple of Ceres. The position of the hill answers to that of the painted rock of Pausanias.

In half an hour, beyond Porcile, as it was once denominated, we found ourselves at the extremity of the valley, and at the water-side. Here we saw the shaft of one of the Ionic columns, of very white marble, and the flutings highly finished, lying entire, in a wooden trough, ready for exportation; on the beach.

Our postman said it belonged to the English, but whether to Lord Elgin or not, I did not learn. We turned directly to the right, the north, and came full upon a large circular basin, looking like a lake, the entrance from the sea not being easily discerned, as the island of Salamis, lying west and east, closed up the mouth of the bay. At the other extremity of the bay, to the west, we saw the village of Eleusis. We crossed a short passage of stony road, cut out of the foot of the rocks, close to the water's edge, and called, like similar paths, Kake Scala, and then came upon a sandy beach, having on our right a small salt-water lake, dammed up by a low wall, and communicating with the sea by two channels, whose streams turn two over-shot mills at a little distance from each other.

Leaving the mills, we crossed two or three rivulets of brackish water, oozing through the sand, which Wheler and Chandler have called the Rhiti, or Salt Streams, the ancient limits between the Athenians and Eleusinians, consecrated to Ceres and Proserpine, and supposed by Pausanias to find a subterranean passage through Bœotia and Attica, as far as from the Euripus of Chalcis*. Beyond these streams we did not encounter any river similar to that which Wheler †, coinciding with Pausanias, calls the Eleusinian Cephissus, but turning to the left, again westward,

* Pausan. Corinth. p. 129. Attic. 70.

† A Journey, &c. quart. p. 426. Seneca talks of the rapid waters of this river in his Hippolytus, Act I. Scene I.

Quæ saxoso sola Parnethi
Subjecta jacent, et quæ Thriasis
Vallibus amnis rapida currens
Verberat unda.

rode over an extensive plain, quite flat, and so marshy in many places, that a stone causeway has been raised upon it for the security of travellers. This plain, near the shore a green pasture, but cultivated towards the foot of the woody hills to the north side of it, is six or seven miles in length from east to west, and three or four in breadth. It is evidently the Thriasian plain, and the part of it which we traversed, answers to that tract in it called in very early times, the kingdom of Crocon*. We continued upon it for an hour, and saw on the left of our path some pieces of wall belonging to a church, which in 1765 was standing, and preserved the marbles of an ancient monument, together with an inscription. Thria, or Thrio, a town of the tribe of Oenis, which gave the name to the plain, was probably higher up on the side of Parnes, and nearer the Rhiti.

On turning to the left (just an hour and a half from Daphne), to direct our steps round the sweep of the shore to Eleusis, we observed a path leading off to the western extremity of the plain, and ascending the mountains by which it is on that end inclosed. This is one of the roads travelled by those who come to Athens from the towns and villages on the sides of Mount Elatias (Cithæron), and is sometimes preferred by those who wish to reach that city from Thebes, to that which passes by Casha over Parnes. I had afterwards an opportunity of tracing the higher part of this route, and found it to correspond exactly with that by which the Lacedemonians entered into Attica in the in-

* Βασιλεία Κροκωνος. See the description of the Sacred Way, leading from the Thriasian gate, afterwards called Dipylon, by Mount Pœcile, across the Rhiti, and the Thriasian plain to Eleusis, in Pausanias, "ισσι και επ' ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΑ ΕΞ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ," p. 67 et seq. usq. ad. 71, fol. edit.

cursion before mentioned. A path branches off from the main road, by the Sacred Way, to Athens, a little nearer to Eleusis than the Salt Streams, and leads to Caliva, a village, and to Casha, through the opening in the hills which, according to my hypothesis, divides Ægaleon from Parnes.

In several places across the plain to the north-west, as far as the bottom of the hills, before we turned southwards towards Eleusis, we saw fragments of an ancient aqueduct; and in half an hour we came to the village itself, which is put down in the maps, Lefkina, but which I never heard called any thing else at Athens than Elefsis, the modern pronunciation of the ancient name.

Eleusis is a miserable village of thirty mud cottages with flat roofs, inhabited by Albanians; besides which, there is one high square house, or tower, the occasional residence of a Turk, who superintends the peasants, and owns some part of the neighbouring plain. It is comprehended in the territory of the Waiwode of Athens, which, on this side, extends one hour, or three miles, beyond the village to the west.

Eleusis is finely situated, at about half a mile from the sea, on the declivity of a long hill, which stretches from the extremity of the mountains still called Kerata, running from north-east to south-west, and making the separation between Attica and the Megaris. There are sufficient remains to make it probable that great part of this hill was originally built upon, though at present there is nothing to be seen on it but the fragments of an old tower, and a piece of wall.

Looking to the east from the modern village, you have before you the bay, closed in front by Corydallus, and to the right by Salamis, with two islands before it, the Pharmacusæ, one

much larger than the other, and now called Megala, and Micra Kira. To the south-west there is a tongue of land, the western end of the bay, and beyond this, the mountains of the Morea are seen rising in the distance.

To the north-west, in an angle between Kerata and the hill of Eleusis, is a small valley, according to Wheeler and following travellers, the Rharian plain, where Triptolemus first taught the art of ploughing and sowing. Every part of the Thriasian plain, over which we passed, inclosed by Parnes and Ægaleon to the north, north-east, and east, is distinctly seen from the hill, and forms the most extensive portion of the land prospect.

The remains of the ancient Eleusis are now very insignificant: some small stones, and pieces of rubbish standing upright, appear scattered about under the village, on the slope of the hill, and near the sea, and on one side of an inlet on the beach are fragments of a pier. The site of the great Temple of Ceres includes most of the modern village, but many decays must have intervened since the time of Chandler, who seems, from his account, to have been able to measure the area and proportions of that magnificent building on the spot. The breadth of the cell, says he, is about one hundred and fifty feet, the length, including the Pronaos and portico, two hundred and sixteen feet, the diameter of the columns, which are fluted, six inches from the bottom of the shafts, six feet and more than six inches*. The peribolus, or inclosure, which surrounded it on the north-east and on the south side, measured three hundred and eighty-seven feet in length from north to south, and three hundred and twenty-eight in

* Chandler's Travels, p. 190.

breadth from east to west. I did not see that the walls of the temple or of the inclosure can be now traced. The body of the remains, belonging, it has been thought, to the Temples of Diana, Propylæa, and Neptune, and to the gateway of the great inclosure, is now all on one small space in the middle of the village, and there are three or four entire portions of marble columns, just appearing above ground, fluted, and apparently of the dimensions alluded to, besides the mouth and part of the rim of a large marble vase, buried in the ground, and a fragment, also of marble, with the bas-relief of a Triton. Close by, we were shown the spot on which the Cambridge Ceres had so long lain half-buried in the earth. In the wall of a church, at another part of the village, is an Ionic capital. There are besides two inscribed marbles, one of which seems to have been a pedestal*, and stands by itself, and the other is wedged into the walls of a house. The inscriptions copied by Wheeler, I was not shown. Some pieces of ancient wall are to be seen under the square house belonging to the Turk. The largest portion of wall yet standing is on the rock above, where is the old tower, and on which was the citadel of Eleusis, forming a protection on the north-west side to the temple; but the remains of the temple "in antis," seen by Chandler on this spot, either have disappeared, or entirely escaped my observation. It is well known that the Cambridge Ceres, mutilated as it is, was supposed both by Greeks and Turks, from a tradition, to be a sort of talisman, on which depended the fertility of the lands of Eleusis; but the Thriasian plain has lost nothing of its former abundance since the removal of this precious

* See Appendix, for the inscription on the pedestal.

relic by our accomplished and amiable countryman, and the inhabitants of Eleusis, who pointed out to me the trench whence it had been dug, evinced no signs of regret for their loss. At Eleusis, coins are very frequently found by the peasants, and one of them showed me the foot of a stocking quite full of them, out of which I selected about five and twenty.

A very few years will accomplish the complete destruction of the scanty remains that are to be seen at this once celebrated spot, and the former existence of the temples may, in some future age, be as problematical as the object of the mysteries, of Eleusis.

The other route which I purposed to make you acquainted with in this Letter, is that from Athens to Salamis, now called Colouri.

The road takes you nearly in a westerly direction, leaving that leading to the Piræus, and another to the gardens, on the left. You enter the olive-groves in twenty minutes, and traverse transversely for more than an hour, going through a part of them where they are very thickly set, and have the waters of the Cephissus flowing through them in many trenches. After the olive-groves, the road is a little on the ascent over a plain, open and barren, except in some few cultivated spots. The mouths of ancient wells, and fragments of stone-work, are visible near the path, just as it reaches the top of the slope, and leaves a small eminence to the right hand, about half an hour from the olive-groves. From this point the road continues on the descent, in an open country of corn-fields and vineyards: a lone cottage, surrounded with trees, is on the left; in half an hour you arrive at the foot of a bleak rocky hill, and the shore of a bay, formed by the back of the promontory which is the western side of the Piræus and a tongue of land jutting out from the rocks on the right, on

whose front there is part of an old tower. This is the port Phoron.

You cross the base of this neck of land, and then pass, not far from the shore, at the foot of a ridge of bare rocks that runs parallel with the coast.

These rocks have now no name: they are part of the promontory stretching from Mount Corydallus; and in a niche about half way up, late antiquarians have supposed themselves to have discovered the spot where Xerxes sat in his silver-footed chair to behold the battle of Salamis. The niche is about opposite to the long rocky islet in the mouth of the strait, once called *Psyttalia*, and now *Lipsocattalia*, where the four hundred Persians were cut to pieces by the Greeks during the action.

During one of our several rides to this part of Attica, a distance of seven or eight miles, I took an opportunity of ascending these stony hills, and traversing the heights above the strait in every direction. From the first summit, the side nearest Athens, where the throne of Xerxes has by some conjectures been placed, the battle could only be partially seen; but from the middle of the second eminence, in which is the niche alluded to, every part of both fleets, as well as the minute circumstances of the action, might have been distinctly beheld. Those who have placed the throne a mile farther down to the north-west, on an eminence of Mount Corydallus, cannot have a correct notion of the positions, as from that point, the whole of that part of the line where the Athenians and Phœnicians were engaged, must have been hidden behind the projecting rocks of the promontory; and the ship of Artemisia endeavouring to escape from the mouth of the strait, and sinking the opposing galley, the action which called forth the

famous exclamation of Xerxes, could not, from that point, have been beheld at all by the Persian King*.

From the summit of the highest rock of Corydallus I had a view of Athens to the east; the Piræus was to the south-east, on my left; before me, to the south, was Ægina; Salamis, with its bays and diminutive towns, lay, as in a map, at my feet; the town of Megara was visible to the west-south-west, farther up on the right, in the Saronic gulf; whilst Eleusis, with its spacious basin and spreading plain, appeared under the mountains to the north-west: an extensive prospect, yet a space how circumscribed, to contain the ruins of so many cities, once the capitals of flourishing states. The friend of Cicero, sailing up the gulf to Megara†, with justice contemplated this melancholy scene, as one that must diminish the magnitude of private distresses, and check the indulgence of individual sorrows, by presenting, in one view, the abject and calamitous condition of whole cities, and many nations.

* Some accounts place the throne on Kerata, above Eleusis (which, it seems, made Wheler suppose it to have been on either Megala or Micra *Kera*), and others on the mountain which they name Ægialus, meaning that hill (also called Ægilus) where was the Demos Ægilia, and which, under the name Ægaleon, I fancy to have been incorrectly confounded with Corydallus. Yet it is true, that the whole range from the modern village of Casha to the straits of Salamis, seems to have been indiscriminately called by both names; and, that one author, Pliny, enumerating the Attic mountains, has mentioned Ægialus, and omitted Corydallus. Plin. lib. iv. cap. 7, Montes (Atticæ) Brileusus, Ægialus, Icarus, Hymettus, Lycabettus.

† “*Ex Asia rediens, cum ab Ægina Megaram versus navigarem, cæpi regiones circum circa prospicere, post me erat Ægina, ante Megara, dextra Piræus, sinistra Corinthus; quæ oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos jacent, &c.*”—Cic. Epist. ad Famil. lib. iv.

But if such reflections were suggested to Sulpicius, more than eighteen centuries ago, with what feelings must the modern traveller behold the same prospect, when all these famous towns are, indeed, nothing but the lifeless carcasses of once animated bodies, prostrate, crumbled in the dust, without a sign of their ancient vigour and beauty.

The road to the passage over the strait of Salamis, continues at the foot of the rocks at a short distance from the shore, for about a mile, when it comes to a projecting piece of land, where are remains of an ancient cistern; and, above that, two or three large stones, that have been supposed part of an Heracléum, or Temple of Hercules. A path continues to wind round the rocks beyond this point, until it joins the road to Eleusis by Daphne, after having doubled a second headland. This was anciently Amphiale, attached to a town of that name, famous for the stone quarries in its neighbourhood. The passage from the main-land to Salamis was here only two stadia, and Xerxes intended to have thrown a mole across it. A modern pier, of a rude construction, serves for landing and embarking the horses passing to and fro over the ferry. The ferry-boat here used is very large, with sails, and well made; we put our horses into it very easily. The direct passage is not much more than a quarter of a mile, yet when the wind sets down the strait to the west, it is not easy to cross; and I was nearly an hour on returning from the island, as the ferry-boat was only managed by two men.

Passing over, you have a view of the western side of the long tongue of land projecting from the island to the north-east, and formerly called the Dog's Tail (Cynosura), and by the Italians, Punto Barbaro, on which, at this day, are some stones, thought

to be part of the substructure of a trophy raised by the Greeks after the victory; but as you approach nearer to the island, the view of the point is shut out by another projecting piece of land, forming one side of a bay, at the bottom of which is a pier, where the ferry-boat unloads. On the right, entering this bay, is a green islet, on which a few cows and small horses are fed, but where there is not a single habitation, though there are two churches.

On my excursion to Colouri, after landing at the pier, and, with some difficulty, getting the horses out of the boat, I ascended a rising ground, and passing over a gentle ascent, came, in half an hour, to a village of about eighty houses, inhabited by Albanians, and called Ampelaki. The houses here were more neat and regularly built than those of the villages on the main-land, white, and with flat roofs. The neighbourhood of Ampelaki has not a single tree; the soil is dry and rocky, and chiefly laid out in the cultivation of the vine. A stony hill overlooks the village to the south; and the rays of the summer's sun, reflected on the flat unsheltered cottages, renders the residence very unhealthy in summer; and, indeed, on the 31st of January, the heat appeared to me quite oppressive.

Strabo mentions, that the harvest in Salamis had ended before that on the main-land begun.

The site of the more ancient city of Salamis is near the shore of the bay enclosed to the east by Cynosura, an hour to the south-east from Ampelaki. The walls, four miles in circumference, might be traced fifty years ago; but, my guide assured me, were at present not to be seen. Some inscribed marbles have been removed thence to the village, where they are still to be seen, parti-

cularly one, still in exceedingly good preservation, over the porch of the church-door, which is mentioned and was copied by Chandler. In a wall near this church, was a fragment of marble, having on it, in alto-relievo, a naked leg of the most perfect sculpture, apparently part of a whole figure. Several efforts were made to obtain this marble, but the owner of the wall would not be persuaded to part with the piece.

It is necessary for travellers to be somewhat circumspect in their endeavours to procure any sculpture or inscribed marbles, and to conceal, in a measure, their eagerness to be possessed of them, as both Greeks and Turks suppose that the Franks would have too much sense to offer large sums for blocks of stones, were they not very precious in some way or the other, either as amulets, or concealing gold or jewels. It is not long since a Turk, digging in his garden near Athens, discovered a statue of Venus Accroupie, nearly as large as life, of white marble, and scarcely mutilated. A Frank, to whom it was shown, incautiously offered fifty zechins for the masterpiece. The Turk refused the sum, and broke the statue in pieces, to search for the treasure which he supposed it to contain: the parts were put together afterwards as well as possible, and a cast taken from it, which was shown to me, was sufficient to prove what a loss the fine arts had sustained, by the injury done to a piece of sculpture which would have had but few rivals amongst the relics of antiquity. A peasant of Salamis wore on his finger a ring, mounted with a most beautiful cameo, and, though himself ready to sell it, was prevented by his wife, who regarded it as a talisman, effectual against evil spirits.

From this village we rode, about half an hour, over an open country of corn-fields and vineyards, to the town of Colouri, from

which the island now takes its name. This is a larger and much more wealthy place than Ampelaki, having about seven hundred houses, and there are a few shops in the bazar, together with three or four coffee-houses. It is situated a little to the westward of the bottom of a gulf that runs seven or eight miles into the island, and being at least three miles broad, gives it something the shape of a broad horse-shoe. The inhabitants of Colouri are partly Greeks, partly Albanians, but have no Turks amongst them, except such as may come to traffic; being governed by their own Codja-bashees, and paying only a certain tax annually to the Porte, under the jurisdiction of the Captain Pasha, or High Admiral, the immediate lord of all the islands, and also of some districts on the main-land.

The tribute of the Colouriotes is four thousand oches of pitch, for the use of the arsenal of Tophana at Constantinople; and this they collect, not only in Salamis, but any where on the main-land, often near Smyrna, passing over to Asia in bodies of three and four hundred at a time, and encamping in the forests until they have furnished themselves with the necessary supply.

It was easy to see, that the condition of the Greeks of Colouri was preferable to that of those on the main-land; they had more the air of freemen, and of those who were permitted to enjoy the fruits of their industry; yet their freedom from immediate restraint is not always so agreeable to a traveller as the obedience of their continental countrymen.

Several wherries, employed in fishing for red mullet, which abound in the straits, and about the island of Salamis, and which finds subsistence for some natives of Athens, and much of the population of Colouri, Ægina, and Megara, were lying on the

beach under the town. It was my wish to proceed in one of them which came from Ægina, on a visit to that island; and I accordingly agreed with the master of the kiéque, for a passage to that island in his boat, manned with ten men, and ready to depart the same evening. Some money was advanced to the Greek, to victual, as he said, his boat. After waiting some time, we walked to the beach, where nothing was prepared, and only six of the sailors would consent to go. The bargain was broken; and the boat being too large to be managed by so few men, I was disappointed of my voyage. My attendant demanded the piasters he had given in advance; but here he was mistaken, for the Greek declared, that he and his men had been dining and drinking on the money, and that, though he was extremely sorry that the men he had engaged had changed their minds, yet he could not return what he no longer possessed. The man, on being threatened with an appeal to his superiors, said he belonged to Ægina; the Codja-bashee of Colouri declared he had no controul over him; and accordingly we parted, not a little, on our parts, enraged by the provoking coolness of the Greek, who, on our going away, most politely thanked me, and wished me good evening (*ευχαριστῶ σας Αὐθέντι, καὶ ἀλλή' σπέρω σας*).

It was not so much the cheating, to which most of the lower orders of any people who live by the sea appear to be inclined, but the unblushing manner of doing it, that gave me no very favourable impression of the Greek islanders.

The whole length of Salamis, from east to west, has been reckoned between nine and ten miles, and the breadth of it, including the bay of Colouri, cannot be much less. It has only one river, formerly the Bocaras, but now called 'Tokolias.

The island seems uncultivated, except in the narrow vallies between the hills, near Colouri and Ampelaki, where wheat and barley are grown. There are some thin pine forests on the summits of the mountains, as well as a variety of low shrubs. A monastery, to the south-west of Colouri, is the most agreeable spot in the island, being shaded with a few trees, and watered by a plentiful spring of pure water. The monks are the richest persons in Salamis. Athens is still considered the mistress of the island; most of the inhabitants have some dealings in the city; and the ferry-boat is generally employed during the whole day in transporting backwards and forwards the peasants of Ampelaki and Colouri, with the riches of their vineyards and their fields, and the soap-ashes, procured from the lentisc, which is plentiful in the island.—The women of Salamis are of a fine shape and handsome face, superior to the Athenians of the same condition. They have the free ingenuous air, without any of the vulgarity of the peasant, and their whole manner is a happy mixture of the sprightliness of the Albanian, and the politeness of the Greek female.

LETTER XXVI.

The Eastern Side of Athens—Hymettus—Ascent to the Monastery of St. Cyriani, on that Mountain—The Sacred Spring—Route to Mount Pentelicus—Angele-Kipos—Callandri—The Monastery on Pentelicus—The Marble Quarries—Return by another Route—Remains of the Aqueduct.

HAVING endeavoured to give you an idea of the country westward of Athens, I shall now proceed to the other side of the city, and extract whatever may appear necessary from the notes made on our many excursions to that quarter.

To the south-east of Athens, the country is intersected by Mount Hymettus, which approaches within three miles of the city, and is divided into two ranges: the first running from east-north-east to west-south-west; and the second, forming an obtuse angle with the first, and having a direction from west-north-west to east-south-east. The first range, Hymettus, properly so called, ends about four miles from the promontory Zoster, now Halikes; but the hills on the other side of a gap, through which runs the road leading to the Sunian promontory, seeming like a continuation of the same mountain, have been named the lesser Hymettus. The great range is now called Telo-Vouni; that on the other side of the gap Lambravouni, from the ruins of a town, one of the ancient

Lampras* (the καθύπερθεν, or upper), once called Lambra, but now known only by the name of Elinbos, and containing thirty cottages.

Hymettus is neither a high nor a picturesque mountain, being a flat ridge of bare rocks. The sides of it, about half way up, are covered with brown shrubs and heath, whose flowers scent the air with a delicious perfume; the wild thyme is in great abundance, but there are only two stands of bee-hives on the mountains, and very little of the real honey of Hymettus is to be now procured at Athens, where it is still justly prized for its superior flavour, and a certain aromatic odour peculiar to the plants of this place, a list of which is given by Sir George Wheeler: a small pot of it was shown to me as a rarity. From the city to the highest part of the mountain is a walk of three hours. Half way to this point, there is a monastery dedicated to St. Cyriani, which we visited on the 16th of January.

We took the road leading from the gate of Hadrian's arch, over the corn-grounds, to the eastward; left the Corinthian columns on our right, and continued for a mile, perhaps, approaching towards the bed of the Ilissus. We had on our left hand, a little before us, the village of Angele-Kipos and its olive-groves. We soon came to where two ravins join, and form a rocky dell, where in winter there are generally small pools of water.

This is what travellers (after the conjectures, well founded as they appear to me, of Wheeler†) have agreed to call the junction of the two rivers the Eridanus and the Ilissus. We left it on our

* There were two Lampras, both of the tribes Eretheis, one near the sea, the other inland; in one of them was the tomb of Cranaus, the ancient Athenian King.

† Before the time of Wheeler, the Cephissus was called the Eridanus.

right; and in a few minutes crossed the channel of the Ilissus*; which winds from the north-eastern extremity of Hymettus, and riding over some dry rocky ground, came to the Eridanus, or rather to a deep ravin without any water, along whose banks we continued, on an ascent bare and rugged, until we came to a lonely metochi, or farm-house; we then crossed the ravin, and got upon the sides of Mount Hymettus, riding on a perpetual slope through thin olive-groves, up to the site of the monastery of St. Cyriani, called Cosbashce by the Turks, inclosed in a nook of the mountain, with the ravin of the river running through olive-groves, at the bottom of a dell beneath. The monastery of St. Cyriani has nothing worthy of notice, except four shafts of marble columns, supporting the dome of the church. The ruin from which these were saved, was probably that of the Temple of Venus; for the fountain, probably the sacred spring in the neighbourhood of the Temple, which the Athenian matrons used to frequent for its medicinal virtues, is still to be seen a little above the monastery. To this we were conducted by one of the monks. There are three artificial basins, or stone troughs, receiving a water very clear and cold; they are one above the other; that in the middle is inclosed in an arched grotto, possibly part of the foundation of the Temple of Venus—

* The Ilissus, says Strabo (p. 400), flows from the region above Agræ and the Lycæum, and the fountain, which Plato has commemorated in his *Phædrus*. The site of Agræ is determined by that of the fountain Callirhoë, before noticed. It was a suburb without the walls, lower down to the south than the Stadium of Herodes, beyond the river. With respect to the Lycæum, also in the same quarter, nothing now remaining seemed to me to point out its ancient place; the large stones now existing on the road to the south, more than a mile beyond the Ilissus, supposed by Chandler to have belonged to the walls inclosing that Gymnasium, answer, it strikes me, much better to the Cynosarges, which was without the gate Diocharis, and not far from the barrows near the Demos of Alopecæ.

five feet wide, eight high, and twelve high. There is at the end of the cave a niche, and under this, to the right, almost covered with a large slab of stone, is the spring.

The miraculous virtues of the water have survived the temple, and the worship of Venus. Our conductor told us, that once a year, on the feast of Panagia, many of the Greek females of Athens repair to this grotto, light up the niche with the small wax-tapers, as offerings to the Virgin, and then drink and wash in the spring, which eases the pains of child-birth, and is annually blessed from above by the descent of two doves, who play round the fountain, and re-ascend to heaven. The man assured us, to remove all incredulity, that a Despotes, a monk of Cyriani, had seen them himself; but that he was, indeed, the most holy man in the whole country. The vicinity of the sacred spring was anciently called Pera, signifying, perhaps, beyond the river.

When Procris suspected her Cephalus of inconstancy, she traced his footsteps to the side of a sacred fountain, near the purple hills of Hymettus, and saw the green bank, whose soft herbage still remained impressed with the vestige of his lovely form. “The arbutus, the rosemary, the laurel, the dark myrtle, the leafy box, the frail tamarisk, the slender cytissus, and the graceful pine, united their varied foliage, which, together with the blades of long grass, trembled under the gentle pressure of the rising breeze.” “When next he left her embraces, to follow the chace on Hymettus, she hastened to the woods, and leaving her maidens in the valley below, advanced into the recesses of the grove towards his favourite retreat*”

* Ovid. de Arte Aman. lib. iii.

“Est prope purpureos colles florentis Hymetti

“Fons sacre”

The holy spring, the hill, the valley beneath, seem to fix upon the scene of the fatal adventure ; but, on our winter visit to the spot, the wild shrubbery was no longer to be seen, and the purple tinge of the mountain's side was changed into a more sombre hue.

At a quarter of a mile from the fountain, on the side of the hill to the westward, is a ruined chapel of St. Marc, in which the monks of Cyriani are buried. It is on a most elevated spot, commanding a view of the whole plain of Athens, and having in the fore-ground of the picture, the waving line of low hills which lie at the foot, and are the roots of the larger mountain.

There is a way to ascend Hymettus on horseback, but the direct path above Cyriani, is accessible only to foot passengers.

The position of the mines in this mountain, in whose cavities the best honey was formerly found, and of the marble quarries, has rather been guessed at than actually discovered : the cave shown to Chandler, seems to have belonged to neither.

Hymettus was reckoned amongst the cantons of Attica, but of what tribe is unknown : it had on its summit an image of Jupiter, instead of which single statue there are now fifty chapels or consecrated caves.

Mount Pentelicus, at this day called Pendele, and sometimes Mendele, must be, I should think, one-third higher than Hymettus, and its height is the more apparent, as it rises with a peaked summit into the clouds. The range of Pentelicus runs from about north-west to south-east, at no great distance from the eastern shore of Attica, overhanging the plain of Marathon, and mixing imperceptibly, at its northern extremity, with the hills of Brilessus, now called, as well as part of Mount Parnes, Ozca. The highest peak of Pendele is in a direction east-north-east from Athens ; and from the foot of the mountain to the city, is about

two hours and a half, between seven or eight miles. An object of curiosity to all travellers are the marble quarries of Pentelicus, which supplied not only Athens, but many other parts of Greece, with the precious materials of their temples, stadiums, and statues.

There is a monastery, the most wealthy in Attica, which stands on the side of the mountain, and is generally used as a baiting-place by those who visit the quarries.

The road leads through the gateway, covered with the marble of Antoninus's aqueduct. It continues over the corn-grounds, having the hill of St. George immediately on the left; two white pillars, with an inscription, at half a mile distance, are on the left of the path, erected by a Turk, who shot his arrow from one point to the other. In half an hour it comes to some olive-groves, having to the right the junction of the Eridanus and Ilissus, and two stone reservoirs, by which Athens is supplied with water.

In these olive-groves is a monastery dedicated to St. Michael, called Agios Asoniatos*. Two Corinthian capitals are in the walls of the church, supplied, perhaps, from the Temple of Venus, in the gardens formerly in this quarter. Not far beyond the olive-groves is a village, called Perivole, or Angele-Kipos, hidden in pleasant groves of olive and cypress, and in gardens of orange and lemon, and other fruit trees, on the south side of the low range of Anchesmus. It is the nearest of the villages to which the inhabitants of Athens withdraw during the summer heats. There is a stone causeway runs the length of the gardens; and two fountains, with marble facings, are in the middle of the village, on the right of the path.

Angele-Kipos, small as it is, has still a history attached to

* The modern Greeks do not attend to the aspirate, and Agios is here spelt as they pronounce it, without the H.

it; for the inhabitants of Pallene, a town to the north near Pentelicus, would not intermarry with the natives of Angele of the tribe Pandionis, on account of their treachery as far back as the time of Theseus*.

After this village the country is quite open and bare, and the soil light and stony, but it is ploughed and sowed in many parts, and there is in some spots a vineyard. Low, fragrant, shrubs are in abundance.

The low and stony range of Anchesimus is on the left of the road: to the right, a wide plain, between the north-east end of Hymettus and Pentelicus, opens upon you as you advance, and is seen stretching down far to the south. A road runs across this plain, which is called the plain of Spathia, to the eastern shore of Attica: it is the same district which modern travellers have mentioned with the name of Mescigia. An hour beyond Angele-Kipos, the path goes through a larger village, of a hundred houses, surrounded with olive-groves, called Callandri, and from this spot emerges again into the open plain, continuing for half an hour along the side of a water-course, until it comes to the foot of the hills. Here large flocks of goats, tended by a caloyer, or monk, are seen cropping the scanty herbage on the sides of the mountain. Ascending the mountain, you soon come into pine-woods, and other evergreens, and arrive at the monastery itself in three hours from Athens, having travelled in a direction about east-by-north.

This building is in a niche of the hill, surrounded by an olive-grove, through which a copious stream falls down a pebbly channel into the plain below. A green plot before the door of the monastery is shaded by a spreading plane-tree.

* See Wheeler, 470; and Chandler, 171; but Plutarch, in his *Life of Theseus*, says this of the Demos Agnous, of the tribe Acamantis.

The entrance into the square court of the building is, as usual, through a small door, plated with iron. Three sides of the court are fitted up with small cells, white-washed, and swept very clean; that of the Egoumenos, or abbot, has sofas and a carpet, for the reception of strangers. A well, and a tree, from which the iron hoop that calls them to prayers is suspended, is on one side of the yard. In the middle of the square stands the church, the interior of which is plastered in every part with gilt, and bespeaks the wealth of the fraternity.

The monastery owns several metochis, or farms, in different parts of Attica, in the superintendence of which the numerous body of monks are dispersed over the country; so that there are seldom more than five or six at a time at Pendele. The original tribute of this monastery, paid to the support of the mosck of Valide, at Constantinople, was six thousand pounds weight of honey, at five dollars a quintal, and has not, that I heard, been since increased.

When we visited the place, the monks seemed to live well, and set before us a repast of eggs, dried olives, and honey, with a wine of an excellent flavour, and a palatable rossoglio; yet they called themselves poor, and seemed afraid lest we should carry away with us an opinion of their being in a flourishing condition. Such a report might increase the tax which they pay to the Porte for protection.

From the monastery to the marble-quarries is a distance of forty minutes, the path climbing the mountain to the north, through thick woods of evergreens, over very steep and unequal ground, but having here and there the appearance of a track formerly much used. It is not possible to go the whole way on horseback.

You come suddenly on the caverns, the entrance to which is at the bottom of an angle formed by two precipices of marble, evidently smoothed by art, and cut into their present form for the sake of the materials. These precipices are hung with ivy, which overshadows the mouth of the caverns. On a ledge, half way up, of the one on the left hand, with neither a descent or ascent to it, is the small stone house which Chandler supposed a station for the centinel at the quarries, but which the modern Greeks believe to have been the abode of an ascetic, and, as it seems to me, with more probability; for the masonry appears of a much later date than would correspond with the conjecture of the traveller.

Before you enter the caves, the caloyer that attends you from the monastery, strikes a fire, and lights up several small wax tapers and strips of pine, for torches; which, however, are not necessary until you get to the lower part of the recess. On entering, which can be done without stooping, you see at once two small stone sheds, overgrown with ivy, with mouths like that of an oven. If these were habitations for the workmen, nothing could be contrived more inconvenient. I should rather think them remains of the stone-work of forges employed in making and refitting the necessary tools.

On the right of these sheds you ascend, by a flight of three steps, to two ruined chapels, cut out of the rock, on whose sides are the faint traces of painted Saints. Through an aperture which served for a window to one of them, and which is latticed by the overhanging ivy, there is a view of the extent of country beneath. The choice of cemeteries, tombs, and solitary caves, amidst the depth of forests, for the purposes of religious worship, which was a subject of reproach against the early Christians, and

was adopted at first by necessity, was afterwards continued by inclination, and a veneration for the spots made holy by ancient piety. In Turkey, the cause which originally drove the *Lucifugaces* to these recesses, still exists, and the sacred mysteries are, on the day of the Saint to which they are dedicated, at this time performed in the hollows of rocks, and in many other spots as wild and remote as the quarries of *Pentelicus*.

The Greeks in our company, crossed themselves most devoutly at entering and quitting the ruined chapels.

Proceeding lower down, the cavern widens, but is not very high; water distills from the roof, which is marble of the most beautiful tinge; a faint rose-colour, and fretted with a thousand petrifications. Turning down to the right, the excavation becomes more picturesque, worked into many fantastic shapes, and adorned with arches and slender pillars, some of them complete, others nearly formed, with the drop trembling from the white icicle above towards the rising crystal below. On the left of the inner recess is a small hole, which you are directed to enter. This you do on your knees, with a light, and sliding down for some time, through an aperture only large enough to admit your body lengthways, you come to ten steps, and descending these, to a cavity where you can stand upright, and where many names of travellers are scored and traced in smoke upon the stone. Below this spot, two or three steps farther, is a spring of cold water, the well formerly in use for working the marble quarries.

It is probable, that the last time these quarries were resorted to by the Athenians, was when Herodes built his stadium. After that period, the ruins of ancient buildings might have been sufficient to supply whatever marble materials were wanted for new works.

Either the petrifications have obliterated the marks of the tools, in the interior caverns, or those excavations were only used as a shelter to the workmen, the perpendicular precipices without, being the surface whence the marble was cut away.

The means used to transport the enormous blocks of marble which were used in the edifices of Athens, from such a spot as the Pentelican quarries, must remain a secret to the moderns. It does not seem to me possible, that carriages of any description could ever have ascended so far up the hills; and as the mechanical knowledge of the ancients was perhaps not so considerable as we generally believe them to have possessed, the labour must have been infinite, to convey entire such masses, nearly two miles down the steep sides of a mountain.

Two monstrous fragments are still to be seen in the path, a little below the quarries: these are cut into a shape somewhat circular, the angles being smoothed off, and might lead one to suppose that the blocks were thus prepared to facilitate the rolling of them down the hill, or gently pushing them with levers, a process somewhat difficult, but not impossible, when the descent was more regular, and the path more carefully cleared.

But the difficulty of transporting the marbles down the mountain, could not have been greater than that of raising them up the hill of the Acropolis; and, lastly, elevating them to a great height, after being carved, without any injury to the finest sculpture, into their positions in the building. One piece of marble alone, part of the roof of the Propylæa, is twenty-seven feet long and seven wide, with a proportionate depth. The stupendous architraves of Hadrian's Temple must have been raised sixty feet from the ground; and yet these are trifling, in comparison with

the Egyptian granites, which one cannot believe to have been raised by engines, any more than the vast buildings of massy stones seen by the Spaniards on their first arrival among the Peruvians, a people who knew not the use of iron, but, after smoothing their materials against each other, had recourse to the lever alone for the whole work.

I fancy that those who are well qualified to speak on the subject, are now a little sceptical as to the exploits of Archimedes, and think, that the ancient Greeks were not acquainted with any engines to raise stones to a great height, particularly as those described by Vitruvius, have been judged of very inadequate powers. "If the work was low," says Mr. Perrault, in his famous parallel, "they lifted the blocks on their shoulders; if high, they raised sloping mounds of earth level with their work, on which they rolled them up to the necessary height*." They were, perhaps, more laborious, but certainly less skilful than the moderns.

But to leave this speculation, and return towards Athens. In order to vary the ride from the monastery of Pentele, you may return by a road almost as short as that through Angele-Kipos, and, after leaving the village of Callandri, turn to the right, and cross at the extremity of the low range of Anchesmus, going, for about two miles over heath and scantily-sowed land, to a water-course. Anchesmus is then on your left; before you, and on your right hand, you have an open country, skirted with large woods of olive-trees, a continuation of the groves on the plain of Athens.

Behind is a village in olive-trees, Muruffe; and higher up,

* Parall. page 118.

under Pentelicus, Cevrishia, one of the most considerable country towns in Attica, and which is seen afar off, being distinguished by the dome and minaret of mosck. Cevrishia will be noticed hereafter; it is three hours from Athens.

After travelling about half a mile on the side of the water-course, you see a massy portion of the remains of the aqueduct founded by Hadrian, to convey water from the northern extremity of Pentelicus, across a gap in the western end of Anchesmus, to New Athens. Some arches of a considerable height cross the bed of the water-course; they are in ruins, but afford a very good specimen of the magnificence of the entire structure. Half a mile below these arches, you meet with a similar remain, but with piers more perfect, also crossing the bed of the water-course, and in a direction nearly parallel with the former, so as to induce an opinion that there were two branches to the northern end of the aqueduct.

Not long after these second remains, the path turns to the left, and strikes into olive-groves, where are a few mud houses, when it crosses the Cephissus over a bridge, which is itself a small aqueduct, and is used, together with some wicker troughs, to turn two over-shot mills.

On emerging from the groves, you have Athens full in view before you, and pass, for the remainder of the distance, over a plain of corn-grounds into the city; except that at half a mile from the walls, you pass through a hollow, having Anchesmus on your left, and on your right a high rocky mound, looking like a fragment loosened from the neighbouring hill.

LETTER XXVII.

*Route from Athens to Cape Colonna—Vary—The Panéum—
Nympholepsy—Ennéa Pyrgæ—Keratæa—The Caverns in
Mount Parnè—Route to Colonna—Return by the Eastern
Shore of Attica, to Keratæa.*

THE two following letters shall contain an account of a visit we paid to Cape Colonna, and the plain of Marathon.

On the 19th of January my fellow-traveller and myself left Athens, accompanied by our Albanian Vassily, and a native of Athens, called Demetrius Zograffos, a young person, who, having lived some years at Trieste, spoke Italian, and wore the Frank habit. We had two baggage horses and two led-horses, which, together with our own four, were conducted by two sourgees, or postmen.

It was half past eleven when we left the city. We took the road directly south, crossing the bed of the Ilissus, and, in half an hour, arrived at some large cut stones, regularly placed. These have been before noticed, as well as the supposition of Chandler, that they are vestiges of Alopec: the barrows are at a little distance in the plain to the right. In another hour, after turning a little more to the east, and keeping nearer to Mount Hymettus, we came to some more large stones, like the foundation of a wall, and the mouth of an ancient well: other barrows are at the right hand

The enumeration given by Strabo of the towns of this part of Attica, near the shore, refers these few remains to Æxone, the town of the tribe Cecropis, the evil disposition of whose inhabitants became proverbial, and added another verb to the language, synonymous with “to slander and to abuse*.” Hymettus diminishes in height at this point, and runs south-south-east.

We now turned east-south-east, over uneven stony ground, through a gap in the mountain, which stretches about three miles farther into the sea, to form the promontory Zoster†, now Halikes; and, for the last hour, riding through thickets of low pines and firs, we arrived at Vary, a metochi, or farm, belonging to the monastery of Agios Asomatos. Here are five cottages, at the best of which lives the caloyer, who has the superintendence of the farm. With this monk we made preparations for staying during the night; but leaving our luggage, set out immediately to visit the Panéum discovered by Chandler, and alluded to, it is probable, by Strabo, as being in the neighbourhood of Anaphlystus, of the tribe Antiochis, where was the Temple of Venus Colias. We arrived at this celebrated cave, riding northwards over woody knolls, and climbing a hill, near the top of which is the entrance, not very easy to find. A servant of the caloyer's attended us to the spot with fir-torches, and preparations for striking a light.

* Αἰχάνεισθαι.

† After Æxone was the long promontory Zoster. At Zoster was the altar of Minerva, Apollo, Diana, and of Latona, who was believed to have brought forth her children on that spot, or, as others relate, to have loosened her zone, whence the name of the place.—Paus. Attic.

You descend perpendicularly into the first landing-place in the cavern, by means of three branches of a tree fallen near the spot. At the landing-place you see two apertures; one to the left, a little precipitous, and the other before you, down an easy descent, where you may walk upright. Here the fire is prepared, and the torches kindled.

Here are some large letters, the first specimens observable of the several very ancient inscriptions to be seen in the cave; they are carved on the rock, which is cut down perpendicularly. Immediately on the left hand, going downwards, is what looks like a lion's head, but carved very rudely, and disfigured; on the right is a defaced inscription. Descending lower, you have petrifications hanging from above, and rising from below; one representing a small entire pillar, as high as the top of the grotto, is particularly striking. Beyond this the cave turns to the left, and you come to the lowest part of it, where is a spring of water collected in a small artificial basin. Turning from the well to ascend to the other aperture, and on the left on the side of the rock, you see a figure in relief, as large as life, very rudely cut, and seeming to represent a man with some instruments in his hand, apparently looking one way, and walking the other. The earth has been heaped up nearly as high as the knees of the figure, but when it has been cleared away, both the feet have been found to be turned inwards.

I took a sketch of this singular piece of sculpture, which, from the letters employed in the inscriptions, has been considered of extreme antiquity, prior certainly to the adoption of the Ionic alphabet by the Athenians. At the same time, it would not, I conceive, be just to suppose, that this strange figure is a speci-

men of the first rude essays made by the Greeks towards the art in which they afterwards produced such noble masterpieces.

Archidamus, the Pheræan, whom the inscriptions discover to have been the maker of the grotto, and who seems to be represented with the implements of his labour, may, most probably, have not been a sculptor by profession. What sort of tool he carries in his left hand is not very discernible, but that in his right appears more suitable for digging than carving.

Above the figure, on the left side of it, are two inscriptions giving, in two places, one under the other, the name of the owner of the cave, and the original of the image.

Above this spot, towards the entrance, is an oval niche, with small steps before it. On the right of this, is a headless statue in a chair, much mutilated, and supposed to represent Isis, the Egyptian Ceres; and at the right of the statue is a mishapen block of stone, which Chandler considered an Ithyphallus, but which would not, without a previous hint, strike any one to be the resemblance of that impure symbol. Between the niche and the Isis is a stone rudely inscribed on both sides, from which the traveller before mentioned copied the purport of these words—“ Archidamus the Pheræan and Chollidensian, made this dwelling for the Nymphs;” and “ Archidamus the Pheræan planted the garden for the Nymphs.” The oval niche may be supposed to have contained a statue of Pans from the inscription ΠΑΝΟΣ, still extant underneath.

By comparing my own draught with the state of the inscriptions in the time of the above traveller, I find that some of the characters have been defaced since that period, when they were

such as they are represented with the annexed figure, but very rudely cut.

*On the Rock above the
Landing-place.*

ΡΧΕΔΗΜΟΣΟΦ
ΙΡΑΙΟΣΟΝΥΦ
ΔΗΓΤΟΣΦΡΑΔ
ΙΣΙΝΥΜΦΟΝ
ΑΝΤΡΟΝΕΞΗΡΓ
ΙΣΑΤΟ

ΑΡ+ΕΔΗΜΟΣ
ΑΡ+ΕΔΑΜΟΣ



*Above the left Aperture,
on the descent to the
Cave.*

ΑΡ+ΕΔΑΜΟΣ
ΟΦΕΡΑΙΟΣ

*Opposite to the first
Inscription.*

ΑΡΓΟΣ

On one side of the Stone, beneath the Isis.

ΔΑΜΟΣΗΟΘΕΡ
ΣΚΑΓΟΝΝΙΥΙ
ΑΙΣΕΘΥΤΥΣΕΝ

On the other side of the same Stone.

ΑΡ+ΕΔΕΜΟΣΗ
ΑΙΟΣΚΑΙ+ΟΛ
ΔΕΣΤΑΙΝΥ
ΣΟΙ.ΚΟΔΟ

Under a Niche.

ΓΑΝΟΣ

Twice inscribed under two Niches.

ΑΓΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΕΡΣΘ

See the Appendix.

Above the Isis, are two names of travellers, cut deeply into the stone, and carefully, FAUVEL, FOUCHEROT; our Greek pointed at them as antique inscriptions.

To the left of the sedent statue, and at no great distance above the figure of Archidamus, is the aperture out of the cave, which is ascended by steps cut out in the rock, slippery, and much worn, and requiring a little climbing to mount.

Many of the petrifications of this cavern are in more natural shapes than the rude pieces of sculpture described; and the growing spars and crystals were the admiration of the shepherds, who looked upon the stone as endowed with a principle of animation, forming itself into arched grottoes and couches by the side of pure fountains, at the command, and for the gratification of the Nymphs. The pious rustic conceived himself to have witnessed the handy-work, or perhaps the persons, of the deities of the woods, in their most favourite recesses; and a wish to conciliate their favour, or avert their wrath, prompted him to improve their habitation. A small trench, cut out of the rock, and filled with earth, was planted with a few flowers or herbs, and became their garden, and the rude figures or emblems of such gods as were thought to preside over the country, were selected as fit objects to ornament or consecrate the holy grotto.

The votary was believed, and doubtless believed himself to be possessed, and an epithet was found out, and attached to his name, which at once expressed the excess of his piety, or perhaps his passion; for the nymphs were known not only to permit, but solicit the love of mortals. He became a nympholept; and furnished another tale, to be magnified by the credulity of the religionist, and adorned by the fancy of the poet. After his

death he was revered, and perhaps, like Trophonius, worshipped; and, having been deluded himself, in his turn contributed to the folly of others. Thus, when some credit was attached to such a disease, many were found willing to confess themselves so deranged, and we learn, that nympholepsy was epidemic amongst the people in the neighbourhood of a certain cave in Cithæron.

The subterranean worship of the ancients, embraced not only that of the Nymphs, of Bacchus, Priapus, Ceres, and Pan, but that of Apollo, Mercury, and other deities. Jupiter himself had a cave on Mount Ida, in Crete; and one was shown by the Phrygians of Themisonium, before which were the figures of Hercules, Apollo, and Mercury, who had conducted the inhabitants to this secure retreat during the irruption of the Gauls*. But the sylvan deities were the usual tenants of these grottoes: for them, as for the fairies of modern superstition, “the bowl was duly set;” and one of the inscriptions in the Panéum near Vary, directed those who visited the place to Offer.

The ancient Athenians followed the precept of Triptolemus, directing them to worship the gods only with the productions of the earth: and the niches in the holy caves, the earliest of temples, were cut to receive the cakes of meal and fruits, the oil and wine, of which the humble offerings consisted, and which were believed to administer to the wants of the divinities. So convinced were the people of the actual presence of those whom they adored, that their grottoes had two entrances, one of which was reserved for men, but the other for immortals†. This particularity

* Pausa. Phocic. p. 671.

† ΑΛΛ’ Αθανάτων ὁδὸς ἐστίν.—ΟΔΥΣΣ. Ν.

was observed of the caves in Ithaca, and near Heraclea, and that of Archidamus has been described as having a similar contrivance. The left-hand entrance is certainly artificial.

The Panéuni near Vary contains nothing, like Homer's cavern, "wonderful to behold," but is, perhaps, the most ancient vestige of the religion of Greece in existence, and will, most probably, be pointed out to the enquiring traveller, long after the last columns of the Parthenon shall have fallen to the ground. The Grotto of Archidamus will outlast the Temple of Pericles.

The cave is now the resort of the shepherds, who, however, have done it no further injury, than blacking the roof and sides of it, at the first landing-place, with the smoke of their fires.

Returning from this spot, we had a view of Cape Zoster, or Halikes, and of the assemblage of small islands called Cambo Nisia, before us; to the left, at the farthest distance, was the projecting land of Attica, and a promontory which shuts out the view of Sunium, called Katapheke. Before this promontory lay a rocky island, whose name is now Gaidarónisi, but was anciently the Fosse of Patroclus.

We passed the night at Vary; and as it was very fine, the moon shining bright in a clear sky, rambled about for some time on a terrace near the house, which has been paved, and is made use of for an alóni, or corn-floor, and which is mentioned by Chandler. There is something exceedingly agreeable in the minute descriptions of that traveller, to those who journey over the same spots which he visited.

Before our departure from Vary, the next morning, I walked out towards a bay a little below the village, over some cultivated land, where, amongst several bushes, there are the evident traces

of an ancient town. In one place were the shafts of three small marble columns, standing in an inclosure, apparently the ruin of a church. In another was a large circular basin, or trough, and the mouth of a fountain, also in marble. At Vary, lying by the side of a small church, is a marble lion, nearly as large as life, with the legs of a man bestride him. The head and legs of the lion, as well as the body and feet of the rider, are wanting; but what remains, particularly the swell of the loins of the animal, is of fine workmanship. On each side of the church-door is a sepulchral inscription, on a circular piece of ornamented marble.

ΗΝΙΝΠΟΣ
ΑΙΠΠΟ

ΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΗ
ΒΟΥΛΑΡΧΟΥ

These have been taken from the ruins of the place below. I did not see the inscription which recorded a native of Anagyrus*, and caused the supposition, that the site of the Attic town of that name was on the flat below Vary. Below these remains, nearer the shore, are some salt-pits.

At a little past twelve, we set forwards on our journey, and rode for an hour, south-south-east, through woods of pine; we then entered some hilly grounds, and turned east-south-east, also through pine woods. Here we met large droves of oxen belonging to the metochi of Vary; they were of a kind smaller than the Scotch cattle, and generally black.

* Anagyrus was a town of the tribe Erechtheïs; it contained a temple of the Mother of the Gods: it was the name also of a plant of a most pungent odour; and of a hero, whose signal vengeance in punishing some neighbours, who had insulted his Gods, or else the nature of the plant, gave rise to the Greek proverb, *Ἀνάγυρον κινεῖν*.

We had lost sight of the sea soon after leaving our village. In half an hour we crossed near the extremity of a plain, extending far up to the northwards. This plain is that of which mention has been before made, under the name of the plain of Spatha, and which is separated from the district immediately near Athens by the range of Hymettus.

A mile out of our road to the left of the north, we saw several square towers in ruins, called Ennea Pyrgæ; but the number of these unsightly structures is less than that which gave them their denomination. We rode to them, and found nothing worth notice. On a slope of a hill, at some distance, we saw the large village of Marcopoli, containing three hundred houses, more to the northward, in the same plain of Spatha. The plain is open and well cultivated, having besides, tracts of pasture land, covered with flocks and herds: it is bounded by Pentelicus to the north, and by some high lands, which form the shore of Attica, to the east.

In Ennea Pyrgæ, I do not recognize the "ruins of a town built on a rock," to which Sir G. Wheeler has given the same name, and has conjectured to be the site of the lower Lampra. This spot is several miles inland, and the coast is not to be seen from it, on account of a ridge of low hills, which terminate it to the south. It appears to me to be rather that which he calls a desolate church, near the site of Anaphlystus*.

We rejoined the baggage horses at a small village, "Kalivia Kouvara;" our direction was then south-east, in an open culti-

* In another place, Anaphlystus was, by mistake, put for Limne, which Wheeler supposed on the site of Tres Pyrgæ, near the promontory Colias; yet D'Anville has placed Anaphlystus near Colias.

vated plain. In half an hour we came to the head of another large tract of flat open country ; a village, Kouvara, was on our left, at the side of some low hills ; mountains, called Parnè, were on our right, running parallel with our route.

Travelling onwards in the plain for another half hour, we arrived, at three o'clock, at the village of Keratéa. Here we put up for the night in a large mud cottage belonging to the Codjabashee.

Keratéa is inhabited by Albanians, and contains about two hundred and fifty houses. Three or four of the peasants are of the better sort, and reputed rich, they being themselves the owners of the neighbouring lands, and not renters, as is the case at almost all the villages of Attica, where the common tenure is, that the peasants shall pay one-half of the produce of their lands and their stock, whatever it may be, to their landlords, and, out of the remainder, raise their taxes for the Porte, their contributions for their own priests, and support themselves. Every expence devolves upon the tenant, who, by the undefined terms of his tenure, becomes almost the slave of his landlord ; and, on pretence of having made large profits, is liable to repeated extortions, as moieties due to his master.

Keratéa is at the foot of the range of mountains now called Parnè, which are not a continuation of Hymettus, as represented in most maps, and yet have not been, that I am aware, distinguished by any ancient name, unless they are a part of Laurium.

A little before the sun was set, I climbed some distance up the hill, from which I had a very commanding prospect, including the southern extremity of the Negroponte, Macronisi or Long Island, near the eastern coast, as far as Sunium, and several

islands to the south of that promontory. Attica at this point appeared very narrow, the eastern shore running from north-north-west to east-south-east. The two ranges of Hymettus were very distinctly seen, lying in the direction before described.

The soil in the neighbourhood of Keratéa is very light and stony, and gives but a scanty return to the husbandman; indeed, the general multiplication of grain in Attica is five and six for one, and never more than ten.

Chandler thought Marcopoli to be Potamus; and, from some remains seen by Wheler, supposed Keratéa to be Thoricus; but a port, still called Therico, is about an hour and a half distance to the south-east. It is probable, that most of the modern towns of this country may have been built on or near the site of the ancient places, for the conveniency of making use of the ruins; but there is something a little too arbitrary in fixing upon the few vestiges occasionally seen, as certain remains of the towns distinguished by particular mention in ancient authors: they may very easily be the marks of one of the many Attic towns of which we only know the names.

The two days after our arrival at Keratéa were so rainy, as to induce us to defer our expedition to Cape Colonna until fairer weather; but I took the opportunity of a few hours sunshine, to climb up the mountain Parné, in search of a cave, of which we had heard many wonderful stories from our host. Demetrius, the Athenian, and an old man as a guide, accompanied. We ascended for some time, and turning round the eastern extremity, came to the south side of the range. The clouds hanging on the side of the hills retarded our progress; but after scrambling up some way in the mist, we again found ourselves in the

light. The sun shone above head in a clear blue sky; and whilst the country below seemed like an expanse of white water, the ground where we stood, and the summits of other mountains, had the appearance of innumerable islands rising abruptly from the sea.

Arriving with much difficulty near the top of the range of hills, we came, after a long search, to the mouth of the cavern. A fragment of impending rock almost concealed the entrance. We leapt down on the first landing-place, and there struck a light, and having each of us taken a pine-torch in our hands, together with a supply of strips of the same wood, let ourselves down through a very narrow aperture, where there was a choice of two entrances, to the right or left. Creeping down still farther, we came at once into what appeared a large subterranean hall, arched over head with high domes of crystal, and divided into long aisles by columns of glittering spars—in some parts spread into wide horizontal chambers, in others terminated by the dark mouths of steep recesses, descending, as it seemed, into the bowels of the mountain.

The vast magnificence of nature was joined with the pleasing regularity of art. We wandered from one grotto to another, until we came to a fountain of pure water, supplied partly by a stream that trickled down the petrifications depending from the roof, and partly by a spring bubbling up from the rock below. By the side of this basin we loitered some time, when, as our torches began to waste, we resolved to return; but after exploring the labyrinth for a few minutes, we found ourselves again at the fountain side, and began, not without reason, to be somewhat alarmed; for the guide here confessed, that he had forgotten the

intricacies of the caverns, and knew not how we should ever recover our path.

We were in this situation, roaming through ranges of the cavern, and now and then climbing up narrow apertures, totally ignorant of our position, for many minutes, and the last strip of fir was consuming, when we saw the light gleaming towards us, and directing our steps that way, arrived at the mouth of the cave. Had our light been extinguished, there would have been but little, if any chance, of our escape. The splendour and beauty of the scene would have vanished with the last blaze of our torch, and the fairy palace been at once converted into a dark inextricable cavern, a dungeon, and a tomb. The mind cannot easily picture to itself any "slow sudden" death more terrible, than that of him who should be buried in these subterranean solitudes, and after a succession of faint hopes and eager efforts, sink at last, subdued by weakness and despair.

The peasants of Keratéa informed us, that this cave, which is well known, and talked of in Attica, but has not, I fancy, been mentioned by any traveller, has within it a thousand suites of grottoes, extending, as they believed, through the centre of the mountain below their town. The spar, with which it abounds, is of the purest white; and they told us, that some travellers had carried away several horse-loads of it. The wolves frequently resort to it, and we were advised to carry our pistols in readiness for a rencounter with one of these animals.

I did not observe any marks of carving in the rock, or any thing which might lead one to suppose that this cave had anciently been dedicated to Pan or the Nymphs; yet its size and magnificence render it a dwelling much more suitable to the rural deities than the grotto of Archidamnus.

Returning from the cave, we went into a farm, where two or three caloyers reside. It is on a steep declivity, about half way up the hill, and is sheltered by a grove of olive trees. A small chapel of St. John is within the inclosure; and near this is an arched grotto, with a cold spring in a large stone basin sunk in the earth, supplied by a stream that distils, in perpetual drops, from the roof of the cell. The basin is large enough to serve the purposes of a bath, and is so used by the caloyers (who have adjusted to the mouth of the grotto a rude wooden door) during the violent heats of summer. The water trickles from above, like the streams of a continued shower-bath, and must have the same agreeable effect, without the violent shock produced by sudden aspersion.

I should not forget to tell you, that the monk who showed us the grotto, pointed to this distillation as a standing miracle, performed by the saint in the neighbouring chapel.

The day after the ascent of Mount Parnè was so continuedly rainy, as to prevent our proceeding from Keratèa; but the morning after (January 23, 1810) we set out, at half past nine, for Cape Colonna, leaving our baggage, as we intended to return to the village the same night. We took first a direction south-south-east, over rough barren ground, until, in half an hour, we turned the extremity of the mountain Parnè. At this spot there were two roads; one, towards the south, to the port Therico, the other, west-south-west, to a village called Katapheke. This latter route we took; and proceeding over woody knolls, kept more to the south-west and south-south-west, coming at last to a flat plain, terminated by a bay with a cape, and a small island before it to the west.

Here, in a marshy flat near the sea, were some large salt-pits.

I take a promontory, to the west of the bay, to have been Astypalæa, which was that next to Zoster, immediately to the south of the town of Thoreæ or Thoræ, and an island, facing it, may be that once called Eleusa.

Proceeding a short time by a water-course, we turned to the south-south-east, and keeping the sea for a quarter of an hour in sight, went over a rocky hilly path, until we came to Katapheke, a village of a few huts, which gives its name to a long promontory that stretches beyond it far into the sea, and is the next projection to the west of Cape Colonna. Katapheke is reckoned four hours from Keratæa, the route very circuitous and rough, but we were only an hour and forty minutes performing the distance.

After leaving this village, the path took us over woody hills, until we came to a solitary metochi, standing in the midst of the wildest mountain scenery, when we struck more southward, along the course of a dry river, having in front of us huge perpendicular precipices, covered with pines and other evergreens, running east and west. In order to get round this range, we continued a little more to the right, until we came nearly to the sea-shore, and turning again to the east, and climbing over the foot of the hills, had our first view of Cape Colonna, and the ruins of the Temple of Minerva.

We rode for some time over a rough uneven path, just above the sea-shore, until we came to a long bay, at the west side of which was a small rocky island. On this rock the waves burst, though it was nearly calm, with a loud murmur, and covered the shelving sides with white foam.

After riding along the bay, we passed upwards to the site of the ruins, by a steep, but not very long ascent, and climbing

over the remains of an ancient wall, which has fourteen rows of massy stones still standing, came to the remains of the Temple of Minerva Sumias.

The proportions of this Temple may be judged of by that part of it which is still standing, and it appears to have occupied nearly the whole of the level ground on the promontory. It was of the Doric order, an hexastyle, the columns twenty-seven feet in height; the whole edifice being of very white marble, and of the most perfect architecture. Nine columns, without their entablatures, front the sea, in a line from west-north-west to east-south-east; three are standing on the side towards the land, the north; and two, with a pilaster next to the corner-one of the northern columns, towards the sea on the east, and on a line with the last column but one of the nine on the south-eastern side. Some large fragments of the cell are scattered about in the western front, and the ruins of a pilaster, which was thrown down about sixty years ago, lie in heaps at the front towards the east. These are covered with the names of travellers.

The whiteness of the marble has been preserved probably by the sea vapour, in the same manner as Trajan's triumphal arch at Ancona, near the mole, immediately on the beach, retains a freshness and polish superior to any remains in more inland situations.

The rock on which the columns stand is precipitous, but not inaccessible, nor very high; it bears a strong resemblance to the picture in Falconer's Shipwreck; but the view given in Anacharsis, places the Temple just in the wrong position. Here is another steep craggy neck of land, stretching from the east side of the cape to the south-south-east.

To the north-west, under the brow of the rock, is a circular creek, which was formerly the port of the town Sunium. The fragments of wall before noticed, are part of the fortifications with which that town was surrounded during the Peloponesian war. Sunium, belonging to the tribe Leontis, was considered an important post, and as much a town as Piræus, but cannot have been very large; yet Euripides, in his *Cyclops*, talks of the "rich rock of Sunium," by which he might allude to the wealth of the Temple, but hardly to the fertility of the soil.

The view from Cape Colonna presents, on the west, the promontory Kataplieke, and very near to that headland, the abrupt rocky island, now called Gaidarónesi, but whose ancient name was the Fosse of Patroclus, as it was once surrounded with a wall by an Egyptian admiral of that name, to defend the coast against Antigonus, the son of Demetrius*. It is now uninhabited, and entirely a desert; without a herb or shrub upon its rugged surface: it was formerly in repute for the great quantity of ebony wood which it produced. Beyond Gaidaronesi is a smaller island, Archinda, formerly Belbina.

The view to the north, or the land side, is terminated very soon by high and abrupt hills, covered with pines, and abounding in marble. These hills were formerly the mountain Laurium; and it should seem, that about the promontory Kataplieke was the town Laurium, which is mentioned as being near to the island Patroclus†. One or two of the shafts of the ancient silver mines, for which this mountainous region was so celebrated, have been discovered in a small shrubby plain not far from the sea, on the

* Paus. Attic. p. 1.

† Paus. Attic. p. 1.

eastern coast; and a specimen of ore, lately found, was shown to me at Athens.

The whole of the country, from the plain of Athens to Sunium, on the side both of the Saronic gulf and the Ægean sea, composing the strip of land that forms the southern extremity of Attica, was called Paralos, or the Maritime. It was laid waste on both sides towards Peloponesus, and towards Eubœa and Andros, in the second year of the long war*. On the east, quite close to the land, is the island Helene, called Macronesi, or Long Island, running from south-south-west to north-north-east, narrow and rocky, and forming a sort of roadstead between its own shore and the coast of Attica, for several miles.

Beyond Macronesi is Zea, then Thermia, and next Serpho; all long low land, lying in a line successively, so as to have the appearance of one large island, stretching to the south. In the utmost distance in the same direction, is the island St. George. The high lands of Argolis, about the Cape Scylleum, that form the other extremity of the Saronic gulf, are also visible, at a distance computed to be about two or three and twenty miles†. The spear and the crest of the statue of Minerva Polias, in the Acropolis, might be seen from Sunium, a straight line of nearly thirty miles; such, at least, is the assertion of Pausanias, which no one, who has seen the positions, can at all credit. Those who have supposed the old Athenians endowed with a sight so subtle and extensive, as to enable them to distinguish objects at a far greater distance than any amongst us of the present day, will not, however, believe them to have had the faculty of seeing

* Thucyd. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 54.

† Wheeler, p. 423.

through opposing hills. The transparency of the air in the climate of Attica, might, indeed, account for very extensive powers of vision: a late traveller, Mr. Humboldt, relates, that on the mountains of Quito it is not difficult to distinguish, at a distance of seventeen miles, the white cloak of a person on horseback. But the range of Hymettus prevents even the promontory Sunium itself from being seen from the Acropolis, and let the height of the gigantic statue have been ever so enormous, it could hardly be so considerable as to over-top the neighbouring mountains.

After remaining about an hour and a half on the cape, under the columns of the Temple, we set out to return to Keratæa by the eastern coast of Attica, not keeping quite close to the shore, but going over a hilly road, through woods of pine, low cedars, and bushes of lentisc, until we came to a bay or port, passing by some wells, called, as is the port, Passia Pegathia, the Pasha's Fountain; and, in an hour from Colonna, to Gaidaromandra, a large double port, the horns projecting far on each side, the largest and more southerly port having a direction from north-east to south-west; the smaller one, whose mouth is only a few yards across, and choked by a bar of sand, lying from east to west.

From Gaidaromandra, after riding about three miles over a barren country, near the sea, we passed a port called Panormia, large and open, the southern cape stretching farther than the northern, and lying from east to west: between this place and the last port are the shafts of the silver mines, a little out of the way on the left of the road. At the back of port Panormia there is a salt-marsh.

In little more than half an hour, we came to the port Therico, not passing close to the sea; so that we did not observe another port, called Agastirachia, between Panormia and this last place.

Therico is a large open port, in a direction from east-north-east to west-south-west, fronted by the northern extremity of Macronesi, and a point to the north of north-west from Sunium. On the south-west, west, and north, there is a marshy plain of some extent, terminated on every side by hills, the highest of which are to the south, where one may suppose was the point called Besa*, on Mount Laurium. The most considerable branch of the silver mines reached from the monument of Thrasyllus, on Laurium, to Besa, and was defended by the fortress of Thoricus to the north, and Anaphlystus to the south, at equal distances from Besa, which height it was proposed also to fortify, as an additional security.

In some bushes in the plain, not far from the port, we saw a few large fragments of marble columns, the remains, as the traveller Le Roi thought, of a very ancient temple, and upon a small stony eminence to the north, a piece of wall, a vestige, it may be presumed, of the fortifications of Thoricus.

Thoricus was a considerable town, of the tribe Acamantis, receiving its name from Thoricus, a Cyprian, and supposed by the ancient Athenians to have been the country of Cephalus. It is mentioned by Strabo, as between Sunium and Potamus.

We struck into the plain to the north-west, and came to a village of a few huts on a woody knoll, and then went north-north-west through a pass in the hills; after which, we passed over some extent of ground, up a brow covered with cinders, the remnants of the mines, a branch of which may have been in this quarter. Picces of ore, chiefly of copper, with a small portion of silver, are occasionally picked up by the peasants on this spot. No incon-

* Xenoph. *ποροι*, p. 928, edit. Leunclav.

siderable quantity of valuable metal was, as we learn from Sir G. Wheler, collected hence, and actually worked by the Greeks at Athens, about a hundred and fifty years ago*.

We continued on our journey, over bare stony ground, interspersed with heath and low shrubs, until we arrived at the point where the road joined the path we had taken in the morning, at the extremity of the range of Parnè, and came, at half past four, to Keratéa, having made a circuit, as computed, of twelve hours.

Throughout the whole of this large tract of country, we had seen only three small villages and one solitary farm; in all not thirty houses. It does not appear that this district was ever much peopled: the slaves who worked the mines of Laurium, formed by far the greatest part of its population, and the few towns on the coast were inhabited by fishermen; for the barrenness of the soil, except in a few spots, would not admit of pasturage or agriculture. The people of Paralos were thus entirely attached to the sea, and were the best sailors in Attica; even their religious festivals partook of their nautical habits, and, instead of the dances and the processions of the Panathenæa, they had galley-races round the Sunian promontory, in honour of the Minerva who presided over their temple. Except those of Anaphlystus, who were esteemed for their manufactures of vases, the Paralians were not excellent in any art unconnected with their way of life, and as the naval dominion of the republic declined, diminished both in numbers and importance: an insurrection of the slaves of the mines, about the year 650, U. C., completed the destruction of this district, and all its towns were soon after in a manner deserted.

* Wheler, p. 448.

The creeks and caves with which this angle of Attica abounds, afford a retreat to the Mainotes, and other pirates of the Grecian seas; and, as you may recollect, from an anecdote in my seventeenth Letter, a visit to the ruins of the Temple of Minerva Sunias is not, at all times, unattended with peril. The peasants, however, generally keep watch on the tops of the hills overhanging the coast, and the approach of any suspicious boats is notified to the villages, which are immediately secured against surprise. Keratón itself was, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, plundered by a large body, and left in ruins. "This has been," says Wheler, "an ancient and great city, and did preserve itself considerable, until destroyed by the corsairs, about fifty or threescore years ago. They had their Epitropi, or Archontes, until then, who did wear high-crowned hats, like those of Athens*."

* A Journey, p. 418.

LETTER XXVIII.

*Route from Keratæa to Port Raphiti—that Port described—
Route from Raphiti, through Kata-Vrâona and Apano-Vrâona,
and by Caliva Spatha, to the Plain of Marathon—View of
the Plain—Battle of Marathon—Route from the Plain to
Athens—The Cave of Pan—Stamati—Cevrishia.*

AT twelve o'clock, on the 24th of January, we left Keratæa, in order to proceed to Marathon; but as it was our wish to take a view of port Raphiti, we sent on our baggage the direct road by Marcopoli, going ourselves towards the coast, in an easterly and east-north-easterly direction*. For half an hour we rode over a cultivated plain, and then turned north-east amongst hills, continuing amongst which for another hour, we had a view of port Raphiti, through a vista formed by high woody mountains. We wound down these hills by a steep and craggy path, until we came to a torrent-bed, and a few huts constructed with boughs of trees; and then keeping by the side of the water-course,

* Between port Therico and port Raphiti, there are four small fishing harbours: 1. Vrisaki, 2. Turco-liminia, 3. Thascalio, 4. Kake-Thalassa. One of them was large enough to receive the Lacedæmonian fleet (Thucyd. lib. viii. cap. 95), perhaps the port of Pœcæus, a Demos of the tribe Leontis, frequently mentioned by ancient authors. The tomb of Ion, if a barrow, may still remain, and point out the site.

through pine woods, we reached the sea-shore in a little less than two hours from Keratéa, travelling down an easy slope to the port.

Raphti, the ancient port of Prasîæ, about fifteen miles from Athens, is a much more commodious as well as a larger harbour than Piræus; and being, as it were, scooped out of the feet of high hills, crowned with forests of a perpetual verdure, affords not only a secure but a most romantic retreat.

Prasîæ was of the tribe Pandionis, and well known by being the place whence the mysteries of the Hyperborean Apollo were annually carried by the Athenians to Delos: it contained the sepulchre of Erysichthon. Some ruins of the town were seen by Wheler, which have now disappeared.

It has a double port, and one basin is called the little, the other the great Raphti.

The little Raphti is to the south, and lies in a direction from east-north-east to its opposite point in the compass: its shape is circular. On its southern extremity is a peninsular neck of land, with a high hill just above, that may be seen at a great distance, and on the same side, in the mouth of the whole harbour, is a steep rocky island, on which we saw very plainly a colossal statue.

This island has been visited by travellers, and the statue been described to be of white marble, sedent, on a pedestal eight feet high. The head and arms of the statue are broken off, but when entire, it is conjectured to have been twelve feet in height*, and to have once served the purpose of a Pharos. The modern Greeks supposed it to represent a tailor cutting cloth†; a subject, it must be confessed, not likely to be chosen by the taste of an

* Chandler, p. 157.

† Wheler, p. 447. *Ράπτης*, in Romaïc, signifies a tailor.

ancient sculptor. Farther in to the north, is a small low green island, and on this there was once another statue of a female, serviceable, perhaps, in pointing out the mouth of the larger harbour. A narrow range of rocks divides the two ports.

The larger Raphti is a very considerable basin, of an oval shape, extending to the north-north-west, and sheltered from every quarter of the compass.

As we were passing round the shore of the lesser port, we heard the barking of some dogs, and a shout from a shepherd, and looking about us, saw a large dun-coloured wolf galloping slowly through the bushes, a little to the left of us. The mountains of Attica, particularly Parnes, formerly abounded with these animals, as well as with bears and wild boars. We were told that wolves were very common, and that boars were occasionally killed, but of the bears we heard nothing. The flocks are guarded by the large shaggy dog, before described as being found in Albania; but a wolf is too strong for one of them, and you see the shepherd accompanied sometimes by four or five. The hard weather drives the wolves into the plains, but they are seldom bold enough to show themselves in the open day, though in the moonlight nights they will sometimes penetrate not only into the folds, but even into the village gardens. They are now and then, though but seldom, tracked in the snow to their dens in the mountains, and shot by the shepherd, who lies in ambush near the mouth of their caves.

Advancing towards the greater Raphti, we hailed a little fishing boat, that was under the range of rocks dividing the two ports; but the Greeks, as soon as they saw us, mistook us for Turks, and rowed off, until they were persuaded to come back by the

friendly tones and intreaties of our Athenian, Demetrius. We dismounted, and lighting up a fire, by means of the flint and steel which the passion for smoking induces almost every Levantine to carry about him, partook of some dried fish, of the sort most commonly met with on these coasts. This fish is the sea-polypus, about the size of a small lobster, and has eight legs in rings, on which account it is called octo-podes by the Greeks, though the *Lingua Franca* name is *volpe*. It is beaten to make it tender, and a little salt being thrown over it, dried, and sometimes eaten raw, but more commonly fried with oil. The flesh is white, but tough and insipid. This and the cuttle fish constitute a chief part of the food of the Greeks during such of their fasts as exclude them from eating any thing but vegetables and bloodless animals.

After our refreshment, we passed along part of the beach of the larger Rapti; then left the sea, and took a path to the north-west, through grounds beautifully wooded, with intervals of cultivated land, and having much the appearance of an English park, or ornamented farm; after this, we soon came into the upper part of the plain of Spatha, where are Ennea Pyrgæ and Marcopoli, before mentioned, and in an hour passed by a small village, Kata-Vráona, belonging to the monastery Pendele, and striking into the direct road from Keratéa to Marathon.

Shortly after Kata-Vráona we passed Apano-Vráona, also in the same fine plain, and pursuing our route, saw the village of Spatha on our left, not far from Hymettus: Pentelicus was before us, and the high tops of Parnes were visible afar off, concluding the prospect.

From lower and upper Vráona the path took us to a village,

also in the plain, called Caliva Spatha (meaning, I fancy, a village subordinate or belonging to Spatha); here we turned amongst woods, to the north-north-east, having Pentelicus verging towards us on our left, and a range of low rocks to our right. We inclined more to the north-east; and then again northwards, ascending some hilly ground, a root of Pentelicus, which, running into the sea, forms the promontory once called Cynosura. It was then five o'clock, and we had been two hours and a half coming, at a brisk pace, from Rapliti. From the brow we had a view of the plain and long beach of Marathon, extending before us to the north, and travelled under a range of Pentelicus on our left, at some distance from the shore, over barren ground. Entering the plain on this side, the flat appears to be the most extensive under the hills before you to the north; and the promontory of Rhamnus, called Chersonesus formerly, but now Stome, stretching out into the sea on that side, forms a fine bay, which immediately strikes you, at a distance, as having been the place where the Persians landed, and the scene of the glorious battle: indeed, not knowing the situations, I travelled on to the village before us with that idea, and was entirely unaware that we were, whilst riding over a green narrow plain, passing the very spot we had come to visit. It was rather dusky, and a high mound on the right hand of us almost escaped our attention, nor could we see it sufficiently distinct to recognize it for the barrow of the Athenians.

We saw two collections of wretched huts; one at the extremity of the plain, with a ruined tower, and the other on the brow of a low eminence, beyond a small river. To this latter place we directed our steps, and, crossing the stream, arrived there, together with our baggage-horses, which we had overtaken, at half after six in the evening.

The morning of the next day was employed in examining the positions of the plain of Marathon; a hillock before the cottage where we slept, afforded a view of the whole country. Every topographer that I have had it in my power to examine, seems to have mistaken the spot where the battle took place; and though I despair of being as minute or as intelligible as I could wish, it is my intention to speak a little in detail of the scene which the most glorious action of all antiquity has rendered so renowned.

The village at present called Marathonas, is in a kind of recess between the hills, about a mile to the back, the north, of the Albanian cottages: it is inhabited by a few Turks, and surrounded by gardens. A river, once called the Charadrus, flows from the village, and passing towards the cottages, winds on before the hillock; taking a turn to the west-north-west, and flowing in that direction, until it is lost in a large marsh or lake, which extends under the woody hills that form the isthmus of the promontory Stome. The Charadrus runs close to the ruined tower and the cottages. On the western side of the river, where there is the ruined tower, is a low rugged hill, about a mile and a half in extent, lying north and south, and forming the left bank of the narrow valley that reaches as far as Marathon. It is a little more than a quarter of a mile from the Albanian cottages and the hillock.

The plan of the battle in Anacharsis, places the Greeks too much to the north, and in a situation where it is impossible they should have been drawn up in the closest order. But the position of the armies is to be looked for lower down, and in the narrow strip of plain which has the sea on one side and the range of Pentelicus on the other quarter to the west, extending, with some interruption, perhaps eight miles, from the Albanian cottages to the southern entrance, on the road by which we came to the spot.

A mile from our hillock is the shore, which, in this spot, turns off in a north-easterly direction, to form the promontory of Rhamnus. Proceeding for two miles directly down the plain, to the south, with the coast ranging to the left, at half a mile's distance from the shore, is the large barrow, about fifteen feet in height and thirty paces in circumference, which, upon most probable grounds, is supposed to have been the tomb of the Athenian heroes. It stands alone in a dead flat, so as to be very conspicuous, not only to those who are travelling in the plain, but even to vessels sailing in the channel between the Negroponte and the main. A perpendicular cut has been made into the earth on the top, by some antiquarian researcher: such a relic might surely be spared! Standing with your back to the sea upon this barrow, you see a flat valley running north-west from the long plain, and having Pentelicus on the south, and the low rugged hill on the north. At the west end of this valley is a small village, "Vráona," on the site nearly of the ancient Brauron, celebrated for the worship of that Diana, whose image was transported thither from Tauris by Iphigenia, and afterwards carried away by Xerxes.

It appears to me, that the Athenians were drawn up a little within the mouth of this valley, with the low rugged hills, from which the trees might be felled to impede the Persian cavalry, on their left, and a torrent, that still flows from Vráona into the plain to the south, on their right. The Greek camp was in the field of Hercules, not far, it may be conjectured, from the modern village, for some ancient trenches are still visible in that quarter. The western extremity of the flat valley approaches near the modern Marathon, from which it is only separated by

the end of the low hill, the site, it is probable, of the Heracléum.

The Greeks and the Persians were, before the battle, nearly a mile from each other, and the lines of the two armies were in extent equal.

This description corresponds only with the entrance of the valley of Vráona; in any other part of the plain the Persians would have out-flanked the Greek forces. The Athenians, who were broken in the centre, were pursued up into the country (ἐς τὴν μεσόγειαν*), and the same valley is the only open space which will allow of such an expression. The troops who were victorious in the wings, closed upon the barbarians, and cut off their retreat: here then the battle was most sanguinary; and one of four barrows, three small and one larger than the rest, a little to the south of Vráona, may be the tombs of the Plataeans and slaves who fell in the action.

Less than a mile to the south-east of the large barrow, and close to the sea, is a spot of ground, not very large, formed into an island by the stagnation of the torrent which flows from the valley of Vráona, and which seems to be that once named Erasinus. The marsh surrounding the island may be easily passed.

In this place there are several stelæ, or sepulchral pillars, five of which are standing, and the others lying on the ground: the length of one of them is eight feet and a half, and the circumference five feet two inches: they have no inscriptions. Here also is a square marble, looking like a pedestal; and, in a pool of water in the same island, is the headless statue of a female seated, of fine white marble, and exquisitely wrought.

* Herod. Erat. cap. 113.

The barrow of the Athenians had upon it sepulchral pillars, recording the names and the tribes of the Athenians who were slain in the battle*. The remains in the small island are by some supposed to refer to these monuments; and the large barrow, still to be seen, is consequently thought to be that of the Plataeans, the other having been undermined, and fallen into the marsh. Some little vases, and other ornaments usually found in tombs, have been discovered by a gentleman of Athens, who has excavated on the spot. No ancient topographer appears to have been sufficiently minute in his description, to enable us to decide on this point; and the pillars, and other relics, as well as the marsh, seem to have escaped the observation of modern travellers: I find nothing of them in Chandler. It is possible they may have been brought from the ruins of Probalinthus, the town to the south of Marathon, next to Myrrhinus. The lake into which the Persians were driven by the victorious Greeks, was that formed by the Charadrus, under the hills of the isthmus of Rhamnus; and it seems probable, that the barbarian fleet was drawn upon the shore from the point of coast below the large barrow, round the sweep of the bay, under the lake itself.

When the Medes left their ships, they had this marsh on their right, and when drawn up farther in the country, had also the town of Marathon on that side. In the hurry and confusion of retreat, those who had to gain the gallies farthest up this bay, ran into the swamp, and were cut off.

Beyond the Albanian cottages where we were lodged, towards the marsh and the promontory to the north-east, the plain seems

* Paus. Attic. p. 60.

highly cultivated, and well wooded to the point of the promontory. Buffaloes are fed in the pastures, near the marsh, and there is a fishery, abounding in large eels, belonging to the caloyers of Pendele, on the shore.—At a fountain, near a church, on the side of the marsh, Sir G. Wheeler saw some ruins, which he believed to denote the site of Tricorythus, the town next to Marathon on that coast*. Beyond the ruined church a mile, is Chouli, an Albanian village; and three or four miles farther to the north is Tauro-castro, or Hebraro-castro, on the site of Rhamnus, a town of the tribe Æantis, sixty stadia, by the sea-coast, from Marathon, where are still to be seen the remains of the famous Temple of Nemesis, and the trophy of Parian marble, erected by the Athenians after their defeat of the Medes.

Modern authors have been sceptical with respect to the numbers said to have fought on the plains of Marathon, but there appears to be no exaggeration in the account given of this great battle by Herodotus. The valley of Vráona, and the width of the plain, from the mouth of that valley to the shore, is certainly sufficient for an action between one hundred and twenty thousand men; but when Lysias reminded his Athenian audience of those, their immortal ancestors, who fought at Marathon against fifty myriads of barbarians†, he must almost have supposed that not one of those whom he addressed could have ever visited the scene of action, a distance calculated to be only ten miles, or he must have drawn upon their vanity and patriotism for belief. Yet the funeral oration of this orator was delivered not much more than a

* Strab. lib. ix. 399.

† Πεντήκοντα μυριάδας βαρβάρων.—Lys. Ἐπιτάφ.



century after the battle; and subsequent authors have upon this, or some other authority, magnified the forces of the Medes to a number which the whole plain of Marathon could scarcely have contained. Justin sets them down at six hundred thousand.

After having spent some time in viewing the plain from several spots, and in riding to the lofty barrow, and the ruins in the marsh, we set off from that quarter to return to Athens. The baggage had been sent forwards early in the morning.

Going north-west from the barrow, towards the valley of Vráona, in a short time we passed by the remains of a church. From this place we took a northerly direction towards Marathon, and arriving at the banks of the Charadrus, had the ruined tower and a few houses on our left, and the Albanian cottages to the right. We crossed the river, which, for a Grecian stream, is considerable, and kept along its banks for ten minutes, when we came to the village, called Marathonas, as, indeed, are the two collections of cottages lower down in the plain.

On the east side of Marathonas there is some flat ground, where the ancient town may have stood, and two fragments of an old arch are still seen in one of the gardens. The village has a prospect down a narrow valley, inclosed by low hills on the western side, and high precipices on the eastern bank; and through this valley the river flows, inclining to the west. The barrow, the whole extent of the long plain, the ridge of rocks composing the promontory Cynosura, at the southern extremity of it, and the high cape above Raphti, are also visible from Marathon. At the back, the north of the village, are lofty hills, part of the chain of mountains which form the northern boundary of the plain of Athens, and rest, on one side, on the extremity of

Pentelicus, and on the other on the verge of Parnes. On this side was the mountain Brilessus, and the whole region was denominated Diacri. The eminences of different hills had their separate names; and in this district was Mount Icarus, whose sides abounded with the most productive vineyards of Attica. On one side of Icarus was the Demos of Dedalidæ, of the tribe Cecropis; on the other, that of the *verdant* Melænxæ*, of the tribe Antiochis, on the borders of Bæotia. The hill immediately behind Marathon was called the mountain of Pan.

From Marathon we passed on westward, crossing the river a second time, and inclining a little out of the road to the north, to look at the cave of Pan, which, though mentioned as a curiosity by Pausanias, has nothing in it to detain you for an instant. Below this cave, which is about a mile from Marathon, are some large stones, similar to those seen on the Wiltshire Downs commonly known by the name of the "Grey Wethers;" and under them a strong spring bubbles up, which, conducted through an artificial channel, turns a mill, and afterwards falls into the Charadrus.

I take these stones to be the petrified sheep belonging to the woman of Nonoi, and the headless statue in the marsh may be the female herself, whose metamorphosis is recorded by Chandler. But the fate and misfortune of this personage is now forgotten, and our guides pointed both at the statue and the stones, without relating so edifying a tale†.

* Icarii, Ceteique domus, viridesque Melænxæ.—Stat. Theb. lib. xii. lin. 619.

† "In the vale, which we entered, near the vestiges of a small building, probably a sepulchre, was a headless statue of a woman sedent, lying on the ground. This, my companions informed me, was once endued with life, being

From the cave of Pan we left the banks of the river, which flows to the north-west between two lofty mountains, whose sides are a mass of precipices of craggy red rocks, and whose summits are clothed with thick forests of pine. Our course now took us to the west-south-west, up a most steep and rough ascent, through woods of evergreens, and amongst shrubs of myrtles, oleander, and laurel-roses.

In an hour and a quarter we came to Stamati, an Albanian village, surrounded by a few acres of open cultivated ground, cleared in the midst of a wilderness of woods. The path was, from that place, not so hilly, but still very rugged, directing us to the south-west. A range of Pendele was directly facing us, and lying from north-west to south-east; Parnes was at a distance on our right, and between us and that mountain were woody knolls, rising one above the other. In a little time we turned the point of Pendele, and went to the south-south-west, travelling down a gradual slope, and on a better road, but still through pine forests. Before us we saw the coast about the Piræus, and part of the olive-groves: Athens was hidden from us by the hill Anchisinus.

an aged lady, possessed of a numerous flock, which was folded near that spot. Her riches were great, and her prosperity was uninterrupted: she was elated by her good fortune. The winter was gone by, and even the rude month of March had spared her sheep and goats. She now defied Heaven, as unapprehensive for the future, and as secure from all mishap; but Providence, to correct her impiety and ingratitude, commanded a fierce and penetrating frost to be its avenging minister—and she, her fold, and flocks, were hardened into stone. This story, which is current, was also related to me at Athens. The grave Turk cites the woman of Nonoi, for so the tract is called, to check arrogance, and enforce the wisdom of a devout and humble disposition.”—Chandler’s Travels in Greece, p. 167.

In an hour from Stamati, but going faster than ordinary, we arrived at the village of Cevrishia, whose name is but a little altered from that of the ancient town Cephisia, of the tribe Eretheis, on the site of which it now stands. This place is the most favourite retreat of the Turks of Athens during the summer and autumnal months, and is alone, of all the villages of Attica, adorned with a mosck: it contains about two hundred houses. In the middle of it is an open space, where there are two fountains, and a large plane-tree, beneath whose overhanging branches is a flat stone, so carved into squares as to serve for a draught-table, and round which the Turks are seen sedately smoking, or engaged at their favourite pastime.

Cevrishia is at the foot of Mount Pendele, on a gentle declivity, surrounded on every side with olive-groves, and watered by several rills from the mountain, the sources of the smaller branch of the Cephissus, which, after supplying the many fountains of the village, and being dispersed through the neighbouring gardens and groves, unite at last in one pebbly channel, and flow into the plain and olive-woods of Athens. This delightful spot still continues to answer the agreeable description given of it by one who who had here often wandered through the long and shady avenues, or rested by the side of the pure glassy stream, overflowing the margin of the marble baths in a thousand rills, which mingled their murmurs with the music of the birds*. Even the modern Cephisia might be thought worthy the partialities of such an encomiast as Aulus Gellius.

The marbles presented to the University of Oxford by Mr. Dawkins, were brought from this village; and I had the good

* Aul. Gell. lib. i. cap. 2, et lib. xviii. cap. 10.

fortune to procure from the same spot a marble head, as large as life, which, as it appears from the hole in the neck, has belonged to an entire image. A Turk had placed it over the arch of the gateway in his court-yard, and seemed to say that he knew where the body was to be found; but on enquiry, he had, we learnt, been misunderstood. The bust is that of a young man, with the hair short, and curled in an elegant and highly-finished style. From the manner in which the eyes are formed, the antiquity of the sculpture may be judged to be no earlier than the times when the Romans were settled in Greece; and it is not at all improbable, that the head may be one belonging to the many statues which Atticus Herodes erected to the memory of his three young friends in the shady solitudes of his villa at Cephisia*.

From Cevrishia we proceeded entirely through olive-groves, to a village about an hour's distance, called "Muraffe;" small, and built of mud chiefly, but in an agreeable situation, and watered by a branch of the Cephissus, whose banks are, a little below, shaded by tall trees of white poplar.

From Muraffe we went through Angele-Kipos to Athens, by a route already described.

The baggage-horses had arrived half an hour before, and had been six hours on the road from Marathon to the city. This time can with great difficulty be reconciled with the measurement anciently allowed for the distance between the two places, which, at the utmost, was laid down at only one hundred stadia, but, generally, was called eighty stadia, or ten Roman miles. Meletius, who is, very unaccountably, more incorrect when treating of

* See the account of this, Tib. Claudius Atticus Herodes by Spon in Wheler, p. 375.

Attica than of other parts of Greece, calls Marathon thirty-five miles from Athens*. The usual allowance, before stated, as coming pretty near the truth, of three miles to a Turkish hour, would make this journey eighteen miles; but when it is considered, that half of the distance is over steep and very difficult ground, the two statements may come rather nearer to each other; and if we suppose, what is likely enough, that there was formerly a nearer road to Marathon by *Vráoua*, the difference will be considerably diminished. However, from comparing the ancient distances with the Turkish hours, particularly in Attica, where I paid most attention to the watch, I must confess myself to have overstated the length of ground, by reckoning three miles to each sixty minutes, and that, perhaps, generally speaking, two and a half would be the more correct calculation. The baggage-horses, or as the Greeks distinguish them, *τὰ ἄλλογα μὲ τὰ φορτώματα*, get on but very slowly, except in the plainest roads, and proceed with difficulty through the woods, on account of the manner in which they are loaded, their burdens projecting from each side, like panniers. At the same time it may be remarked, that the ancients themselves may have sometimes mis-stated their measurements, especially as they occasionally differ amongst one another even in small distances; so that a traveller need not always attribute each slight discrepancy to his own inattention and neglect.

* *Αἴτιον*, p. 352. The distance, however, is put in figures; and 35 may be an error of the press for 15.

LETTER XXIX.

Route from Athens to the Negroponte—Villages in the North of Attica—Koukonvaones—Charootika—Menithi—Tatoë—The Site of Decelea—Agios Macarius—Route across the Plains of Tanagra—Over the Asopus to Scimitari—From that Village to the Strait of the Negroponte, by Vathi—The Town of Negroponte—Visit to the Pasha—Stories relative to the Euripus—Return to Scimitari—Route from Scimitari to the Monastery of St. Meliteus on Cithæron.

IT being my wish to pay a short visit to the town of Negroponte, as well as to some part of the district of Thebes, which we had before not seen, I set off (Feb. 8) at nine o'clock in the morning from Athens, accompanied by our Albanian Vassilly, the Athenian Demetrius, and the necessary number of baggage and led-horses. Lord Byron was unexpectedly detained at Athens; so that you will attribute any additional defects in the narration of this short tour, to the absence of a companion, who, to quickness of observation and ingenuity of remark, united that gay good humour which keeps alive the attention under the pressure of fatigue, and softens the aspect of every difficulty and danger.

We rode for about two hours, mostly through the olive woods of Athens, northwards, until we came to Koukouvaones, a village

of thirty houses : passing this, we soon crossed a large chasm, in which the greater branch of the Cephissus flows, and which, a little above where we passed it, takes an abrupt turn towards the hills a little to the north-west of Cevrishia. A few evergreens grow on the sides of the chasm ; and an overshot mill is pleasantly situated amidst a small grove, on the ledge of one of the rocks. Between the skirt of the olive-groves and the village Koukouvaones, are two or three barrows ; and one of them was pointed out to me as containing lumps of yellow earth, used by the painters at Athens. There is a village, by name Charootika, of two hundred houses, under the hills between Cevrishia and Koukouvaones.

We inclined to the eastward of north, and saw on our left the road leading to Menithi, the largest country town in Attica, having three hundred and fifty houses ; and, still farther to the left, that which goes to Casha, and the villages under Mount Parnes. For two hours, after passing Koukouvaones and the Cephissus, the road lay through an open plain, covered with heath and low shrubs : Parnes, clothed with green woods, verged more towards us on the left, and united itself to the hills stretching to the northern declivities of Mount Pentelicus, which form the boundary, on this side, of the plain of Athens. We ascended these hills for an hour, and came to a stone fountain on a woody knoll, where, under the shade of a thick ilex, travellers spread their mats, for the purposes of refreshment or repose. The place is called 'Tatoë, five long hours, at a good pace, from Athens, from which it bears exactly north-north-east, having a view of the city and the whole plain, as far as the Piræus. On a hillock, above the fountain, are some remains of an ancient wall. A path strikes off

through the hills to the east, to Oropo, the ancient Oropus, computed about four miles from 'Tatoë.

From Athens to the foot of these hills is about twelve miles, the whole way over a plain; but the flat, anciently included in the district belonging to the city, and called, for distinction, Pedion, the Plain, has been considered by some travellers as ending with the olive-groves, about six miles to the north of Athens; which extent, with the addition of the distance from the capital to the shore, gives a length of nine miles to the whole plain. Pococke thought nine miles the length, and six miles the breadth, of the district in question. He appears to me to have under-rated the dimensions in both instances; the flat more properly terminates where the channel of the Cephissus takes a turn towards Cevrishia, perhaps eight miles from the city. Beyond that place, towards Casha, Menithi, and 'Tatoë, the aspect of the country is more bare and wild, and, under Parnes to the north-west, answers to the description of the district attached to Acharnæ; and some vestiges of old wall, and one or two wells, which are to be seen three miles nearer than Casha to Athens, may point out the site of that town.

The region on the slope of Mount Parnes, formerly called Pæonia, has now the name of Panagia, from a rich monastery at the foot of the hills.

Decelæa, memorable for having given its name to one of the many wars of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, was somewhere in the direction of 'Tatoë, as it commanded the great road leading from Athens to Oropus and to Chalcis, by which the corn of Eubœa was conveyed to the city. Some pieces of wall, above the fountain, may probably have belonged to a watch-tower placed in

this important pass; but 'Tatoë is more than one hundred and twenty stadia, fifteen Roman miles, from the city, and is besides too far from the plain, on which (though some of the works were visible at Athens*) part of the Lacedemonian fortifications were built. I neither heard of nor saw any other remains, except the wall above 'Tatoë.

For an hour and a half after leaving the fountain, we continued travelling slowly through the hills belonging to the mountain anciently called Brilessus, in the region of Diacria, over a precipitous path, amidst thick woods of evergreens, until we had got to the north of the high range of Mount Parnes, which we now saw towering into the clouds in the distance. We passed a solitary church, Agios Macurius, by the side of a torrent. The modern territory attached to Athens, is on this side bounded by a line which runs from a point two hours to the north of Casha to this church, and then stretches to a village, Calamas, an hour to the south of Oropo, turning thence towards Marathon. The earliest of our travellers gives the name of Agios Macurius to these hills, which were then guarded by Albanians, and, by a strange mistake, calls them a part of Mount Parnassus†.

From Agios Macurius we began to descend, going more to the north, until we found ourselves on an open and extensive plain, with a high tower in our view, to the north-west, at a distance reckoned about four hours from the foot of the mountain. We went northerly for an hour and a half, through a well-cultivated country: flocks of goats were browsing amongst the low shrubs,

* Thucyd. lib. vii. cap. 19.

† Francis Vernon, in his Letter to the Royal Society, written Jan. 10, 1676. See Philosophical Transactions abridged, vol. iii. p. 456.

and many peasants were labouring in the corn-fields. Two or three villages were visible on the sides of the hills to the south, formerly belonging to a range of Cithæron, and mixing with Brilessus and Parnes. To the east was some rising ground, which prevented us from seeing the sea near the port Oropo; but the high land of the Negroponte, about the site of the ancient Eretria, seemed a part of the main; and indeed, the strait at this point is not seven miles in breadth. The passage from Eretria to Delphinium, the port of Oropus, was only sixty stadia.

We crossed the Asopus at a ford, where it was a muddy torrent winding through brushwood. Just below where we passed the river, it flows between two rocky hills. In a short time the road divided, one path going to Negroponte, northwards, the other to the north-west, towards Thebes, not far from the banks of the river. We continued on the latter for an hour in the plain, with low hills on our right, when we took a direction more to the north, and came to the ruined tower. This stands on an eminence, and though of no very early date, is composed of stones apparently taken from the ruins of some ancient building. It is square, of considerable dimensions and height, the substructure of large stones, the upper part of brick. It may have been one of the castles of the Latin Princes, or perhaps a Turkish watch-tower, built to prevent a surprise from the fleets of the Venetians. It commands a view of the whole of that part of Bœotia to the east of Thebes; and the hillocks, at the back of that town, are visible from it in the north-north-western point. The Asopus is seen to wind from the west-north-west. The appearance of all the adjacent plain is from this point very pleasing, and varied with slopes of rising ground, crowned with tufts of shrubs.

It is probably that portion of Bæotia which once belonged to the powerful city of Tanagra*, whose territory stretched from the neighbourhood of Oropus, along the shore of the strait, as far as Aulis, and included the lands of several ruined cities more inland, towards Thebes.

Beyond the tower, a short distance only, there is a small village called Œnoë. This we passed, and going northwards for an hour and a half, arrived at the village of Scimitari. This place consists of eighty houses, inhabited by Greeks, and is the property, though not in the territory, of Ali Pasha: it is reckoned five hours from Thebes, and three from the Negroponte. To the east of it, at a little distance, is a large tract of corn-fields, lying on gentle swellings of the plain, and through these, a broad beaten road, with some parts of it paved, leads to the village.

In a small church there are two or three of the old sepulchral stones, with the usual inscription, ΧΑΡΙΣ, but without any names.

We passed the night at Scimitari, and the next morning, leaving the baggage behind us, set out for the Negroponte, intending to return the same evening. The morning was very misty, but the sky cleared up towards the middle of the day. The road was at first to the north, over uneven downs; cultivated near the village, but soon terminating in heaths intersected by several ravins. On one of them was a small rivulet, whose direction answers to that of the torrent Thermodon, which flowed by Tanagra. Before us we had a view of the strait, and of a plain,

* Tanagra was thirty stadia from Oropus, and fifty from the sea.—Paus. Bæot. p. 571; Strab. lib. ix. p. 403. Wheler believed himself to have discovered the remains of Tanagra a. Scamino, a village on the Asopus, three hours from Egripro.

under the high hills in the island Eubœa, covered with olive-groves.

We turned rather to the left as we approached the shore, and passed by a village, Vathi, crossing over the channel of a small river which runs near it into the strait. Vathi is close to the shore, and to a bay, formerly called the Deep bay, from which the modern village has, I suppose, received its name. When we came to the shore, we continued winding along a very rocky path, close to the sea. We took our course round a small bay, surrounded by low stony hills almost to the water's edge, and having the mouth of ancient wells visible near the beach. This was the site of Aulis, whose port would contain but fifty ships; so that it is likely that the Grecian fleet anchored in the bay called the Deep. The site is similar to the description in Strabo, a rocky spot (*πετρωδὲς χωρίον*), which is not now, as it was in the second century, watered by the fountain of Diana, nor shaded by the fruitful palm-tree. When Pausanias visited Aulis, they continued to show a piece of the plane-tree mentioned in Homer, and the knoll on which the tent of Agamemnon was fixed; but the place was almost deserted, and the few who still continued to live there, worked at a pottery*: at present it is entirely barren, and there is not a peasant's house nearer than the village of Vathi.

It was some time before we caught a sight of the town of Negroponte†, or (as the Greeks call it, from a corruption of the word Euripus) Egripo, as it is placed on the north-east side of a

* Paus. Bœot. p. 571.

† The Frank name of Negroponte is doubtless, as Wheler has conjectured, derived from the confounding of the three Greek words, *εἰς τὸν Εὐριπὸν*, pronounced *ἑστὸν Εὐγριπὸν*, into one sound.

broad flat peninsula, which, projecting into the bays on the mainland, makes the windings of the strait, in some places, look like inland lakes, in others like rivers, as the breadth enlarges or diminishes. The outlet into the broader arm of the sea does not at all appear, and both the port of Vathi, and that of Anlis, are completely land-locked. This circumstance, in some measure, diminishes the surprise which might otherwise be felt at seeing the extreme narrowness of the Euripus itself, at the point where the island and the main are joined by a bridge.

In half an hour after the bay of Vathi, keeping by the edge of the water, we doubled the north-eastern extremity of those hills which we had seen from our village, and which, now called Typovouni, were once the mountain Messapius: we then crossed over a projecting tongue of stony ground, and going for some time on a road partly paved, arrived in another half hour at the Euripus. On an eminence on the mainland we saw a white fort, called Carababa, commanding the bridge, and, indeed, all the fortifications of Negroponte. The sea had, in this place, every appearance of a river; and the banks, on the Bæotian side, were rather high and rocky. We dismounted, and led our horses over a narrow wooden bridge, about fifteen paces in length, to a stone tower in the middle of the strait, of an odd circular shape, like a dice-box, large at bottom and top, and small in the middle; the mouths of immense cannon appearing through round embrasures, about the upper rim. Going through an arch in this tower, we passed on to a bridge, also of wood, and a third longer than the other, standing over the principal stream, for such may the Euripus strictly be called. We then entered a large castle, where several Turks, bristled with arms, were lounging about; and con-

tinuing for some time through that part of the town which is within the works of the fortification, came to another wooden bridge, as long as both of those over the Euripus, and, crossed over the moat, a broad reedy marsh, into the suburbs of Negroponte, which are much more considerable than the city within the walls.

The Turks of this place are the most brutal, if common fame and a proverb before mentioned, do not belie them, of any in the Levant; and as their character prevents travellers from visiting the town, they are so unused to the sight of a Frank, that, on the appearance of one in the street, the boys scream after, and follow him, and the men abuse him, and call him Dog and Infidel. This was all the inconvenience I experienced; though I must confess, that there was something so very different in the air of these Mahometans, and of those I had lately lived amongst, that I should not have considered a long stay in the town at all desirable.

The Waiwode of Athens had given me two letters, one to the Vizier, Bakir Pasha, another to a rich Aga, at whose house, though he himself was not at home, I put up for the short time I remained in the place, and was treated with every attention by the people of his household.

I had not been more than a few minutes in the house, before I was visited by the Greek Secretary to the Pasha, to whom I delivered my letter, saying, at the same time, that I could not stay to pay his Highness a visit. A Greek of the island of Tino, who wore the Frank habit, covered with a long cloak, being physician to the Pasha, also called to pay his respects. He had been a merchant, under the Imperial protection, but failed, and then

turned physician, when the Pasha retained him for his own use ; much against the will of the man, it seemed, as he told me, “ I am not a slave—but, though I have been here eighteen months, his Highness will not let me go ; yet he pays me well ; I have a pound and a half of meat allowed me daily, and some piasters at the end of the year.” With this person, accompanied by my attendants, I took a walk about the town.

The houses are mean and low, the streets narrow, and the bazar of the poorest sort. There are but very few Greeks in the town, and no one representative of any Christian power : there was once an Imperial Consul, and also a French resident ; but on some suspicion being entertained of one of them with respect to some Turkish females, a body of Turks surrounded his house, and, after some resistance, cut him to pieces ; the other Frank of course fled. They told me, as well as I recollect, that the number of houses in Egripo was about eight hundred.

To the east of the town there is a sort of inclosure or defence, of low pales : on the north is an eminence, from which you have the best view of the country, and of the high mountains at the back of the town, whose summits are covered with perpetual snows. From the highest ridge, which is called Daphne, Athens, Megara, and the whole of the south of Greece, so a Turk assured me, appear as if laid out immediately below. The land to the north and east of the town is open, but well cultivated ; that to the south covered with fine groves of olive-trees, and interspersed with orange and lemon gardens ; the interior of the town is not so well furnished in this respect as most Turkish cities. The place is considered extremely unhealthy, and during the summer the heats

are almost insupportable: at that period the Turks remove their families to small houses in the groves farther down, to the south.

As I was walking through the town on the side towards the castle, several grave 'Turks, apparently in office, with the Greek Secretary at their head, approached me, and said that the Vice-Governor of the place desired me to visit him. I excused myself for some time, but was at last obliged to comply, and accordingly went through the usual ceremony of pipes, coffee, sweetmeats and sherbet, in a small room with this 'Turk, who was pleasant and obliging.

Whilst in his chamber, the Grammaticos, the Secretary, entered, and said that the Vizier himself expected to see me. I could not, I would not go; I was in a travelling dress, and covered with dirt by riding. No excuses would do—the Vizier was holding a *Divan on purpose!!* The Greek became pressing and impertinent; and, accompanied by Demetrius, the Physician and Secretary, and several men with white sticks preceding, I pushed on through a crowd to the door of the audience-chamber. Here was a fresh difficulty—the Secretary told me I must enter without my boots, and kiss his Highness's slipper. Had this ceremony been usual, no one would have been more ready to comply than myself; nay, I would not on any account have dispensed with the latter point of respect, but should have insisted upon it as earnestly as did Dr. Moore's young patron, the Duke of Hamilton, upon saluting the Pope's toe; but being sure that it was merely a malicious piece of information invented by the Greek, to vex me for my backwardness in visiting his master, and that no Frank traveller had ever done as much to any Pasha, I demurred, and was trying to retire, when the Secretary went into the audience-

chamber, and returning immediately, said that the Pasha would dispense with the form. I knew the whole was a pretence, but prepared to enter; and really not wishing to dirty his carpets with my boots, which were plastered with mud, pulled them off, putting on, however, not to bate any thing on the important point of dignity, a pair of yellow slippers.

The room where the Pasha received me was very small, and crowded with his Turks in office, magnificently dressed, quite as well as himself—the certain characteristic, according to Cervantes, of a great man. The sofa on the left was occupied by three or four visitors apparently; that to the right, except a corner on which the Vizier sat, was vacant. His Highness made a motion for me to sit down near him. The Tiniot Physician served as interpreter. The Pasha, taking his pipe from his mouth, said I was welcome—then stopped again—and a little after said the same thing; which he repeated, after an interval, a third time. This I understood to be highly ceremonious; and, indeed, his attention was very marked. The pipes and coffee were thrice repeated; sherbets, sweetmeats, and, to crown the entertainment, perfumes and rose-water were also subjoined to the former part of the treat.

The Pasha was very inquisitive, as usual, and when I rose to go away, begged me to sit down again: it was with difficulty I excused myself from staying that night at Egripo, and partaking of a feast to which he invited me. He asked, what he could do for me, and whether I had seen every thing in the place; he added, “You have looked at the castle from without—there is nothing worth seeing in the inside of it.”

You must take, by the way, that the Turks are exceedingly

jealous of any one visiting the works of these fortifications ; and will suffer no Frank, without a firman from the Porte, to inspect them : this I knew, and replied, that I was much pleased with the outside, but did not wish to look at the interior of the building. He then asked, what I had come to see ? (the curiosity of travellers is a constant source of surprise, and of a little contempt, amongst the 'Turks) and was answered, " the town and its situation, which were reported to be very beautiful ; and also the strait, a great natural curiosity." This last object was not clearly understood ; and when, as an explanation, I added, that it was the stream of water under the bridge to which I alluded, the visages of all in the room put on an air of astonishment, mixed with a certain smile, chastised by the gravity of their looks, altogether indescribable ; and the Vizier asked me, with a great deal of naïveté, whether I had no water of that sort in my own country ? adding, that England being, as he heard, an island, he should have thought we had great plenty. I endeavoured to inform him, that it was not the saltness of the water to which I alluded, but the flux and reflux. That this did not serve me in any stead was evident from the continued surprise marked in the faces of all present ; but his Highness assured me, that I should have the proper attendance to convey me to the bridge, where I might view the object of my journey.

Shortly after this I withdrew ; and returning down stairs, saw my attendant Demetrius besieged by all the fine drest men who had officiated in the room, and who, the moment he opened his purse, to make the customary presents for me, thronged about him, and so frightened him, that he parted with every zeqia in his pocket, amounting to between eight and nine guineas. Their

clamour and importunity was such, that he had forgot the prudent and usual plan of calling for the pipe-bearer, the pages carrying in the coffee, sweetmeats, sherbet, and perfume, and giving to each five piasters: indeed, he was altogether terrified, and had some excuse for his alarms.

But the most ridiculous part of the proceeding was to come, and one which I am rather loth to detail, as the principal character in the farce was unwillingly acted by, or rather forced upon, myself.

Several of the Pasha's soldiers were waiting without in the yard, and these, preceded by two of the most reverend-looking personages of the whole court, Chiauses, or Chamberlains, with white wands, and their beards hanging down to their waists, accompanied me in a sort of procession towards the bridge. We had some distance to walk; the crowd gathered as we proceeded, and in a short time our train filled the street. We walked very slowly, the two majestic conductors being saluted respectfully by fifty people whom we met, and very leisurely returning the salam and usual obeisance.

The passengers and surrounding crowd perpetually questioned my attendants as to the object of the procession, and were told that a Frank was going to look at the water. I could hear the Turkish words signifying "Water, Water," a hundred times repeated.

I advanced to the bridge with all my suite, went half way across it, and looking over the railings half a minute, turned round to one of the grave chamberlains, and said I was satisfied; when he and his companion bowed profoundly, and, without saying a word, turned on their heels, and marshalled and preceded the

attendants back to the house where I had left my horses, a great crowd following as before.

To each of these great courtiers, whose furred cloaks were worth more than all my travelling wardrobe, and to whom, had I not known the Turks pretty well by that time, I should have been afraid to have offered any present of money, I gave a zequin, a little more than half-a-guinea; and for the receipt of this they bowed as gravely as ever, and returned slowly to the palace, walking, as is the fashion of the higher orders in Turkey, with their toes turned inwards.

You may be sure, that, after this ridiculous adventure, I did not stir out of the Aga's house until my horses were ready to leave the town, nor attempt to have any other sight of the water than that which I got going to and returning from the island.

What I witnessed of the Euripus was, that the stream flows with violence, like a mill-race, under the bridges, and that a strong eddy is observable on that side from which it is about to run, about a hundred yards above the bridges; the current, however, not being at all apparent at a greater distance, either to the south or north. Yet the ebbing and flowing are said to be visible at ten or a dozen leagues distance, at each side of the strait, by marks shown of the rising and falling of the water in several small bays in both coasts. The depth of the stream is very inconsiderable, not much more than four feet.

It was with difficulty that I could get any account of this phenomenon. The Tiniot Doctor told me, that, "per Dio, he had never been to look at it; but that, if any one had told me that the change took place more than twice in twenty-four hours, he fancied the person had lied." The Secretary said it changed seven times in that space of time; and one of the Turks guarding the

tower between the two bridges, and living on the spot, averred it altered its course five times, favouring me at the same time with the cause of this miracle.

“Not a great many years ago,” said he, “this water was like any other part of the sea, and did not flow at all; but a Hadji, (that is, a holy Turk, who had been to Mecca) being a prisoner in that tower, when the Infidels had the place, and confined in a dark cell, where he could see nothing but the water below, through a hole in his dungeon, begged of God to send him some sign by which he might know when to pray. His request was granted, by the change which immediately took place in the flowing and reflowing of the stream; and since that time, the current has altered its course at each of the five seasons of prayer.”

The man told this story with the air of a person who believed it himself; yet it was clear enough, that, though having daily opportunities of so doing, he had never thought about ascertaining whether the tide did change at day-break, at mid-day, two hours and a half before sun-set, at sun-set, and an hour and a half after—the five times prescribed by the Mahometan law. If the fellow was not laughing, of which, as he spoke to me through an interpreter, I could not be a very adequate judge, he gave surely as strong an example as could be well imagined, of the disinclination so apparent in the followers of all ridiculous superstitions, to convince themselves of the folly of their credulity. He might any day have found out that the tale was not true, and that the Hadji had not obtained permission of God that the course of the sea should be altered at the five periods settled for offering up the prayers of the believers. Yet, with the feelings of a true devotee, he preferred to propagate, rather than to examine,

the holy fable ; and, in spite of evidence forced upon his constant notice, would not trust himself with a suspicion of its falsity.

Had Aristotle hit upon so easy a solution of this wonder, he would have addressed himself to a people as religious, and consequently as credulous, as the 'Turks.

The account which Wheler copied from the Jesuit Babin, and collected on the spot, although not from his personal experience, he not being long enough in the place, was, that it was subject to the same laws as the tides of the ocean, for eighteen days of every moon, and was irregular, having twelve, thirteen, or fourteen flowings and ebbings for the other eleven days, that is, that it was regular for the three last days of the old moon, and the eight first of the new, then irregular for five days, regular again for the next seven, and irregular for the other six. The water seldom rose to two feet, and usually not above one; and, contrary to the ocean, it flowed towards the sea, and ebbed towards the main-land of Thessaly, northwards. On the irregular days it rose for half an hour, and fell for three quarters; but when regular, was six hours in each direction, losing an hour a day. It did not appear to be influenced by the wind. This detail, however, which I conclude to be correct, does not attempt to account for the irregular changes, nor for the difference of number in those irregular changes.

I feel myself quite unqualified to speak on such a debated point; and shall, therefore, only add what was told me by a Greek of Athens, who had resided three years at Egripo. He said, that he considered the changes to depend chiefly upon the wind, which, owing to the high lands in the vicinity of the strait, is particularly variable in this place. The two great gulfs, for so

they may be called, at the north and south of the strait, which present a large surface to every storm that blows, and receive the whole force of the Archipelago, communicate with each other at this narrow shallow channel; so that the Euripus may be a sort of barometer, indicative of every change, and of whatever rising and falling of the tide, not visible in the open expanse of waters, there may be in these seas. I did not, however, see any marks of the water being ever higher at one time than at another.

He added, that he observed, that when the wind was north or south, that is, either up or down the strait, the alteration took place only four times in the twenty-four hours; but that when it was from the east, and blew strongly over the high mountains behind Egripo, the refluxes took place more frequently, ten or twelve times; and that particularly immediately before the full of the moon, the turbulence and eddies, as well as the rapidity of the stream, were very much increased. There was never, at any season, any certain rule with respect either to the period or the number of the changes.

Those of the ancients who inquired into this phenomenon, were aware, that the story of the Euripus changing its course always seven times during the day, was unfounded; and the account given of it by Livy*, corresponds, in some measure, with that of my Athenian informant. The bridge which anciently con-

* Nam et venti utriusque terræ præaltis montibus subiti ac procellosi se dejiciunt, et fretum ipsum Euripi non septies die, sicut fama fert, temporibus stans reciprocatur; sed temere in modum venti, nunc huc nunc illuc verso mari, velut monte præcipiti devolutus torrens rapitur.—Tit. Liv. lib. xxviii, cap. 6.

nected the main and the island was considerably longer than that which at present serves the same purpose*.

We are informed, that the strait was made more narrow by a dyke, which the inhabitants of Chalcis constructed to lessen the passage; and it is by no means improbable, that the whole of the flat on which the fortified part of Egripo now stands, and which is surrounded on the land side by a wide marsh, was formerly covered by the waters of the Euripus.

I did not hear of any remains of the ancient Chalcis, in or near the modern town; the castle, and some of the oldest houses, retain signs of the old Venetian buildings; and some very large stones in the works look as if they once belonged to more superb edifices.

This island was considered one of the most important of the possessions of Venice, in the prosperity of that powerful republic; and one of the memorials of former greatness, displayed at this day at St. Marc's, is the standard of the *Kingdom* of Negroponte. The capital town, for many years after its reduction by Mahomet the Second, was the usual residence, and under the immediate command, of the Capudan Pasha, the High Admiral of the Turkish fleets.

The Turks have a constant apprehension that some effort is intended against this island by the Christian Powers, and are consequently, as hinted before, ridiculously cautious about the fortifications of Egripo.

My source, or postman, told me, that he had been witness to an unpleasant scene in this place. A Frank traveller, having a

* Εἴστι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεφύρα διπλῆδος.—Strab. lib. ix. p. 403.

firmian from the Porte, visited the castle, and was about to retire, when the Captain of the Turkish guard stepped up to him, and asked him for his Imperial licence for seeing the place. The Frank gave him what he desired; upon which the Turk, perusing it very seriously, asked him if he had no other order; and being answered in the negative, exclaimed, "I see here a permission for you to come into the castle—but none for you to go out!" and, so saying, he shut the gate, and confined the traveller for some days, as a warning to him for the future to repress his curiosity.

I have since heard of a similar transaction having taken place in Candia, with the addition, that the Frank, an Englishman, resisted, and was killed. The Turks of both islands bear much the same character for ferocity and hatred of strangers; but the Candiot is the more lively and spirited of the two, and his nation supplies all the best sailors in the Turkish fleet.

In addition to their other vile propensities, the Negropontines are distinguished, amongst a nation of sensualists, by that horrid perversity of taste, which an ancient historian has superadded as a disgusting trait to his finished picture of a villain*, and which appears an unwarrantable excess in the eyes even of the Orientals themselves.

The island is now, as it was formerly, valuable, on account of

* Xenophon (Cyr. Anab. fin. lib. ii.), in his character of Menon the Thesalian. Yet with what coolness does this Greek talk of the more usual enormity of his age and country. (See his story of Episthenes, p. 532). He neither expresses, nor wishes to excite, any abhorrence, but opens his narrative simply, *Ἐπισθένης δὲ ἦν τὸς Ὀλύμπιος παιδιδραστῆς* and afterwards, *ὁ δὲ Σεύθης γελῶν*.

the extraordinary fertility of its soil, and the quantity of corn with which it supplies the adjacent countries. 'Twenty for one is mentioned as the common return of grain*.

From Egripo we returned, by a shorter way than that which we had traversed in the morning, to Scimitari, crossing a cleft in the hills before we came to Vathi, a little beyond the port of Aulis, most probably in the exact direction of the road which formerly led from Chalcis to Thebes. The very ancient city of Mycalessus, not far from the sea, and surrounded with extensive fields, (*εὐρυχωρον Μυκαλησσον*, is the expression of Homer), was in this quarter of Bœotia, which afterwards came under the power of Tanagra, a city independent long after the authority of Thebes had declined†. Vast numbers of coins have been found by the peasants of this village in ploughing up the neighbouring plain. A large collection was presented to me; one of them was a copper coin of Tanagra; it had been found near a spot called Grematha, one hour and a half to the south of Scimitari.

Returning to my village, and waiting for some refreshment, I attended a burial. The dead was a poor woman who had been alive when I left the place in the morning. She was carried in a rug into the little church, and laid down on the floor, with nothing but a thin strip of cotton tied about her. Two caloyers performed the service over her in a hasty manner, when she was carried out, and put into a trench not deeper than two or three feet. Before putting her in the grave, they tied sandals to her feet, which, when she was laid in the earth, were adjusted by a man who jumped into the pit and placed them upright, like those of a

* The Tauric Chersonese, however, produced thirty.—Strab. lib. 7, p. 311.

† Plin. cap. 7, "Tanagra, liber populus."

recumbent statue on a tomb: the same person, taking a small flat stone, on which one of the priests had made the sign of the cross, laid it upon her breast, and immediately after, with the assistance of others, covered the body with earth. There were six old women attending as mourners, but they, as well as the rest of the congregation, seemed rather merry than sad, behaving with a levity which I was proceeding to remark upon, when one of them said, "Why should we weep for her, she was an orphan; she was sixty years old; how can any one care for such a person?" It is impossible to answer a question, dictated by sentiments so frequently felt, though so seldom confessed, by the generality of mankind.

The day afterwards, my party proceeded on the road towards Megara, determining so to contrive the journies, that I might sleep the first night at a monastery situated in the southern declivities of Cithæron, and from that place visit the ruins of Plataea.

The path lay to the south, for an hour and a half over a plain whose corn-lands are attached to the village of Scimitari; it then passed under a low hill, the spot called Grematha, round which, particularly to the south and east, are several pieces of ancient walls, besides some remains of a large building on the summit. If this place be not too far from the sea, it answers tolerably to the site of Tanagra, and the hill above may be that once called Cerycius. It is west from the tower near Ænoë, and south-south-west from Thebes.

The road from Tanagra to Plataea, two hundred stadia, was rough and mountainous. At a little distance beyond Grematha, we crossed the Asopus, and came directly into the mountains, a

range of Elatias, or Cithæron, and soon passed a ruined chapel on a knoll. In this chapel are parts of the shafts of four small marble columns, which have given the spot the name of Castri. The road then lay to the west-north-west. On a height above to the left, south-east, we saw a village, Mavromati. Still ascending, and turning more westward for about an hour, we got into a narrow valley, with rocky hills on each side, and continued through this, in a path which was only a goat-track, for another hour, when we came upon the road we had before travelled from Thebes to Athens, having on our left the ruined tower*.

Instead of remaining in the same direction, westward towards Plataea, and so travelling through that part of Bœotia which was called Parasopia, we turned into this road, and crossing the low rocky ridge of Cithæron to the south, went over the western extremity of the plain of Scourta, passing by the village of Spalise. We then went again to the westward, and got in half an hour into the mountains. Cithæron here is very high, and covered with thick woods, chiefly of pine, which have given it the modern name of Elatias.

There was no direct path to the monastery of which we were in search, so that we soon lost our way, and parted, some of us keeping high up on the brows, and the others striking lower down, directly across several narrow valleys and chasms, towards the point whither we directed our steps. I gave my horse to one of the postmen, and, seeing a building rising above the trees on the ledge of a rock at some distance, made towards it, penetrating into a woody dell, where two torrents from the opposite hills

* See Letter xx.

united their streams, and rolled down a steep precipice into the plains below. I had gone too quick for Demetrius, who was left behind me amongst the woods. It was a still evening, and no other sound was to be heard but the gentle dashing of the torrent, at whose brink I was stooping down, when the echoes of Cithæron were at once awakened by the shouting of my attendant, and starting up, I heard my name repeated as if in thunder, from every corner of the vast amphitheatre of woody hills around me. Immediately afterwards the man himself appeared; and being questioned as to the cause of his alarm, said, "I was afraid, Sir, that you might have been encountered by some wild beast: the mountains are full of them."

I was not perhaps quite so apprehensive of the wild beasts, that is, the wolves, as Demetrius, but wishing to reach the monastery, proceeded to climb the ascent before us. We soon overtook a monk and a little boy, driving an ass laden with faggots up a steep zig-zag path through the woods, and taking them for guides, arrived, after a good deal of fatigue, at the end of our day's journey.

It was some time before we could gain admittance; and had not Demetrius made himself known to a Monk who held parley with us from one of the casements, we should not have been suffered to enter. My Athenian, who knew this fraternity pretty well, told them at first that we only wanted to see their church, one of the curiosities of modern Greece, and extolled as such in Meletius' Geography. Whilst, however, we were surveying the interior of that building, they were told we intended to pass the night with them; when they asked, who were coming behind of the party, and were answered an Albanian, a Christian. Vasily at

this moment entered the church, and confirmed the report, by crossing himself very devoutly. They then frankly confessed, that had they beheld this person before we had been let in, they would certainly not have opened their gates, especially as, seeing that we were not in the high-way, (*βασιλική στράτα*), they had some suspicions of us, and were afraid of being entrapped, as they had been a week before, to be the unwilling hosts of a very large party for many days: as it was, however, they accommodated us with a room in one of the corners of their quadrangular building, and were attentive and hospitable.

Agios Meletius, for so it is called, is placed on a green area half way up the sides of Cithæron, the only flat spot to be found in the mountain, which, both above and below the monastery, is a mass of vast precipices, shaded with dark forests of pine. A green vale of some extent, at the foot of the mountain, covered with flocks and herds belonging to the Monks, and the road to Megara, winding over the opposite hills to the south, are seen from this spot, but the surrounding woods shut out the view on every other side.

The building is larger than that on Mount Pendele, or any other monastery which we visited, but is of the same rude and massy construction, with only one iron door of entrance, and several casements, or rather loop-holes, in the upper parts of the wall, which serve the purpose of windows for the cells, and also of loop-holes, whence musquetry may be successfully used on an emergency. The Monks are supplied with guns and other arms, and unless taken by surprise, could never be forced to admit any body of men, however large. The experiment has frequently been tried by parties of Albanians, travelling from Thebes through the Megaris into the Morea, who have always been repulsed.

These stout saints should be in number fifty, but at present there are only ten resident caloyers, and five more superintending distant metochis. For the recruiting of their order, they have established a small school in the monastery, and ten or twelve boys are instructed in all the accomplishments which are necessary for their intended profession, that is, to read the ritual of the Greek church in a quick sing-song tone. These lads are well fed, clothed, and lodged by the Monks; and their parents have all the care and expence of their children taken at once off their hands, besides being sure that they will be comfortably established in this life, and secure of a bright reversion in the next world.

The church of St. Meletius has a dome, supported by pillars of red marble, generally supposed porphyry. Before the sanctuary are two octagonal pilasters, of the same material, and four smaller pillars of marble support the dome of the holy recess. The Monks, who before had had some dealings with Demetrius as a painter, consulted him, in my presence, about a scheme they had in view, of taking down these marble pillars, and supplying their place with four of wood. These, they observed, would better bear and display the gilding, with which they intended to adorn the whole interior of the building!!! The pillars are of a size that shows they must have been taken from some remains near the spot; and in a grove a little below the monastery there is a grotto and a bath, apparently ancient and perhaps belonging to some chapel sacred to one of the deities of Cithæron, from which the marbles may have been removed to the church of Meletius. There is a sepulchral inscription on a stone inserted in the wall on one side the church door.

It seems that the ancient, as well as the modern Greeks, were

fond of fixing their habitations in the highest accessible spots on the sides of their mountains, consulting at the same time their health and their security. The latter object has been particularly attended to by the Monks, who, at the same time that they have selected almost every beautiful spot, either in the valleys, or on the slopes of woody hills, for the site of their innumerable monasteries, have also fixed some of these holy retreats on the very peaks of the highest rocks, whither it does not appear how it was possible to convey materials for erecting their cells.

There is amongst the ranges of Mezzovo, or Pindus, at no great distance from a lian, called Kokouliotiko, the supposed site of Gonpli*, a high rock with nine summits, called Meteora, and on each of these peaks, which are in a cluster together, is a small monastery. Meteora being in the road leading from Ioannina to Triccala and Larissa, the Monks of these aerial habitations have contrived to secure themselves from all surprises, or unwelcome visitants, by cutting down those ridges of their rocks by which they first ascended them, and all the monasteries are now perfectly inaccessible. The Monks who leave the society for the sake of purchasing provisions, or on other necessary occasions, are let down from the summits of the mountain in baskets, to the highest landing-place, perhaps a hundred feet below, and, on their return, are drawn up into the monasteries by the same contrivance.

One may surely be at a loss to guess what charms life can have for a caloyer of Metcora, a prisoner on the ridge of a bare rock. Security is not acceptable on such conditions. Yet, from amongst

* Letter vi. p. 62.

the varieties of human conduct, we may collect other instances of voluntary privations equally unaccountable, and produced, independent of habit or constraint, by original eccentricity of mind. A Monk of St. Meletius, sitting with one or two others of his order in my cell, and taking a glass or two of rossoglio, which we usually carried with us in our canteen, confessed to me, that he never had in his life felt an inclination to change his place, and having from his childhood belonged to the monastery, had seldom wandered beyond its precincts: "For four years," said he, "I have not gone farther from the gate than the grotto in the grove, and perhaps another four years may pass before I go down into the plain. I am not fond of travelling, yet some of us prefer being abroad, and Hadji there has been to Jerusalem; for myself, I do not wish to remove from this spot, and would not go even to one of the farms of our monastery."

The Monk who spoke was one-and-twenty years of age, in the bloom of health. Hadji, or the saint who had made the pilgrimage, assured me, that the young man had spoken the truth, and added besides, that he was as ignorant as an infant, whispering something in my ear, which was a decisive proof of his innocence. The same pilgrim, a shrewd young fellow, seeing my surprise, continued to declare, that the propensity of this young Monk to remain for ever on the mountain, was singular, but not so singular as the bent and disposition of some others whom he had known. "There is," he added, "a caloyer of our monastery, who seldom speaks to any of us, and is never in his cell, except during a few hours in the night. The whole of his time is passed with our oxen, which he tends, and to which he has taken such a fancy, that he will suffer neither beast nor man, not even one of us, to

approach their pasture, but drives away the intruder with stones. He will not let any other herdsman assist him in attending the cattle, and our abbot humours his inclination, which every day grows more violent."

We have read of the Boskoi, or grazing saints, who once swarmed over the plains of Mesopotamia; but it does not appear that those fanatics lived with the herds like my monk of St. Meletius, or afforded quite so strange an example of the follies and madnesses liable to arise amongst members of a community, associated on principles contrary to common sense, and regulated according to a system in direct opposition to the general habits and nature of man.

LETTER XXX.

Route from St. Meletius to the Ruins of Plataea, at Cockli—Gifto-Castro—Ænoë—Pass of Cithæron—Parasopia—The Positions of the Armies at the Battle of Plataea—Doubts respecting the Numbers who fought against the Greeks—Route from St. Meletius to Megara—by Koundourri—Pass in the Mountains—Arrival at Megara—The Derveni Choria—The Town and Inhabitants of Megara—Return by Eleusis to Athens—General View of the District of Attica, and of the Peasants settled in the Villages.

EARLY in the morning of the 11th of February, the Monks, as they were requested, roused my party, presenting me at the same time with a small piece of consecrated bread, the remainder of what had been used for the mass which they had celebrated at the dawn of day. The baggage was left at the monastery, and the surgee and Vasily accompanied me on a visit to the ruins of Plataea, close to a village whose name is Cockli, on the other side, the north, of Cithæron.

Having with some difficulty descended the hills, we got into a long valley, called the plain of the Calivia of Koundouri, the name of a large village in the vicinity. This plain, which is partly a green pasture, and partly cultivated and divided into corn-fields and vineyards, extends westwards for perhaps eight or

nine miles; and near the extremity of it, under an amphitheatre of woody hills, is a village called Villa. It corresponds in every respect with the small territory which belonged anciently to Eleutheræ, and was attached first to Bœotia, but afterwards to Attica.

Travelling on in this valley to the west for two hours, we turned off into a pass between the hills, on the right, in order to cross the mountain Cithæron, and thus got into the line of road which was anciently the only route from Thebes to Megara. A path across the hills near Villa, to the south-west, was that leading directly from the isthmus, and the one by which the Lacedæmonian army marched from the Peloponesus, and penetrated through the Eleusinian territory into Attica.

Immediately on entering the pass, we saw, on a rocky brow to the right, the remains of an ancient fortress, consisting of five low towers, and a strong wall running a quarter of a mile, perhaps, round nearly the whole summit of the rock.

I cannot but suppose these to be the remains of *Ænoë*, the strong frontier town between Attica and Bœotia, which was besieged by the Spartan General in the first year of the Peloponnesian war*. There were two towns of this name in Attica; one belonging to the district Tetrapolis, near Marathon, of the tribe *Æantis*; the other, that which we saw, near Eleutheræ, and of the tribe *Hippothoontis*.

The ruins, I know not why, are now called *Gifto-Castro*, or the Gipsies' Tower. There are no traces of any houses within the circuit of the fortifications; but the towers and walls are remarkably entire, and convey a very correct notion of what, according to the system of Greek warfare, was the most

* *Οἰόν οὔσα ἐν μεθωρίοις τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Βεωτίας ἐστειχίστο, &c.*—*Thucyd. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 18.*

effectual method of fortifying a town. A wall built round the summit of a rock, would, it must seem, be the first kind of strong place invented, and the addition of towers would be the next improvement, and one with which the engineers of antiquity would be likely to be satisfied, as entirely sufficient for all the purposes of defence. The Spartans were considered as the most inexpert of all the Greeks, in the besieging of towns; and the army of Archidamus, though furnished with engines and other means of attack, failed to reduce this place; which, however, was no great proof of their want of skill; for CEnoë was by no means, as a late writer*, before referred to, asserts, a trifling fort, but one as well qualified to resist attack as could well be constructed. From the towers which remain, and which are square, it appears that these parts of the work were not raised at equal distances from each other, but at every point where the nature of the ground required an angle in the walls. They are not much higher than a man, and will not contain more than two persons standing upright.

A little farther up the pass, beyond the ruins of CEnoë, is a fountain erected by some benevolent Turk, who, according to usual practice, has recorded his generosity in golden letters on the stone above the spring: it is called Petröyracke. In twenty minutes after this, we left the road leading to Thebes towards the north-north-east, whose highest point was once called Τρεῖς Κεφαλαί, the Three Heads, and struck into a rough mountain track, continually ascending, to the north-west. We were half an hour in this direction

* De Pauw, sec. 8, tom. i. A circumstance which occurred after the battle of Plataæ, is a much stronger proof of the incapacity of the Spartan in this respect, which, indeed, was a part of their discipline. They were unable to force the wooden intrenchment of the Persian camp, until the Athenians came up to their assistance.

before we got to the top of this ridge of Cithæron, when we had at once a view of the plains of Bœotia. The minaret of one of the moscks of Thebes was visible, peeping above the low mounds to the south of that city: Zagari, or Helicon, was to the north-west, and Liakura, or Parnassus, was just appearing into the sky at the northern extremities of Helicon. The hills ranged onwards as far as the eye could reach to the west; the green plains of Plataea, the scene of the great battle that established the independence of Greece, were lying directly below, rather to the left of the Asopian country, the ancient Parasopia, and the mountain of Ilia. The city Erythræ, extended under the foot of the hills to the right. The river Asopus divided into two branches, forming, from a long island, once called Ocroë, opposite to Calivi, not half a mile in breadth, was seen winding through the middle of this large flat.

I shall endeavour to give you an account of the positions, with a reference to the battle*. Descending the hill for ten minutes, you have on your right a small village, Calivi, at the foot of the hills. This was the second position of the Greeks, who, marching from Erythræ along the roots of Cithæron, and passing Ilysiæ, into the Plataean territory†, placed themselves on that spot to prevent the Persians from penetrating into Attica or the Peloponesus, by the great road from Thebes through the pass of Τριῖς Κεφαλαί, which, just beyond Calivi, is seen, looking like the bed of a torrent, running through a chasm in the hills.

Calivi is one hour and a half from Plataea. Not far from the

* Mr. Barbié du Bocage's plan, in Anacharsis, of these positions, seems entirely wrong. He has put the pass of Τριῖς Κεφαλαί to the west, instead of to the east, of Plataea.

† Herod. Calliope, cap. 25.

village, half a mile below in the plain, near a solitary house, is a spring, with great probability the same which supplied the fountain Gargaphia, the very spot where the Greeks were encamped. About a mile to the north-west of the fountain, the two branches of the Asopus reunite. Sloping to the westward down the sides of the mountain, a little more than a mile beyond Calivi, you come to a rivulet flowing down a ravin; and on a hillock above, you see some large stones disposed into a square. It is impossible to doubt, but that the rivulet is the Moloïs, to which the Lacedemonians retired, at the same time that the Athenians passed into the plain towards the island Oeroc, and the confederates to the walls of Plataea, near the Temple of Juno: the stones on the hillock may be the remains of the chapel of the Eleusinian Ceres. This position is half a mile up the sides of Cithæron, on very uneven marshy ground. The whole force of the Persians crossing the Asopus and the plain near Gargaphia, ascended the roots of the mountain, and brought the Lacedemonians to action on the banks of the Moloïs. The Greek allies of the Persians went into the plain, and were there routed by the Athenians.

Continuing for another mile, still along the sides of the mountain, you arrive at a small remain, similar to that above the rivulet, and which may be the vestiges, either of the Temple of Juno Cithæronia, or the heroic monument of the Plataeans who were slain in the battle.

In less than half a mile beyond, but downwards towards the plain, you meet with the first remains, on this side, of the walls of Plataea. The path leads under these, and, passing a fountain, takes you round a kind of terrace, surrounded in many parts with the walls of the ancient city. The size of Plataea may be computed

exactly by what is left of these walls, whose circuit seems to have been about a mile. Very large stones, apparently part of the foundations of houses, are scattered upon the area of the terrace, but there are no marble remains. This terrace is directly under the highest summits of Cithæron, which in this spot impend in woody precipices over the site of the city. The ground above the ruins is very rugged and steep, and the pine-forests advance within a short distance of the plain. When we visited the place, the summits of the mountain were capped with clouds of snow, which formed a fine contrast with the dark woods beneath.

In a niche of the hills, to the west of the site of Plataea, is the village of Cockli, containing a few wretched huts. Beyond is a small plain, running west-south-west, bounded to the south by the range of Cithæron, and to the north by some low hills, separating it from the plain of Thespiæ*. This I should suppose to be the pass anciently called the Straits of Plataea, through which lay the road to Leuctra. Nearly opposite Cockli, there is a small bridge over one of the branches of the Asopus, a very insignificant stream. The land in the island Oeroe, near this bridge, is high and rugged, and the point where the river divides itself into two branches is not visible from Cockli.

Notwithstanding the circumstantial account, and the particular enumeration of the forces of the two nations engaged in the battle, given by Herodotus, no traveller who has seen the scene of action, which is to this day recognizable by most undoubted signs, can fail to suspect the Grecian historian of some exaggeration. The whole conflict must have taken place on a triangular space, bounded by the road from Thebes into the pass of Cithæron, five miles, the base of Cithæron three miles, and the road from Plataea to

* Wheler, book vi. p. 475.

Thebes, six miles. The Greeks were one hundred and ten thousand; the Persians, with their confederates, three hundred and fifty thousand. But the most severe part of the action, and in which, reckoning both Lacedemonians and Persians, nearly three hundred and fifty thousand troops were engaged, was fought on the ravin, in marshy steep ground amongst the hills, where, notwithstanding the account informs us that the cavalry of Mardonius were the most active, it seems difficult to believe that a single squadron of horse could have manœuvred.

From Gargaphia to the Molois is but little more than a mile, and, according to the historian, the whole of this immense body fought in less than that space, for Mardonius advanced into the hills to encounter Pausanias. I should imagine that such an extent of ground would not contain such numbers, although ranged in the deepest order of which the ancient tactics allowed; and the Persians did not advance in any order at all, but confusedly *. The fifty thousand allies of Mardonius and the Athenians might have fought in the plain between the Asopus and the foot of the hill, which, however, according to modern tactics, would not admit of even that number of troops to engage.

It does not appear that any part of the action, except the forcing the Persian camp, took place beyond the Asopus, so that not half of the space above mentioned was occupied by the troops of either party during the action. In short, it is impossible to reconcile the positions with the detailed account transmitted to us by the Greeks of this immortal victory: yet an ingenious antiquarian would do much towards such an object, and volumes of controversy might be produced on both sides of the question.

* Ουτε κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ κοσμηθέντες, ὅτε τάξι.—Herod. Call. cap. 59.

Lest it may appear sacrilege to entertain doubts which must diminish the lustre of Grecian heroism, I beg you to recollect, that even the more sober page of Latin history has been occasionally viewed with the eye of scepticism, particularly in Italy, on the scene of some of the exploits of the earlier Romans. Tome after tome has been ushered into the world on such disputed points, and one large quarto, the work of a learned antiquary, is occupied solely in treating of the Caudine Forks. The daring mendacity of the Grecian annals, became proverbial amongst the Romans, who supposed that this ingenious people owed much of their martial fame to their poets, rhetoricians, and historians, whose eulogies, and whose records, first of all, perhaps, only flattered their vanity, but by degrees appeared well-founded, and obtained every credit amongst a people who were interested in believing them to be just and impartial. The warriors of Italy, after some acquaintance with the merits of the Greeks, were willing to pay all respect to their artists, and to their writers; they were content to become their pupils; but having found their soldiers unable to check them for a moment in the career of victory; and, indeed, having beheld their most famous states previously enslaved by foreign tyrants, and the suppliants, rather than the antagonists of Rome, they could with difficulty entertain any exalted notion of their military prowess. The examples which the Roman youth were directed to study, by day and by night, were the writings, not the actions of the Greeks: yet, to the latest ages, the natives of this illustrious country considered their ancestors as affording models of the highest excellence, not only in the arts of peace, but of war, and as worthy of being ranked with those conquerors who had subdued the world. With what triumph does the great author of the *Parallels*

attribute the glory of Athens to the exploits of her heroes, rather than to the genius of her writers. "This it was," exclaims the exulting Chæronean, "that raised the state to glory, this raised her to greatness; for this, Pindar calls Athens the prop of Greece; not that she roused the Greeks by the tragedies of her Phrynichus and her Thespis, but that the sons of the Athenians first at Artemisium, (such is his expression), laid the splendid foundation of liberty; and at Salamis, at Mycale, at Plataea, having established in adamant security the freedom of Greece, transmitted it to the rest of mankind*."

The author of this panegyric is, however, obliged to confess, in another place†, that in his time, the whole of Greece could hardly furnish three thousand fighting men; a number that, according to ancient history, was once supplied by Megara alone.

There seems no way of accounting for the large armies brought into the field by the Greeks during their civil wars, except by supposing that every man capable of bearing arms was occasionally a soldier. By what other means could the Thebans arm seventy thousand troops to fight the Lacedæmonians? When Justin‡ lays down the number of soldiers which could be arrayed

* Ταῦτα τὴν πόλιν ᾠγειρεν εἰς δόξαν, ταῦτα εἰς μέγεθος, ἐν τοῖσι Πίνδαρος εἰς μᾶλλον τῆς Ἑλλάδος προσεῖπε τὰς Ἀθηναίους, οὐχ ὅτι ταῖς Φρυνικαῖς τραγωδίαις καὶ Θεσπιδόχοις ὠρῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλ' ὅτι πρῶτον (ὡς φησὶν αὐτός) ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἐβάλοντο φαεινὴν κρηπὶν ἐλευθερίας, ἐπὶ τε Σαλαμῖνι καὶ Μυκαλῇ καὶ Πλαταίαις ὥσπερ ἀδαμαντῖνοι στηριζάντες ἐλευθερίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος παρεδούσαν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις*. —Plut. ποτερον Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόλεμον. κ. τ. λ. Reiske edit. vol. vii. p. 379.

† Essay on the Failure of the Oracles.

‡ Lib. ix. cap. 5.

* The words quoted are not in that part of Pindar's works which remain.

in the time of Philip of Macedon, by the whole Grecian confederacy, without reckoning Laconia, at two hundred thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry, he must, as Mr. Hume, in the essay before quoted, has observed, be understood to allude to all those who could bear arms. In truth, the heavy armed were, properly speaking, the only regular soldiers, and the light troops, as it appears from the most ancient details of battles, were considered as attendants upon the great effective force.

In the battle of Plataea there were seven helots, with the requisite accoutrements attached to every Spartan*, and about one light-armed soldier to each individual of the other troops, making in the whole sixty-nine thousand five hundred of this kind of force; many more than half of the whole confederate army. Thus we may feel inclined to credit the statement of the numbers of the Greek forces said to be engaged in their famous battles, but must be allowed to doubt a little with respect to the myriads of the Barbarians, which, on the evidence of their own writers, they are generally believed to have overthrown.

The different amounts of the Persian army who fought at Marathon, as transmitted to us by various authorities, are of themselves sufficient to justify such an incredulity. But I will conclude these hints, which were suggested by a view of the Plataean plains, and return to the monastery of St. Meletius.

The day after my visit to the ruins of Plataea, we set out for Megara, going first down the mountain, through thick woods of evergreens into the plain. Crossing this, we got into the public road leading from Thebes to Athens, Megara, and the Morea,

* Herod. Call. cap. 28 et 29.

and in an hour came to where a path branched off to the left, towards the first of those places, through Eleusis. In half an hour from this point, going over low, bare hills, we passed Koundouri, a considerable village on the top and sides of a hillock under a mountain to the south-west, and not shaded by a single tree. Thence we began to ascend, and travelled through pine-forests for an hour and a half, until we had gained the brow of the mountain.

Looking back from this spot, we had a view of the monastery of St. Meletius, and found we had gone in a south-south-westerly direction. Here the road divides, one branch of it to the right, towards the Isthmus, across the high mountains called the Der-veni, the other more to the south-west, to Megara. We descended a winding path, and now and then, through openings in the woods, caught a view of the Athenian plain and Mount Pentelicus to the left in the distance, and the country about Eleusis nearer to us in the same quarter.

In a little time we passed one of the stations of the guard which is kept throughout the mountains bordering on the Isthmus. Eight or ten stout young men were smoking in a hut made of green branches; one of them brought us a jug of water, the usual present, and another, slinging his gun across his shoulder, was preparing to attend us, but was dismissed with a small piece of money by Vassily, who declared we had no occasion for his services, there being no robbers in all the district.

This guard was just at the mouth of a very narrow pass between two perpendicular rocks, one of which, on the right hand, displayed a huge rent, like a long cavern, in its side. When we entered the pass, we had travelled four hours from the monastery,

and we then went directly south-west, still amongst woods of ever-greens and fragrant shrubs, with occasional glimpses of the sea and the castle of Megara. Issuing in about an hour more from the hills and forests, we came at last upon an open cultivated plain, and turning westward, arrived in another hour at the town of Megara, where we took up our lodging for the night.

Megara contains a thousand houses, only six hundred of which are inhabited, rather of a mean construction, many of them being built of mud, and all of them having low flat roofs. It is situated on two narrow ridges of a low eminence; on the top of that to the west, on which the principal number of houses stand, is a large square tower, and on the other, a windmill. The surrounding plain is extensive, twenty miles perhaps in circumference, being bounded to the south by the line of coast running west from the port once named Nisæa, now Dodeca ~~Ecclesia~~is, (which is small, and of the shape of a horse-shoe, two miles from the city), to the north by a long chain of circling mountains, now the Long Mountains, Macriplayi, branching off north-westward from the hills of Kerata towards the western extremities of Cithæron and the bay of Livadostro, and on the south-west by a very high range of hills, resting on the extremities of the northern mountains, formerly Gerania, and now called Derveni Vouni, or the Mountain of the Guard. The declivities of the hills named Kerata, or the Horns, are the north-eastern and eastern boundary of the plain. Near the port is a hillock, with a tower on the top of it, the site of the citadel of Nisæa; and there is a small green island at the mouth of the harbour, the Minoa of the ancients.

The whole of the Megaris is now frequently called Derveni, from a singular policy of the Turks, who have constituted all the

population of this mountainous district, inhabiting seven towns, called Derveni Choria, of which Megara is the largest, and Koundouri the next in size, into an armed guard, to prevent the egress of any unpermitted persons from the Morea through the Isthmus. There is in the road through the mountains a perpetual guard, but every cottage and all the solitary monasteries are supplied with guns, and on the least alarm, which is easily communicated by smokes and fires on the summits of the hills, the whole of the Megaris, from the Isthmus to the passes of Cithæron, is in a state of defence.

About forty years ago, a large body of six or seven thousand Albanians, who had been called in to drive the Russians from the Morea, endeavoured to retire with their plunder, against the orders of the Pasha of Tripolizza. The alarm was given to the Derveniotes, so they are called, and every path and outlet being instantly occupied by the Greek peasants, who were happy enough to be employed against Albanians and Turks, very few of the fugitives escaped; many were killed by the Monks of St. Metetius, endeavouring to fly through the unfrequented tracks of Cithæron between the two roads from Thebes to Athens.

Ten years ago a similar attempt was made by a hundred and fifty Albanian Turks, who were dissatisfied with the pay of the Pasha of the Morea, and not one of them escaped, ten being killed, and the remainder sent in chains to Tripolizza.

This institution has succeeded completely; and such is the vigilance, courage, and honesty of these Greeks, that a snuff-box lost in their mountains would be probably very soon recovered. The Derveniotes seem to be a superior race to any other of the Greek peasantry; the putting arms into their hands, and taking

away almost all the controul of their masters from before their eyes, (for they are under the command of the Capudan Pasha, or High Admiral, and have only one Turk amongst them, called the Derven-Aga), have given them the erect gait and air of freemen. The greater part of them are sprung from Albanian settlers, but all are acquainted with the Romaic language, and by a long establishment in the country, have adopted all the feeling and prejudices of the Greeks. The decided superiority which their knowledge of the country must always, and has given them over any opponents, has naturally raised their notions of their own prowess to a great height, and they speak of the ferocious Turk and the martial Albanian with contempt. Although at present in the service of the Porte, and exempted from part of the burdens to which the Greeks are subject, paying only one hundred paras a man for haratch, or capitation tax, yet they complain of being obliged to give quarters to the people in the service of the Pashas of the Morea, when passing through their country; and it is easy to see that the Derveniotes would be a most formidable instrument in the hands of any power who might attempt to revolutionize European Turkey. Their whole number, that is, all those amongst them capable of carrying arms, was stated to me, though I believe somewhat loosely, at three thousand; a body certainly sufficient to prevent the Morea from affording, or receiving, any supplies, in case of a general insurrection of the Greeks. Besides, the Derveni Choria, two or three of the villages of Attica are considered as forming part of the guard; this is the case with Casha, and the Albanian peasantry of that district are reckoned more courageous and spirited than those of other parts of the country.

Megara retains no vestiges of its ancient importance, except some pieces of wall, just visible above the surface of the earth at the back of the hills; yet many sepulchral and other inscriptions, and some fragments of carved marbles, are to be seen in the walls of the church and of some of the houses. All the inscriptions have been copied, and four of them taken down by Wheler are also given in Meletius, and a collation of the two authorities shows the incorrectness of the Romaïc geographer*. Three headless statues of females are in possession of a priest, who removed them from a ruin on the road between the town and the port, where they were seen by an English traveller in 1738. Pieces of marble are found in such quantity amongst the rubbish, particularly on the hill of the tower, that the women of Megara, many of them, grind their corn on a flat slab of it, making use of a large roller of the same material to crush the grains and reduce them to flour.

In the flat below the eminence on the north side of it, is a fountain, with some fragments of marble near it, half buried in the earth. This spring is conjectured to have been within the circuit of the ancient city, and sacred to the nymphs called Sithnides. The modern well has lately been filled up by the male inhabitants, who accuse the water of having some properties productive of an inclination to incontinence in their wives and daughters. The females of Megara seem therefore to be rather of a mixed reputation, which was, if I recollect right, the character of the ancient Greek ladies of this town.

* Sabina, the wife of Hadrian, is, in Meletius, Σαβελίνα, and the word Παμφυλοι, in one of the dedicatory inscriptions, which gave rise to the doubts of Wheler, is changed for Παμφίλος in the Geography.

This place, formerly almost deserted on account of the frequent incursions of pirates, and burnt by the Venetians in 1687, appears for several years to have been increasing in size. In 1738 there were only a hundred houses, and Chandler talks of it as a miserable village. The richness of the soil in the surrounding plain abounding in vineyards and cotton grounds, but chiefly with large tracks of corn land, has, however, drawn together an increase of population; and the vacant houses at Megara will, it is probable, be gradually occupied by fresh inhabitants.

We staid but one night at Megara, and then left it to return by Eleusis to Athens; a short ride of a few hours if performed without baggage-horses, and, according to the longest computation, only twenty-seven miles in length: I was only five hours on the journey, leaving the attendants behind as soon as we passed Eleusis.—The Athenian generals, who were sworn to invade the territories of Megara twice a year, bound themselves to no very arduous or protracted enterprise, but one which, it seems, might be performed any day betwixt the hour of breakfast and dinner.

The extreme diminutiveness of Greece, a fact so often alluded to, may make some readers suspect that they, and the rest of the world, have fixed their admiration upon a series of petty and insignificant actions, scarcely worthy of a detail, or of finding a place amongst the histories of empires; but others will only feel an increase of esteem and respect for a people, whose transcendant genius and virtue could give an interest and importance to events transacted upon so inconsiderable a spot of earth. Greece Proper scarcely contained more space than the kingdom of Naples occupied formerly on the continent of Italy, and Sicily is consi-

dered as large as Peloponesus*. Alcibiades might well be at a loss to find, not only Attica, but even Greece itself; in a map of the world; yet the history of mankind refers for many ages to little else than the affairs of this indiscernible portion of the globe, and what is said of the Barbarians, is generally introduced only to complete and illustrate the Grecian annals. Thus, in the early Greek writers, we find not a single mention of the Romans; a silence that has had the effect with many young students, of inducing them to believe, that the history of the former nation begins about where the most important part of that of the latter terminates; it does not at first enter into their heads, that any of the great men of the two countries were cotemporaries, and the exploits of Camillus and Epaminondas are not supposed to have been performed in the same age. They are, to be sure, at once set right by a view of the Chronological Chart; but old impressions are only corrected, not altogether effaced, and are apt, in spite of conviction, to regain at times their former influence.

The exclusive attention of the more ancient Greek authors to the antiquities of their own nation, and their general inattention to and ignorance of every thing relative to other countries not immediately connected with themselves, afforded the antagonist of Apion a good deal of room to display his ingenious acrimony. It is not without some triumph that Josephus cites the historian Ephorus, as having supposed Spain to be a single city†.

Even after the Romans had forced this people to acknowledge that they were not the only warriors in the world, and had performed exploits which they might condescend to record with an Hel-

* D'Anville's Geog. article Greece.

† Josephus, book i. in answer to Apion.

lenic pen, they still appear to have thought that they had a just claim to a monopoly of all the wit and learning of mankind. The influence their arms had been unable to obtain, was established by their language, "whose empire was spread from the Adriatic to the Euphrates." They seem to pay no attention to the daily incense offered them by their conquerors and pupils. "There is not, I believe," says the author whose words I have quoted above, "from Dionysius to Libanius, a single Greek critic who mentions Virgil or Horace; they seem ignorant that the Romans had any good writers*."

I will now give our route from Megara towards Athens, as far as Eleusis. The road was, for the first hour and a half, towards the south-east, inclining to the shore, chiefly through low woods of evergreens; it then took us more to the eastward, and wound under hills close to the water, still leading through green forests. The hills are ranges of the mountain Kerata, and the two tops are visible at a distance to the north-east. In another hour and a half the path passes round a bay, where there is a solitary cottage and a boat-shed. From this place the tower above Eleusis is in sight, and the tongue of land forming the south-western extremity of the bay of Eleusis, is seen stretching before you into the sea: Salamis appears close to this point, and closing up the wide mouth of the bay. From this spot travellers ascend the extremities of the mountain Kerata, and passing at the back (the west) of the tower of Eleusis, come, in an hour, into part of the plain of Eleusis, at the foot of the mountain.

* Decline and Fall, vol. ii. p. 48.

From the back of the tower the path leads through a green valley, on a slope between low hills, until it arrives in the open country. A spring is still to be seen in this valley; this is the Flowery Well where Ceres reposed, and the valley is the Rharian plain. The path to Athens then strikes off over the Thriasian plain, leaving the village of Eleusis to the right, and passing through the ruins of the aqueduct.

Were it not for the conjectures of former travellers, and the power put into every one's hands, who is in possession of a Pausanias, of indulging in the same pleasing speculations, travelling in modern Greece would be an irksome and unsatisfactory labour.

The weather, from my departure on the 8th to my return on the 13th of February, had been very favourable; though, according to report, there had been a violent storm of rain at Athens on the 10th. The 14th was very hot, and the sky quite clear; the 15th seemed intolerably sultry, and a few dark vapours were seen collecting round the brows of the mountains; the next day was equally hot, and the tops of Parnes were enveloped in heavy motionless clouds. At half after eleven at night, as I was writing the substance of this letter in our little sitting-room at Athens, and my fellow-traveller, better employed, was sitting opposite to me, a noise, like the rushing of a torrent, suddenly roused our attention: the dead stillness of the night rendered every sound more unexpected and more distinct; the branches of the lemon-trees in the court-yard shook "without a wind;" and instantly afterwards the door of our chamber swung open, and the whole building began to totter. At this moment one of the servants rushed into the room, and exclaimed, that the house was falling! The shaking, however, was but gentle.

and did not last more than two seconds, having been more alarming in its approach than dangerous in its consequences. We afterwards learnt that this earthquake had thrown down several hundred houses at Canéa in Candia, and we ourselves saw some effects of its violence amongst the ruins of Alexandria Troas.

I have now done my best to make you acquainted with modern Attica, as well as with the country immediately adjacent; and in this review I have made mention of all the small towns, together with the number of houses they are supposed to contain, in order to furnish some clue towards computing the present population of the country.

Besides the villages before enumerated, the number of whose habitations, taken altogether, do not quite amount to two thousand, it should be understood, that there are, perhaps, as many as fifty hamlets of ten, twenty, and thirty cottages, which, together with the monasteries, may add between seven and eight hundred houses to the former number. According to this computation, Athens and modern Attica may be supposed to contain about twenty-five thousand five hundred inhabitants of all ages and sexes.

The ancient territory consisted of two hundred and fifty square miles; but the district now belonging to the city is somewhat smaller, as it is bounded to the north by Brilessus, and not by the Asopus, and as the valley before described, once attached to Eleutheræ, is now part of the Derveni-Choria. Yet this deduction from the extent is not considerable enough to be even mentioned in comparing the present and ancient population, which, according to the most moderate reckoning, was at least two hundred and eighty-four thousand: Athenæus, indeed, in his *Deip-*

nosophist, has put down the slaves alone at four hundred thousand; a number which, as it may be supposed to include all those who were found in Attica, and who worked the triremes and merchant vessels of the republic, may not appear such an enormous exaggeration, as it has been alleged to be by our philosophical historian*. When Mr. Hume conjectured that a cypher had been accidentally added to the original sum, he must, if he spoke literally, have not reflected at the moment, that the modern representations of numbers are not found in the text of Greek books†. It is not impossible, however, that *forty* may have been written instead of *four* myriads.

Nearly all the villages of Attica are under the subjection of the Waiwode of Athens, and contribute to his revenue. The only exceptions are Menithi, half of which furnishes a tax for the maintenance of a certain number of spahis, or cavalry soldiers, for the service of the Imperial armies; Charootika, which belongs to a mosck at Constantinople; and Spatha, which is part of the portion of one of the Sultanas.

The peasants living in each of these small towns, are, as before mentioned, a distinct race from the Greeks, being all occupied in cultivating the ground, tending the flocks, collecting the gall-nut, and felling the timber in the mountains. They are of a hardy constitution, and a robust make, and patient both of hunger and fatigue; their manners are extremely simple; and being con-

* Essay on the Populousness of Ancient Nations.

† See Note E. c. to vol. ii. of Brongham's Colonial Policy, where this observation is made, in a comment on Hume, the general argument of which I have been unable entirely to understand—but, in such cases, the fault may be on the side of the writer or of the reader.

tent with their own cottages, like Virgil's shepherd, they consider the city of the Faithful itself by no means superior to their own country town.

A peasant of Casha, returning from Constantinople, was overheard to complain to a friend—"What a place is that city! I wanted to get some of our sandals and shoe-thongs there, and they had none; and as for faggots, charcoal, and pitch, our town has ten times as much!"—There is in some parts of their behaviour a singularity quite ludicrous in the eyes of a stranger. You shall have one scene from the life, although the humour is lost without printing the manner as well as the conversation of the party. A Greek, on his way to Athens, overtakes a peasant driving his little horse loaded with fire-wood. "How much do you ask for those faggots?" says he. "Twenty paras."—"I'll give you fifteen." The man never looks up, but, addressing himself to his beast, says, "It won't do, it won't do; go on."—"Seventeen paras, then." "Heigh! heigh!" says the other to his horse, "get on, get on."—"Eighteen paras." "Turn round!" exclaims the fellow, still speaking to the beast, "they shall go for nineteen." The Greek nods, and the other drives his poney along with him to his house.

Their common dress is of white woollen, like that of the labouring Greeks, but they have habits for their festivals of extreme magnificence, and of a fashion altogether antique in many respects, even more so than that of the Albanians. The upper part of their dress exactly resembles a breast-plate, not being buttoned before, but fastened with strings behind. The shawl, which they twist round their heads, is always variegated, and of the brightest hues, and the prevailing colour of their jackets is a dark red. The

clothing of the women, who generally are barefoot, and are as enured to labour as the men, is very homely and grotesque; consisting of a long shift, a thick girdle wrapped several times round the waist, a short straight-cut woollen jacket, and a coarse white shawl, like a towel, with the corners hanging down before and behind, on the head. They are carried to be married on horse-back, covered with a long veil, and with a child placed astride before them.—The whole nation are of the Greek church, and many of them enter into the religious houses, and become ca-loyers.

The language of these peasants is a dialect of that spoken by the Albanians of Epirus; and as I was not aware, during my stay in Attica, of the fact mentioned by Wheler, that they call themselves Vlachi, I saw no reason for supposing them emigrated Wallachians, and descendants of those Roman colonists of Dacia, abandoned by Aurelian, who being swept away into Scythia by the retreating hosts of either Huns, Avares, Magiars, or Bulgarians, were carried back, after the revolution of centuries, by the returning wave of barbarian inundation, into their own country. It does not seem a consequence, that the name Vlachi should decide them to be Wallachians; for Valachi, or Vlachi, is a denomination applied by the Greeks to the other Scythian settlers. Thus the people inhabiting the mountains between the Drave and the Save are called Morlachi, or Mauro-Vlachi; and yet their language partakes in nothing with that of the Wallachians.

Since the last allusion which is to be found in these Letters to the disputed point concerning the real origin of the peasants of Attica, I have had the opportunity of consulting that memoir in the thirtieth volume of the Academy of Inscriptions, and the

Essay of Mr. D'Anville's (Etats formés après la chute de l'Empire Romain), which Mr. De Pauw recommends as decisive of the ignorance of those who have called this people Albanians; yet in neither of these works is there a word respecting the peasantry of this part of Greece, except this single quotation from Wheler—"Wheler, dans la seconde partie de son voyage dit avoir rencontré sur le chemin de Thèbes à Athènes et vers le Mont Parnès qui sépare la Béotie de l'Attique, l'habitation d'un peuple qui se donne le nom de Vlaki*."

Wheler's words are as follows: "After this we began again to ascend; and at last went up a rocky hill, by a very bad way, until about noon we got to the top of it, to a village called Vlachi, *which is the name the Albanese call themselves by in their own language*†. If the English traveller be correct, not these villagers only near Mount Parnes, as Mr. D'Anville has it, but all the Albanians, call themselves Vlachi; and the quotation proves nothing at all, except, indeed, that Wheler himself evidently supposed the people in question to be Albanese. The mountaineers of Epirus do, indeed, consider these peasants as by no means of the same race with themselves, although they call them Albanians, and converse with them with facility in their own language. Had we penetrated high enough, we might have determined whether they actually belong to the people dispersed over the northern boundaries of Greece.

The country inhabited by the southern Valachi, properly so called, is composed of the confines of Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus; comprehending Edessa, Castoria, as well as Larissa,

* Vol. xxx. p. 251, Acad. Inscrip.

† Wheler, book iv. p. 333.

Pharsalia, Demetrias, in the low grounds of Thessaly, and the eastern declivities of Pindus, where the people are by the Greeks named Cuzzo Vlachi, or Lame Vlachi.

The Scythian nation, to whom they were attached, and by whose name they were a long time known, were the Patzinaces or Patzinacites, most probably alluded to by Strabo as the Peucini, who, inhabiting the mouths of the Danube in the reign of Augustus, were found in that of Constantine Porphyrogenitus on the banks of the Volga, whence being driven by the Uzes, they displaced the Magiars, or Oriental Turks, from the vicinity of the Etel-Cusu, or lesser Volga, and afterwards spread themselves along the north side of the Danube. In the reign of Constantine Monomachus, about the middle of the eleventh century, they passed this river, and penetrated into Bulgaria and Thrace; where, in 1123, they were routed in a great battle by John, son of Alexius Comnenus, and a multitude of them were forcibly settled in the western province of the empire before described, which, a short time afterwards, was known by the name of Moglœna, and Megalo-Vlachi. They differ in no point from the other Scythian settlers, and these shepherds, emigrated from the plains of Tartary, are discovered by their language alone to be of Roman origin, and descended from ancestors, who may be traced through a succession of adventures as singular as any to be found in the history of mankind*.

* “*Nos sumus de sanguine Romano,*” is, in the language of Vlakhia, “*noi sentem de sangue Rumena.*” Ioannitius, who reigned about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and is called by Villehardouin, *Imperator Bulgarorum et Blacorum*, is reminded, in a letter to him by Pope Innocent III. of his Roman origin; and it appears, that the transplanted Romans of Dacia were

distinguished at first amongst the Scythians, by the name of Vlakes, which may have referred to their language, as, by a curious coincidence, the Hungarians, Polanders, Croatians, and Servians, give, at this time, the Romans and the Italians, whose dialect is thought by them to be nearly approaching to the Latin, the denomination of Vlakes.

There is a country, to the north of the Caspian Sea, in Tartary, called by the Tartars Ilak, which is the same as Blac, (for that people cannot pronounce the letter B), and is named by Roger Bacon, Great Blacia. Both Wallachia and Moldavia, as well as part of Transylvania, are inhabited by the same people. Moldavia is known to the Turks by the appellation of Kara Iflak, and to the Greeks as Mavra-Vlachia; signifying in both tongues Black Vlachia. Mr. D'Anville has thought that he can discover something like the name of the Scythian Patzinaces, or Pyeczinigi, as they are called by Lieutprand, in *Ἐξαρχος Πλαγηνων*, the present title of the Metropolitan of Wallachia. See “*Sur les Peuples qui habitent aujourd’hui la Dace de Trajan*,” in the thirtieth volume of the Academy of Inscriptions, p. 237.

The following Note refers to the words, “Athenæus, in his *Deipnosophist*,” in page 487, of this Letter, and was omitted by mistake in putting to the press.

Κτησικλῆς δ' ἐν τρίτῃ χρονικῶν (τῇ πέντε) καὶ δεκάτῃ πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν, φησὶν, Οὐλυμπιάδι Αἰθήνησιν ἔξετασμένον γινέσθαι ὑπὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ ἑυρεθῆναι Αἰθηναίους μὲν δισμυρίους πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις, μετέκους δὲ μυρίους, οἰκετῶν δὲ μυριάδας τεσσαράκοντα.—*Deipnos. lib. vi. cap. 103, edit. Schweighæusar, p. 543, vol. ii.*

In a subsequent sentence, Athenæus proceeds to inform us, that Aristotle, in his *Polity* of the *Ægineans*, says the slaves of those islanders amounted to four hundred and seventy thousand.

LETTER XXXI.

Shape and Make of the Modern Greeks—The Women—Their want of Beauty—Painting—Dress of the Men—and of the Women—Their Manners—A Betrothing—A Marriage—their Dance—Songs, &c.—Genius—Morals—Superstitions—The Evil Eye—Conformity of Practice between Greeks and Turks—Manners of the Men—Influence of Money—Behaviour to Inferiors—Ostentation—Princes of the Fanal—Waiwodes of Moldavia and Wallachia—Codja-bashees.

TRAVEL-Writers are in one respect the very reverse of Prophets, for whatever honour they gain is in their own country. In the regions, and amongst the people whom they profess to describe, not only their errors, but their partialities, and the cause of them, their want of attention and assiduity, their blind credulity, and the weakness of the authorities on which they have confided, are too well known to allow them the enjoyment of any great reputation. Whilst they are satisfied with tracing their routes, and narrating their adventures, they may write without fear of contradiction; but when they quit that safe track, to launch into general description or disquisition, they must prepare to be repeatedly accused, and, indeed, not unfrequently convicted, of error, and more especially by those who have made the same

journey with themselves. Notwithstanding, however, this discernment of difficulties, which I may not be at all qualified to encounter, and although I shall, by such a plan, be obliged to make use of some observations suggested in other parts of the Levant, both before and after our visit to Athens, it is my intention to choose this place for saying as much of the general character and customs of the Greeks, as my short residence in the country enabled me to collect.

It cannot appear at all surprising, that in their habits of life the modern Greeks should very much resemble the picture that has been transmitted to us of the ancient illustrious inhabitants of their country. Living on the fruits of the same soil, and under the same climate, apparently not changed since the earliest ages, it would be strange if their physical constitutions, and in some measure their tempers, were not very similar to those of the great people whom we call their ancestors; and, in fact, I take their bodily appearance, their dress, their diet, and, as I said before, their tempers, to differ but little from those of the ancient Greeks.

There is a national likeness observable in all the Greeks, though, on the whole, the islanders are darker, and of a stronger make than those on the main-land. Their faces are just such as served for models to the ancient sculptors, and their young men in particular, are of that perfect beauty, which we should perhaps consider too soft and effeminate in those of that age in our more northern climate. Their eyes are large and dark, from which circumstance *Mavromati*, or *Black-eyes*, is a very common surname: their eyebrows are arched; their complexions are rather brown, but quite clear; and their cheeks and lips are tinged with a bright vermilion. The oval of their faces is regular, and all their features in perfect pro-

portion, except that their ears are rather larger than ordinary: their hair is dark and long, but sometimes quite bushy, and, as they shave off all the hair on the fore-part of the crown and the side of the face, not at all becoming: some of the better sort cut off all their hair, except a few locks twisted into a knot on the top of the head. On their upper lips they wear a thin long mustachio, which they are at some pains to keep quite black. Beards are worn only by the clergy and the Archontes Presbuteroi, or Codja-hashees, and other men of authority. Their necks are long, but broad and firmly set, their chests wide and expanded, their shoulders strong, but round the waist they are rather slender. Their legs are perhaps larger than those of people accustomed to tighter garments, but are strong and well made. Their stature is above the middling size, and their make muscular but not brawny, round and well filled out but not inclined to corpulency.

Both the face and the form of the women are very inferior to those of the men. Though they have the same kind of features, their eyes are too languid, and their complexions too pale, and, even from the age of twelve, they have a flaccidity and looseness of person which is far from agreeable. They are generally below the height which we are accustomed to think becoming in a female, and when a little advanced in life, between twenty-five and thirty years of age, are commonly rather fat and unwieldy.

That there are no exceptions to this general character, I do not, of course, mean to advance; but that I did not myself see any very pretty Greek woman during my tour, I can safely assert. The females of the better sort, however, do not at all neglect the care of their charms, but make use of washes and paints to improve the lustre of their complexions: they have even

a curious form of prayer which deprecates the injurious tanning of the March suns. They colour the inside of their eye-lashes, some with a mixture of antimony and oil, called in Turkish, *surmèh*; others with the soot made of the smoke from the gum of *Labdanum*, and they throw a powder in the corners of the eye to add to its brilliancy. The white paint used by them is made of powdered cowries, or small shells, and lemon-juice; the red, from the roots of the wild lily, washed four or five times, and then dried, and preserved in close pots. The powder is itself white, but when rubbed with the hand into the cheek, gives a vermilion tinge which does not wash out, and is thought not to injure the skin. This must be owned a good exchange for the thick coat of white-lead which covered both the face and bosom of the Athenian ladies of old.

The effect of this painting is not, as far as I saw, at all agreeable, though the Greek ladies themselves must think it very imposing, for on the most important ceremonies, such as betrothing, and marrying, the bride is daubed with thick coats of colours, laid on without any attempt to resemble nature. Occasionally also, but more particularly at Constantinople, they wear patches; a custom, if not derived from ancient authorities, brought, I suppose, from Christendom.

Of all the paradoxes of Mr. De Pauw, that which respects the ancient Greek females seems to me the best founded. If the present women, particularly of Athens, are at all to be considered the representatives of those of former times, their appearance will not make any one entertain an exalted notion of the beauty of the Greek ladies of antiquity. I am inclined with that author, also to attribute the astonishing influence of the Greek courtezans, and what he calls depravation of instinct, partly to the same cause. Had

the women generally been beautiful, the whole of Greece, young and old, soldiers, orators, and philosophers, would not have been prostrate at the feet of Aspasia or Laïs, Phryne or Pythonice, nor have fallen so entirely, perhaps, into the other more prevailing enormity. Such of the women as I have seen from the islands of the Archipelago, with the exception of the Sciotes, are more plain than those on the main-land.

An author* of Observations on the Levant, thinks that the Venetians and Turks have adulterated the Grecian blood: but if that were the case, the degeneracy would be seen in the males, as well as in the females; which is far from being the case. After all, the point is a matter of taste, and you perhaps might find those sufficiently handsome, whom I have been unable to admire. I beg to mention, that in this part of my detail I have in my contemplation the Greeks of the main-land, and particularly the Athenians, in whose town we resided longer than in any other part of Turkey.

The dress of the Greeks is not at the first sight to be much distinguished from that of the Turks, nor is there any difference in the habit of those in power, except that, instead of the turban, the head is covered with an immense calpac. A cotton shirt, made like a woman's chemise, cotton drawers, a vest and jacket of silk or stuff, a pair of large loose brogues, or trowsers, drawn up a little above the ankle, and a short sock, make the inner part of the dress: the part of the garment next added is a long broad shawl, often highly worked, and very expensive, wrapped in wide folds round the loins. In one corner of this girdle the poorer

* Il paroît que les Vénétiens et les Turcs ont dénaturé ce beau sang par toute la Grèce.—Reidesel, Voyage au Levant, chap. iii. p. 250.

people, especially in travelling, both Turks and Greeks, conceal their money, and then wind the shawl round them. A common fellow in Turkey, might as properly as the soldier in Horace, talk of the loss of his zone as of that of his money; but the better sort of people have adopted the use of purses, which, together with their handkerchiefs, watches, and snuff-boxes, they carry in the bosom, between the folds of their vests. It is a sign of importance much affected by them, to have this part of their garments distended to a great size, so as to appear full, not only of trinkets, but papers. The gown with loose sleeves covers the other part of the dress, and this, when in the presence of a Pasha, or other great man, they wrap modestly about them, concealing their hands, joined below the waist, in the sleeves, and resting their chins on their bosoms. The rich have many changes of gowns, some of stuff and satin for the summer, and others of cloth for the winter, both trimmed and partially lined with ermine or furs, of which the dark are the most precious. The Codja-bashee of Vostizza, who affected magnificence, changed his pelisse when he went out to ride. The privileged Greeks may put on robes of any dye except green, the favourite colour of Mahomet, and that now worn by his supposed descendants, the Emirs. They have liberty, as before related, to wear slippers or quarter-boots of yellow morocco.

The common people have their brogues descending but a little below their knees, with bare legs, and a slipper pointed and turned up at the toe. If they have a gown, they seldom use it: the sailors have nothing but a short jacket. On their heads they wear in the summer the little red skull-cap of the Albanians, to which, in the winter, some of them add a coarse white, or dark-striped shawl, tied round like a small turban.

Of the dress of the females there is an annexed specimen. It varies not materially from the Turkish, of which there is so exact an account in my Lady M. W. Montague's Letters. The annexed

drawing represents a Constantinopolitan lady, and will appear to approach very nearly to the Frank dress, which is very much the case, not only at the capital, but in every town where any strangers have fixed their residence. The vest fits quite close to the bosom, but becomes larger and wider a little below the waist. The gown, which is sometimes made of fine flowered silk, flows off loosely behind, and the sleeves of it, which widen and are slit towards the waist, are made much longer than the arm, and are turned back. There is sometimes a ribbon, or other girdle, under the bosom, but the zone, a rich shawl, embroidered with gold and flowers, is nevertheless worn, loosely resting on the hips, and either tied in a spreading knot, or fastened before with a large plate, ornamented with false or real jewels.

The female zones do not, like those of the men, wrap many times round the body, but only once, and are put for ornament, not use, as they do not bind or support any part of the dress. On account of this particularity it may be observed, that when Diana is called *bis cincta*, she is meant to be represented not (as some have rendered the words) with two zones, but with a *twice-wrapped* girdle, which was a very unusual precaution*. The double cincture is found in figures of Amazons, and in other ancient statues where the lower one is omitted, the fold and compression of the garments still remain: but the band of the breast (Sophocles calls it *μαστων περιών*) is not to be confounded with the low zone, which, from the days of Homer, was always the characteristic of the Grecian female†.

* *Nec bis cincta Diana placet, nec nuda Cythere,*

Illa voluptatis nil habet hæc nimium.

Auson. Epig. 39. See De Guys. lett. ix.

+ Mr. Forsyth, in page 321 of his *Remarks on Antiquities, &c. in Italy*, has restored the epithet *βαδύζωνος* to its proper meaning, but he seems to me to have mistaken the point of the double cincture.



A GREEK LADY

The modern cestus, exactly similar, if we may trust descriptions, statues, and medals, to the ancient, is not, in my mind, an agreeable ornament; it gives an appearance, with the band under the bosom, of a double waist.

The whole dress of the richer females is swoln out and ornamented with gold and silver trimmings to a very disagreeable excess. They wear bracelets of precious stones, and strings of gold coins, round their arms and necks. The head-dress of the younger girls is tasty; their hair falls down their backs in profusion, generally straight, but sometimes platted for the sake of adding false tresses, and is combed straight over their foreheads and the sides of the cheeks: a little red cap with a gold tassel, studded with sequins, is fixed on one side of the crown, and adorned, by the girls with flowers, by the matrons with heron's feathers, or a bouquet of jewels.

It is at Athens, and I believe elsewhere, a very prevailing fashion, for the young women to dye the hair of an auburn colour with the plant called Hena. The matrons, by another process, give a dark black tinge to their tresses. When abroad, the Greek ladies are muffled up in a wrapping-cloak, much like the Turkish, except that they have not a square merlin hanging behind, and, instead of a hood over the face, generally wear a long veil, which, however, they frequently throw aside when not in the presence of any Turks.

In the inland towns, and even at Athens, the Greeks seldom admit a male stranger to a sight of the females of their families, who live in a separate part of the house, and in some cases are as closely confined as the Turkish women. Before marriage, they are rarely, sometimes never, seen by any male except of their own

family, but afterwards enjoy the privilege of being introduced to people of their own nation, and to travellers. A young lady, the sister of Signor Nicolo, at Ioannina, to whom we had made a present of some Venetian silks, sent word to us, that she regretted, that not being married, she could not kiss our hands in person, but begged that it might be done by proxy by our dragoman, who brought the message. We had not a sight of her during our stay in the house. When in the interior apartments, a young woman divests herself of her outer robes, and, in the summer season, may sometimes be surprised reclined on a rich carpet or sofa, with her feet bare, and her whole form rather shaded than concealed by trowsers of gauze, and a thin muslin cymarr.

A few friends, and perhaps a Frank stranger, are sometimes invited to the first public ceremony in which a young girl is concerned, that is, her betrothing to her future husband, who generally has never seen her; and we ourselves were once asked to a supper where there was music and dancing on an occasion of this kind. The girl, (called *ἡ νύμφη*), was sitting in the middle of the sofa, covered with paint and patches, having a sort of crown on her head, and stuck round with jewels and gold chains on every part of her dress. We were regularly led up and presented to her, as were the other guests, and she kissed our hands. Her own female relations, and those of her future husband, were sitting on the other parts of the sofa. The mother of the young man, who was not present himself, put a ring on the finger of the maiden, and, as her son's proxy, kissed her cheek, a ceremony by which the betrothing takes place. The marriage, we were told, would not be performed perhaps for more than a year, as the youth was engaged in trade

at some distance, until he could amass a competent fortune to maintain his wife.

The nuptial ceremony, notwithstanding the undoubted antiquity of some of its usages, is, like most of the rites of the Greek church, exceedingly mean, and, to a person unaccustomed to the sight, ridiculous. The bride and bridegroom stand near the altar, holding a lighted candle in their hands. The priest, who stands facing them, reads and sings a service, and then taking two rings, and two garlands of flowers sprinkled with gold leaf, puts them on the fingers and the heads of the couple, then repeats and chaunts, and changes both the one and the other. This interchange is repeated several times, with great rapidity, and accompanied by gabbling and singing, until at last the rings are left on the fingers which they are intended to fit, and the garlands are finally laid aside, without being suffered to adorn the head either of the man or the woman. Some bread, which has been blessed and marked with the sign of the cross, is broken and eaten by the bride and bridegroom, and a cup of wine is presented first to one and then to the other, after which the girl hands round some of the same cake, together with *rossoglio*, or *rakee*, to the persons present, and if she is not of high condition, receives a piece of money from each of the visitors, for which she kisses their hands. This is the last part of the wedding, and the carrying away of the bride to her husband's house happens the same, or the next day, when there is a procession, much like that which we witnessed at Ioannina. The evening is concluded with music, dancing, and a feast, in which fruits, and especially nuts (an ancient nuptial delicacy), form the chief part of the repast.

At Athens we saw a bride accompanied home by at least fifty

young girls, in pairs, dressed in white, and their heads crowned with flowers, preceded by musicians, with guitars, rebecks, and fiddles: she was going to the house of some female friend, where she was to remain until the procession of her husband arrived to attend her to his own home.

The preceding usages we witnessed ourselves; there are others attached to the same important ceremony, of which we could only hear or read, such as the bathing of the bride in triumph on the night before the wedding, and the walking at the threshold of the husband's chamber, over the *covered sieve*, which, if it does not crackle beneath the foot of the bride, renders her chastity suspected. This second custom is mentioned by several writers, and may really obtain, but I did not hear of it, nor of the forbearance of the bridegroom on the night of his nuptials, alluded to by Mons. de Guys, in his sixteenth letter.

There are very few instances of second marriages amongst the Greeks, nor of any man, except a priest, remaining single for life.

The women can seldom read or write, but are all of them able to embroider very tastefully, and can generally play on the Greek lute, or rebeck. Their dancing they learn without a master, from their companions. The dance, called *Χόρος*, and for distinction, *Romaïca*, consists generally in slow movements, the young women holding by each other's handkerchiefs, and the leader setting the step and time, in the same manner as in the Albanian dance. The dancers themselves do not sing; but the music is a guitar, or lute, and sometimes a fiddle, accompanied by the voice of the players. When, however, men are of the party, there is a male and female alternately linked, and the performance is more

animated, the party holding their handkerchiefs high over their heads, and the leader dancing through them, in a manner which, although at the time it reminded me only of our game of thread-the-needle, has been likened by some observers to the old Cretan labyrinth dance, called *Geranos*, or the Crane. When the amusement is to be continued throughout a night, which is often the case, the figures are various; and I have seen a young girl, at the conclusion of the dance described, jump into the middle of the room, with a tambourine in her hand, and immediately commence a *pas seul*, some favourite young man whom she had warned of her intention, striking the strings of the guitar at the same time, and regulating the dance and music of his mistress. We once prevailed on a sprightly girl of fifteen to try the Albanian figure, and her complete success on the first attempt showed the quickness and versatility of her talents for this accomplishment.

Notwithstanding the want of education amongst the females, most of them are acquainted with a great number of songs, or recitatives, accompanied with tales, which are combined something in the manner of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, and appear to have no end, being taken up by different individuals of the party for hours together. The author of the comparison between the ancient and modern Greeks, tells his friend, that when hearing these alternate story-tellers, he would fancy himself in company with the *Minyeiades*, beguiling with varied discourse the useful labour of their hands*. A person who had never heard of the daughters of the King of Orchomenos, would think himself entertained with a string of ballads, all repeated in the same tone, and

* *Utile opus manuum vario sermone, &c.*—Ovid. *Metam.* lib. iv.

interrupted only by a recitation of their long and melancholy titles. That such a thing may never be wanted more, I shall insert a few specimens of songs and tales when I come to speak of the modern Greek language.

Whenever the Greek women have the advantages of acquiring any unusual attainments, they evince great quickness of understanding. At Smyrna and Constantinople, where there are great numbers of them in the families of the Dragomans, and others connected with the Consuls, Ambassadors, and foreign missions, they speedily acquire the modern languages, and sometimes a partial knowledge of the literature and accomplishments which distinguish the females of civilized Europe.

With respect to their moral character, it is what may be called amiable, and would appear very strikingly so to those of our sex who admire a woman for her weaknesses, and love her the more in proportion as she seems to call upon them for support and protection. They are assiduous housewives, and tender mothers, suckling their infants themselves; and, notwithstanding the boastings of travellers, I must believe them generally chaste. That loose females may be found amongst them is not, of course, to be denied; but, if not their own inclination, the institutions of their country, similar to those which have always prevailed in Greece, have a strong tendency to preserve their virtue. They have no other scope for the exercise of the good qualities of either head or heart, than the circle of their family, and, whatever secret power they may possess, are never heard of as influencing any public transaction. A man may travel through Greece, and, unless at his particular desire, not see a single Greek lady.

Like their sex in all other parts of the world, they carry their devotion to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and more readily, if possible, than the men, believe all the absurd dogmas and fables of their church. Ominous dreams and celestial revelations, as might be expected, more frequently visit the women than their husbands, though they are by no means uncommon even with both sexes. Some of their superstitious observances savour exceedingly of paganism, as might be proved, were it not tedious to set in array those passages of ancient authors which record and allude to similar customs.

The ceremonies at child-birth, where the attendant is always a woman, are very mystical. The lamp burns before the picture of the Virgin during the labour; and the cradle is adorned with embroidered handkerchiefs, jewels, and coins, as presents to the four fairies who preside over the infant. When the child is born, he is immediately laid in the cradle, and loaded with amulets; and a small bit of soft mud, well steeped in a jar of water properly prepared by previous charms, is stuck upon its forehead, to obviate the effects of the Evil Eye; a noxious fascination, proceeding from the aspect of a personified, although invisible demon, and consequent upon the admiration of an incautious spectator. The Evil Eye is feared at all times, and supposed to affect people of all ages, who by their prosperity may be the objects of envy. Not only a Greek, but a Turkish woman, on seeing a stranger look eagerly at her child, will spit in its face, and sometimes, if at herself, in her own bosom; but the use of garlic, or even of the word which signifies that herb (*σκόρδον*), is considered a sovereign preventive. New built houses, and the ornamented sterns of the Greek vessels, have long bunches of it depending from them,

to intercept the fatal envy of any ill-disposed beholder: the ships of the Turks have the same appendages. In fact, there is a great conformity of practice in many particulars, observable between the two nations.

The ancient Greeks introduced their arts amongst their Latin conquerors; the modern have given their masters, the Turks, a taste for their follies. There is, as was always the case, a strong attachment in this people to their own usages, and an unabating alacrity and vigour in the exclusive preservation of them, which gives an appearance of sincerity to their professions, and consequently of credibility to their faith, and which, although it prevents them from learning any thing from the commerce of more enlightened nations, renders them very capable of being instructors of a people as ignorant as themselves. Thus the Turks, who despise the power, have imperceptibly imbibed the habits of their subjects; and if they have caught from them nothing but some of their customs and superstitious rites, it is, I suppose, because there was nothing else for them to learn.

Those who complain that the Turks did not become the pupils of their captives, and derive from them the same advantages as were obtained for the Romans by the fortunate possession of Greece, must surely have, by some strange infatuation, persuaded themselves that the Greeks of the age of the last Constantine were the same as those of the days of Aratus. But, for my own part, I see much greater parity between the Romans who served with Mummius, and the Ottomans led by Mahomet, than between the Greeks who witnessed the burning of Corinth, and those who survived the last conquest of Constantinople. Let me

add, with Mr. Thornton*, that whatever was worthy imitation, was imitated by the Turks. They saw and admired the structure of Santa Sophia, and built the future moscks, with which they adorned the Imperial city, on the same magnificent model†.

The manners of the Greeks would be very engaging, were it not that they have an air of obsequiousness and insincerity, particularly striking to the eye of an Englishman, but perhaps not so offensive to the natives of those other countries, in which civilities are carried to a greater excess than amongst ourselves. They are assiduously attentive, and perform the rites of hospitality with good humour and politeness : at the same time, it must be confessed, that no person can be sure, that a speech of one of this people, however inviting in its beginning and progress, will not conclude with the horrors of a petition. To have an adequate notion of the meanness and impudence to which man may be impelled by the love of money, one should travel in the Levant.

There is nothing which is not venal with the Turks, and there is nothing possessed by the Greeks which they will not sell. That the master should be eager to increase his wealth, in a country where wealth alone is power, is not to be wondered at ; but that the slave, who cannot buy either authority, freedom, or protection, should feel the same passion, must seem extraordinary, and only to be accounted for by the circumstance of the Greeks being

* Present State of Turkey, p. 8.

† It seems strange that Mr. Eton, in his Survey of the Ottoman Empire, should copy the account of Mahomet the Second turning Santa Sophia into a stable and banquetting-room, and cutting the throats of several hundred prisoners in the very church, from such a writer as Knolles, when he had before him the authorities collected by such a writer as Gibbon.

all traders, and consequently governed by the sordid avaricious habits and principles generally to be found in that class of men.

The first, and oftentimes the only commendation bestowed by a Greek upon a neighbour, or other person, is, that he is rich, and has many, many, aspers (*πλουσιος ειναι, εχε πολλα, πολλα, ασπρα*); and, without any exaggeration, poverty and folly are really convertible terms. Talking one day about a young man, whom we had known at Ioannina, a person present exclaimed, that he was a dull fellow! “On the contrary,” said I, “he seemed to me to be excessively agreeable and well-informed.”—“I know him better than you, Signor;” was the reply, “for all his talk, he has not a farthing in his pocket.”

The Greeks are, as was said, all traders in some degree. In the district of Athens, indeed, as well as in that of Livadia, and many parts of the Morea, the cultivation of the earth is left to the Albanian colonists, and every Greek has either a shop, or is employed in wholesale dealings. Even those who are commonly called the Princes of the Fanal, at Constantinople, that is, those from whose families the Waiwodes of Wallachia and Moldavia have been chosen, are engaged in merchandize. This circumstance, together with the Turkish oppression, and the want of hereditary dignities, occasions a kind of equality amongst them, and does away with all those distinctions which are so rigorously observed in England—I say in England, because I believe there is no country in the world, where all the gradations of rank are so uniformly observed and kept separate as amongst ourselves. It is true, there are various ways by which a man may rise, but until he has risen, he must be content to consort with people only of his own condition.

I was one day a little astonished at the house of Signor Nicolo at Ioannina, to see a tailor who had just been measuring one of us, come and seat himself in the room where we were all sitting, and, by the invitation of our host, take a dish of coffee, to which he was helped by the Signor's brother with the usual ceremonies*. There is nothing that implies familiarity, and, at least temporary equality, so much as eating together; but according to the customs of both Greeks and Turks, in many points exactly similar, and which may be called Oriental, the very lowest person is often indulged in this liberty by his superiors. A great man travelling does not have a table spread for himself alone, but some of his attendants always partake with him round the same tray. I recollect that one of the young Pashas at Ioannina, insisted upon our servant George sitting down at the foot of the sofa opposite to him, and taking coffee and sweetmeats at the same time with himself and his guest. It must, however, be recollected, that as almost all in Turkey receive the same sort of education, and consequently imbibe somewhat the same manners, there is in that country none of that awkwardness and confusion in society, which arise amongst us when a person of inferior quality is admitted by sufferance into better company than he has been accustomed to keep. Neither our dragoman nor the tailor would have been distinguished by a stranger from the company about them by any want of ease, or other deficiency in their manners.

There is an air of great kindness, and even of ceremonious attention, in their treatment of servants and dependants; and when a

* The following was the republican formulary on the cards of the late President of the United States:

"T. Jefferson requests the pleasure of ———'s company to dinner," &c. &c

rich, or, in other words, a great man, meets an inferior in the street, he not only returns his salute, but goes through the whole round of those complimentary inquiries which are always usual upon a casual rencounter, and prefatory to any other conversation. Two Greeks will ask one another how they are, with the same inquiries after their wives, daughters, sons, family, and affairs, twenty times over, before they begin to converse, and often when they intend to separate instantly. They stand with their right hands on their hearts, bowing gently for five minutes together at this ceremony, which is nothing more than our How-d'ye-do; and a lucky sneeze from either party will interrupt and prolong the compliments; for, on that occasion, the other bows and begs God's blessing on you, which is returned four-fold. In a large company a sneeze stops the conversation, and calls forth the benedictions of all present, many crossing themselves at the same time*.

Though the Greeks are avaricious, they are not miserly, but on the contrary, are not only fond of show, which is in some characters found to be compatible with extreme parsimony, but are profuse and generous. Their fear of the Turks makes them generally cautious to confine their magnificence within the walls of their own houses; yet a desire of displaying their wealth and taste, has overcome the prudence of many of their nation. A Greek, named Stavraki, in the middle of the last century, who possessed

* Τοῦτου δὲ λέγοντος πᾶρνυται τις, ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες μιᾷ ὀρμῇ προσκυνήσαν τὸν θεόν.—Anab. lib. iii. This sneezing, Xenophon deplated to be the sign of Jupiter the Saviour, and it considerably assisted him in persuading the Ten Thousand to follow his counsels. It is the first and strongest instance I at present recollect, of the custom of making an obeisance after a sneeze, now pretty much diffused in many parts of the world.

the favour, and in some measure the confidence, of the Sultan himself, against all advice of friends, built a most magnificent house on the banks of the Bosphorus, whose exterior splendour was such as to attract the attention of the Turks. Stavraki was arrested and destroyed, but the end of this unfortunate man did not deter another Greek from immediately occupying the same fatal mansion.

At Constantinople, and in the vicinity, it is the exclusive privilege of the Mahometans to paint their houses of a lively colour; those of the Jews are black, those of the Armenians and Greeks of a brown, or dark red. A Greek physician, who had successfully attended a late Sultan, and was asked to name a reasonable gratuity or favour, only requested the liberty for himself and his son to paint his house in what manner he chose, and like that of a Turk. The mansion was pointed out to me, and shone conspicuously, of a bright red, amongst the surrounding dusky habitations. It is in one of the villages on the European side of the Bosphorus. The chief Dragoman to the Porte has a large house, which he has painted of three colours, so as to make it look like three houses, that no passing Turk may be struck with the presumptuous dimensions of his mansion.

Those of the Greeks who have the privilege of riding on horse-back in the streets of Constantinople, and their number is very few, are exceedingly proud of that pre-eminence, and take every opportunity of showing their superiority.

The great men affect an unconcerned liberality. The Dragoman to the Porte, who is called Prince, came on board the frigate which carried away the late English Ambassador from Constantinople, and after a few minutes conversation with his Excel-

lency, retired. As he was stepping down the ladder, he put his hand in his bosom, and, without ceremony, or looking at his present, returned it shut into the hands of one of the boys at the accommodation ropes; who, examining the gift on deck, found it to be eight or ten pieces of gold, of the small Byzantine sequins, worth about three shillings each. I was standing near him myself, and could scarcely resist the impression which he had meant no doubt to make, namely, that he was accustomed frequently to part with his money on the same occasions, and with the like ostentatious unconcern.

BUT a short time before, we had seen the same Prince interpreting between his Excellency and the Caimacam, or Vice-Vizier of Constantinople, with a humility altogether affecting. He was clothed in a coarse gown, miscalled a robe of honour, and so much the more shabby when contrasted with the splendid garments of the 'Turks, and the fine pelisses distributed to the Ambassador and some of his suite; and he performed his office in a tone so low, that he was with difficulty heard, even by those next to him, introducing some affected hesitations, to show his awe and terror of his masters. It should be told, however, that this singular piece of adulation is practised by the Turks themselves when in presence of the Sultan, and that a ready and clear elocution would be thought presumptuous before the Lord of the Empire. The Caimacam, in the audience-chamber, when replying to the Ambassador on behalf of his Imperial master, who sat motionless on his throne beside him, not only spoke in the lowest tone, but boggled, and stopped so long and frequently in his speech, holding up his head with the air of a boy out in his lesson, that the Sultan prompted him audibly twice or thrice. This was not pro-

duced by any real forgetfulness, but was only affected as a mark of humble confusion.

On the same day, in the Divan, the Greek Prince was obliged to stand, from four in the morning until ten, during the attendance of the Ambassador upon the Caimacam; and when his Excellency and his numerous suite were seated round various tables at dinner, overcome by fatigue, but not permitted to be seen resting himself on a sofa in such a place, he slipped into a corner of the chamber, and sinking on the floor, fell asleep; whilst three Greeks, his attendants, stood before the spot, that he might not be discovered by the Turks. I saw him by accident, and pointed him out to another person present. He was seated on the ground, supported by the corner of the wainscot, his black beard resting on his bosom, his face pale, and his eyes closed in a deep sleep, but every other feature unchanged, and impressed with the traits of terror and perpetual constraint. A mournful picture of the wretchedness of dignified slavery!

This Prince is one of the most exalted Greeks in the Turkish empire, and there is no higher dignity than that which he enjoys, except the governments of Wallachia or Moldavia. Indeed he was once, in 1802, promoted to the latter principality, when the Russians interfered in the nomination of the Waiwodes of the two provinces, and may perhaps again be raised to the same rank.

Notwithstanding the perpetual humiliation attendant upon the office of Dragoman to the Porte, and the very uncertain tenure by which the mimic sceptres of the two provinces are held, there is no effort omitted by the Greeks of the Fanal to arrive at these posts, and they are as active in their intrigues to circumvent each other, and to obtain the acquiescence of the Porte, as if the ob-

jects of their ambition were honourable and permanent, instead of disgraceful and insecure. The Turks, who gain by the rivalry, encourage the contention, and dispose of the offices without reserve, to the highest bidder. The money expended in the attainment of the dignities, is soon supplied by the bribes and extortions of the elected candidate.

The Dragoman of the Porte has the opportunity of recommending to posts of profit and honour, and for his good word, as well as for every interference in court intrigues, receives an adequate remuneration. The Waiwodes of Wallachia and Moldavia levy vast sums by arbitrary taxation, which, as they have the power of life and death, and enjoy for a time sovereign authority, cannot be resisted by their distressed subjects.

In no situation does a Greek appear in so unamiable a light as on the throne of Bucharest or Yassy. The events of the Russian war may work a considerable change in the constitution of the two provinces, and the entire subjection of one or both of them by the arms of the Muscovites, will cut off from the subject Greeks the grand objects of their ambition. The plots and intrigues of the Fanal will then be confined to obtaining the office of Dragoman. The elevation to either of the three places, however short a time the person may be in possession of his dignity, confers the title of Prince; and this has created the Greek nobility, if such it may be called. The antiquity, however, of these noble families is not very great; the first Dragoman of the Porte of Greek extraction, was Panayot, physician to Kioprili, who by his artifices persuaded Morosini to surrender Candia. Before that period, the post had been supplied by foreigners and renegadoes.

Nicholas Maurocordato, the first Greek Waiwode of Wallachia, chosen by the Porte, was elected about the beginning of the last century, after having been plenipotentiary for the Sultan at Carlovitz. It is true, that some families boast a more noble descent from the sovereigns of Constantinople, for the name of Catacuzenus has been once assumed by two Wallachian Greeks; but, as it appears, without their having had any just pretensions to that distinction.

The Princes of the Fanal are, when abroad, to be distinguished from the rest of their nation only by their beards and yellow slippers*, and the privilege of riding on horseback; but when at home, they still continue to enjoy the semblance of authority, by giving titles of office to their servants, and by being surrounded by a crowd of flatterers and dependants. Their wives and daughters are fostered in every luxury, and all the soft pomp of the Asiatics; a privilege which, unless they have been unfairly charged with calling their servants "chieuncs" and "bêtes†," improves neither their tempers nor their manners. The little I enjoyed of their society left no very agreeable impression on my mind.

A love of pomp is a distinguishing characteristic of the Greeks, and as the policy of the Turks has allowed them alone, of all the rayahs, or subjects not Mahometans, to fill offices of power and trust, they fail not to display this unenviable distinction.

The Codja-bashees, to whom the municipal controul of some districts, particularly in the Morca, is entrusted, support an

* One of the first acts of the late Sultan Selim's reign, was to cut off the head of a common Greek whom he met when incognito, wearing yellow slippers. He staid to see the execution performed. Yet so vain are the Greeks, that they will run this fatal risk in order to be taken for their betters.

† Pouqueville, Voyage en Morée, p. 253.

enormous household, whose members are dignified with titles, not attached to the dependants of an English Duke. They have their *kalo-iatros*, or physician, their *grammaticos*, or secretary, with an assistant clerk, their *tartars*, or couriers, and five or six priests, as family chaplains, besides numerous servants in every department, amounting to forty or fifty persons in family. The title by which they are usually addressed in writing, is, "Most Honourable and most Noble Sir*."

These *Codja-bashees* have been accused as being masters more severe than the *Turks*; a degenerate race, insolent, proud, mean, with all the vices of slaves, and repaying themselves for the injurious treatment of their masters, by becoming monopolists, informers, and public robbers†. Such sweeping censures are always to be suspected as having been prompted by personal pique, and founded upon individual example rather than national character; yet I fear that many originals of this unfavourable picture might be found amongst the archons and elders of the *Greeks*.

Hadji Ali, the tyrannical *Waiwode* of *Athens* before-mentioned, could find only one person to assist him in his extortions, and this man became his counsellor and friend, and discovered to him the real property of some of his countrymen who had hitherto contrived to conceal their wealth. He was the *Archon* of *Athens*, before mentioned, a ruling elder of the church, and who formerly called himself *English Vice-consul*. But the *Archon Londo*, of *Vostizza*, is a character altogether as amiable as that of the *Athenian* is disgusting, and it remains to be discovered, which of the two is the exception, and which the general rule.

* Ἐντιμότητος καὶ Ἐυγενέστατος Κύριος Κύριος.

† Pouqueville, *Voyage en Morée*, p. 106.

LETTER XXXII.

Religion of the Greeks—Ceremonies and Customs of their Superstition—Festivals—Funerals—A Mahometan Funeral—Greek Cemeteries—Priests—Monks of the Order of St. Basil—Their Monasteries—The Seculars—Instances of the Superstition of the Greeks—Notion entertained of the English by Greeks and Turks—The Patriarchate of Constantinople—The Arts—Medicine—Physicians—Exorcisms—The Plague—Use of the Hot Bath.

IN my former Letter I have endeavoured to let you into some particulars of the Greek character, and shall devote the following sheets to the same consideration.

The traveller, especially he that has left behind him the enlightened freedom of the English capital, and the decent ceremonies of the Protestant Church, when he beholds the religious system of the Greeks, must be prompted to suppose himself carried back into the darkest ages of ignorance and superstition. There is something sacred in every observance attached to any Christian worship, which ought to preserve it from contempt and ridicule, yet the rights of this church have in them such an air of absurdity, and are performed with what we should consider such a want of solemnity, that it is not easy to refrain from smiling

during the celebration of the mass. The chief part of the service seems to consist of frequent crossing, performed with the thumb laid on the two fore-fingers, and ten thousand repetitions of "Lord have mercy upon me," sung through the nose, and, apparently kept up as long as the breath of the chanter will last. It is some time before you can make out the words they are repeating, which, though you may have supposed them a continued psalm, or lesson, are only "Lord have mercy upon me; Lord have mercy upon me; Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon me, a sinner"—*Κύριε ἐλέησον, Κύριε ἐλέησον, Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ἐλέησον με τὸν ἁμαρτολόν.*

There is, at the same time, a degree of primitive simplicity in most of the churches, which recalls our recollections to the earliest ages of Christianity. They are very small generally, the floor of mud, the altar of stone, the sanctuary separated from the nave by deal boards, and an enclosure of pales at the other end, for the women. It is but seldom that there are any seats, but in one corner of the building there is an assortment of crutches, on one of which each of the more aged worshippers supports himself, leaning on his arms and chin, in the posture of one of the figures in the cartoon of Paul preaching before Felix.

In the great towns, as you have heard, and in some of the monasteries, the churches are better fitted up, though in the most paltry style, covered with gilt daubings, and ornamented with pictures of Saints, whose only value arises from their supposed miraculous powers.

It would be difficult to meet amongst the laity with a single person at all sceptical on the article of religion; they all seem most attached to the ceremonies, and strictly to observe the ordinances of their church, which are very strict and severe. There

are only one hundred and thirty-nine days in the year free from all fasts. The Easter Lent lasts two months, the Christmas forty days, and there are two others, the Lent of St. Peter and St. Paul, and that of the Virgin; besides which, Wednesdays and Fridays are fasts throughout the year. The caloyers have three other lents, which last in the whole forty-eight days more.

The clergy enjoy a most unbounded influence with their flock, and it is painful to see the sacrifices which the meagre, half-starved peasants make to their priests. Besides many gifts, there are certain days when all the attendants, men and women, of the poorest class, bring loaves, and plates of sweetmeats, called a *colyva*, and wax tapers, and lay them, during the service, at the foot of the altar, whence they are conveyed into the sanctuary, and serve as the evening's feast for the priests. The *colyva* is a quantity of boiled wheat, covered with currants, and garnished with pomegranate-seeds, sugar, comfits, sesamum, and sweet basil. The Greek girls carry presents of these *colyvas*, and other sweetmeats, on twelfth-day, which they call *πολυκερίον*, to their friends; and in some other respects, the amusements and religion of this people seem as much connected as in ancient times. They dance in honour of some of their Saints, and on the feast of the Epiphany, bands of fiddlers and other musicians patrol the streets from morning to night.

This feast, by accident, whilst we were at Athens, fell on the same day as the second Bairam of the Turks, the 17th of January, and the Mahometans were firing cannon, and discharging sky-rockets, from the Acropolis, with the sound of drums and pipes, at the same time that the Christians were manifesting their glee to commemorate another event, in every street of the city below.

This oppressed people would find life too long and burthensome, were it not for their religious festivals, and accordingly they have retained much of the joyful part of the ceremony attached even to the funeral rites of their ancestors. On the death of any person of dignity, the body is dressed in a rich garment, and laid upon a litter, strewed with flowers, and covered with a rich canopy, and the corpse, with the face displayed, is left a short time in the vestibule of the house, surrounded by the family of the deceased. At the stated time, the procession sets forward. The servants of the household move two and two before the bier, which is borne on poles at a little height from the ground. The male relations and the priests immediately precede the body. On each side of the bier, are two or three old women, lamenting aloud, detailing the dignities and virtues of the deceased, and interrogating him, as to his reasons for quitting the world—"Why did you die? You had money, you had friends, you had a fair wife, and many children,—why did you die?" These mourners are hired, and the common pay of each is five loaves, four jars of wine, half a cheese, a quarter of mutton, and about fifteen-pence in money. Their howling is extremely ludicrous, and has not even the semblance of grief. Behind the body, is a long train of the female relations and friends, muffled up in mourning habits. If the dead be a young woman, several girls in white precede and follow the bier, and at intervals scatter real or artificial flowers on the body.

At Constantinople, or rather at Pera, the distance to the burying-ground is considerable, and gives time for large bodies of followers to collect, and accompany the procession to the tomb. Arrived at the place of interment, the bier is set down, a short

service read, and the body deposited with its dress, and rolled in a winding-sheet, in the grave, the mourners continuing to howl most piteously during this last ceremony. The garlands that adorned the bier are some of them thrown into the grave, and others carried home by the mourners and friends.

Afterwards, and generally on the ninth day after the funeral, a feast is prepared by the nearest relation, accompanied with music and dancing, and every other species of merriment. But the priests gain the most by these festive demonstrations of grief. They are supplied always on the ninth day, and frequently also during the mourning, with large colyvas, which present is repeated also for three or four anniversaries of the burial.

You may have before seen it observed, that there is a remarkable conformity between some customs of the Irish and of the Greeks. The funerals of the two nations bear the strongest similarity to each other, though the lower classes alone of the former people preserve that part of the ceremony which, amongst the latter nation, is peculiarly attached to the wealthy and important, for according to a modern Greek saying, “a rich man is wept by hired mourners, a poor man by his friends.” But a more singular resemblance is that which is to be remarked between a Mahometan and Irish opinion relative to the same ceremony. When a dead Mussulman is carried on his plank towards the cemetery, the devout Turk runs from his house as the procession passes his door, and, for a short distance, relieves one of the bearers of the body, and then gives up his place to another, who hastens to perform the same charitable and holy office. It is a belief enjoined by Mahomet himself, that to carry a body forty paces gives expiation of sin.

No one who has been in Ireland, but must have seen the peasants leave their cottages, or their work, to give a temporary assistance to those employed in bearing the dead to the grave, an exertion by which they approach so many steps nearer to Paradise*.

The cemeteries of the Greeks are not in their churches, nor in the precincts of any city, but at a little distance from the town, in a space, not enclosed by a wall, near the high-road. The tomb-stones are some raised, some flat, and they are generally in a thin grove of cypress or yew trees. On certain days they are frequented by the relations of those who are lately dead, when, after a few tears, and the depositing of a garland and a small lock of hair on the grave, the parties assume their accustomed liveliness, and spend the remainder of the visit in dancing and singing.

The Clergy are divided into two classes, the Caloyers, or Monks of the order of St. Basil, from whom all the prelates are chosen, and the Papades, or secular priests, who may marry, if they choose a virgin, and engage before ordination. Caloyers never say mass; if they take the priesthood, they become what is called "Holy Monks," and only officiate on high festivals. Admission to the brotherhood is gained by applying to one of these Holy Monks, and paying sixty or seventy piasters, no probation or examination is requisite, and very young children are allowed to put on the cowl.

* A person who reads Mons. Galand's "*Paroles Remarquables des Orientaux*," would be surprised perhaps to find, that the famous *bull* recorded of an Irishman, who, looking over a person writing a letter, and seeing that he put—"I would be more particular, but a tall blackguard of an Irishman is behind my chair, and reads every word I say," exclaimed, "You lie, you rascal," is an Oriental story. The same book mentions two or three other good things, which are also to be found in our jest-books, applied to very modern characters,

There are many inducements to belong to this religious fraternity. The priests are all-powerful with their flock, and enjoy some respect even from the Turks. It is better to be a wealthy man at large than a Monk, but it is better to be a well-fed recluse than a hungry vagrant.

The first solitaries, the voluntary tenants of the burning deserts of Nitria, selected the most barren spots for their retreats; but the monks and hermits of the Greek church, in the present age, have not objected to abridge themselves of some of their meritorious mortifications, and, besides other advantages, have seated themselves in all the most beautiful spots to be found in Greece. The only establishment they possess in Italy, is situated as judiciously amongst the woods and gardens of Monte Dracone, near Frascati. The place is called Grotta Ferrata, and stands on the site of the Tusculan villa of Cicero.

The marble porch, where wisdom wont to talk
With Socrates or Tully, hears no more,
Save the hoarse jargon of contentious monks

In their own country, their monasteries are frequent objects in the valleys, the forests, and on the slopes and summits of almost every hill, and are contrived as well for comfort as security; their farms, tenanted by one of their order, or a lay-brother, are scattered over the whole country.

Notwithstanding the fasts, when their prescribed diet is pulse, roots, and plain water, and their rising to pray an hour and a half after midnight, they seem almost the only sleek and well-fed people amongst the Greeks, and convince one how lavishly

Dieu prodigue des biens
A ceux qui font vœu d'être siens.

The purest wine, the clearest honey, olives, dried fruit, wheaten-bread, can always be procured in their habitations, and in theirs alone; nor is it easy to account for the plumpness of their appearance, without supposing them occasionally to transgress the rules of their order. There are to be met with some more abstemious anchorets, who live three or four together, and now and then an ascetic, who passes his time in a solitary cell.

The Monks are supported partly by the lands attached to their monastery, and partly by the voluntary contributions of their believing flock. On particular days, they carry about with them little pictures of their saints, and a jar of holy water, with a brush, and entering the Christian houses, give their votaries the one to kiss, and make a mark of the cross on their foreheads with the other, receiving a para or two from each person.

The most sanctified of the Caloyers are those who have received their education in the monasteries of Athos, the Holy Mountain (*Αγιος Όρος*), which, by an institution of which there is no parallel in history, swarms with six thousand saints. The theological studies of these recluses are not so severe as their bodily labour; for not only do they cultivate the ground, and attend to the vineyards and orchards, but even build fishing-vessels, and exercise many mechanical trades, some of them undertaking to spin and weave. The monasteries of Patmos are also in great repute, and mendicant brothers from them, as well as from Mount Athos, are to be met with throughout Greece, dispensing their sacred favours, and, amongst other absurdities, even administering by anticipation the extreme unction to the healthy inhabitants of a whole house.

The Papades are not held in such estimation as the Caloyers, and though they are certainly more serviceable, have every appear-

ance of being more wretched than the recluses. A Deacon enters into priest's orders by a kind of public election, for, being produced to the congregation at church, the officiating Papas asks the audience if he is worthy, on which, if the acclamation of all declares him worthy, (and the cry is always *ἄξιός, ἄξιός*), he is considered as duly qualified to commence his holy functions.

There is a chapel for almost every priest, it being considered a kind of spiritual adultery for any man to officiate out of his own place of worship. It is this that has multiplied the number of churches in Greece. In Athens alone there are forty churches, besides a hundred and fifty chapels, and those in all Attica amount to four thousand; but this includes every consecrated cavern with a door to it and a stone altar.

Some writers have represented the monasteries as the abodes of every vice, and, as it appeared to me, with great injustice. As to the accomplishments of those in holy orders, they must be considerably improved during the last century, if it be true, as Tournefort says, "that," in his time, "'twas great merit in the clergy to read," and "that scarce twelve men in the empire understood ancient Greek." Belon had before said, that only two or three, of all the thousands on Mount Athos, knew their letters*. The only persons of liberal sentiments, with respect to religion, with whom I met in Greece, was a Bishop, and two Hadjis, or Priests who had been to Jerusalem. The more one knows and sees, the less one believes and admires. This Bishop had initiated himself so deeply into the mysteries of his faith, that he began to despise them, and the Hadjis, who had seen the

* See Ray's Collection of curious Voyages and Travels, tom. xv. cap. ii. p. 9.

holy city, declared that it was not worth going to see, nor worth seeing, regretting the thousand piasters they had each spent upon their pilgrimage.

The generality of the priesthood are certainly most ignorant, stupid, and inactive, and, to increase their gains, encourage the rest of the people in superstitions so absurd, that it is difficult to think that they believe them themselves. It is too true, that to them may be, in a great measure, attributed the debasement of the Greeks, or at least the continuation of that people in their present state of mental impotence. According to them, the world is still full of wonders, and the Devil possesses an active and apparent influence over the bodies and souls of men. Thus there are many *Ενεργούμενοι*, or, Possessed, and the exorcising of these unfortunate persons is a frequent and profitable employment for the priests.

The Athenians are, of all the Greeks, the most credulous, or inclined to invent ridiculous stories on this subject. They all, as was said before of the women, believe in the power of magic, and work up their imaginations to such a pitch, as to fancy themselves actually the sufferers by the incantations of some malevolent enemy. If a girl has two suitors, it is by no means uncommon for the unsuccessful lover, when his rival's marriage takes place, to have recourse to charms as a last resource. He ties the locks of his hair with a certain form of words*, and by every knot defers the bridegroom's happiness for a night; the tremendous operation is made known, and the unhappy husband, through credulity and shame, becomes not unfrequently the accomplice in

* "I tie A and B, and the Devil in the middle."

effecting his own misfortune. An Archon at Athens, whom we well knew, suffered this calamity for the first month of his marriage, and was only released from the bonds of the spell by the repeated prayers, images, and holy water of his chaplain.

Several of the houses at Athens are believed to be haunted by a spirit which is called an *Arabin*: the moans of one of them were frequently heard from the bottom of a well belonging to the house under the Acropolis in which Mr. Lusieri was lodged, and it was not always easy to persuade the servants of the family to draw water from the enchanted spring.

Whether the Turks have been infected by the Greeks with their superstitions, or brought their fables with them into Europe, they have belief in these fairies also, and denominate them "*Gins*." We saw at Libokavo, a large house belonging to a Turk, entirely deserted, the court and garden overrun with weeds, and were told that no one would live there, as it was haunted by the *Gins*. The operations of these beings are much the same as those of our ghosts; they create strange noises, and disarrange all the household furniture, but are seldom seen.

Panagia, or the all-holy Virgin, is the favourite of the Greeks; the *Minerva* of the modern Athenians. There is scarcely a cottage in which her picture, with a lamp burning before it, is not seen in a niche of the wall, or in a wooden case. The making and ornamenting of these images is a gainful trade; and sometimes you meet with one of them very neatly executed. A lavish Englishman offered fifty *zequins* for a Saint, I think *Demetrius*, to a painter at Athens, and was refused.

A peasant who lived at Athens told me a strange story. I was riding in the island of *Salamis*, and observed a strong young man

running by the side of my attendant's horse, with a little box in his hand in which he had apparently collected charity. Enquiring the nature of his petition, he told me with tears in his eyes, and with the most solemn asseverations of the truth of his story, that, for some offence of which he was not aware, the Virgin, with the infant in her arms, and otherwise so accounted as not to be mistaken by him, appeared before him every night, and jumping on his bed, nearly throttled him. He had been to the priest, who could do nothing for him, but observing that the picture of his Panagia appeared rather shabby and worn, suggested that the terrible visitation might not be renewed if the image was adorned with fresh gilding. "I have no money myself," continued the Athenian, "but am going to Ampelaki and Colouri, to beg a few piasters, to pay the painter for his gold." I gave him a trifle, and my attendant, a good-humoured fellow, and a saint-maker by trade at Athens, told the man that he would gild his picture for him at a cheaper rate than he had ever done for any body before.

In the reign of Theodosius the Second, Gamahel appeared to Lucian, a presbyter of Jerusalem, and told him that himself and St. Stephen wished to be released from the obscure grave in which they had been buried in a neighbouring field*.

Since that time, revelations of this sort have been frequent; and St. Nicholas delivered a similar message to a woman whilst we were at Athens. The holy apparition told the lady, that he was roaming about in a church, which had fallen, and was buried under ground, from which he desired to be delivered, and pointed out the spot where they were to dig, and effect his release. Ac-

*. Decline and Fall, vol. iii.

cordingly, the next day, the lady, who was at once regarded as a saint, for having been thought worthy of such a communication, accompanied by a large party, consisting of the most respectable Archons and Priests, walked in procession to the place described, and pitched upon a part of the road west of that going to the Piræus, and leading to the gardens, about half a mile from the town. After digging a short time in two places, they came to some bits of painted tile, which may be found almost any where near Athens, and especially in this quarter, the old site of the Ceramicus without the city. Immediately there was a cry of the Church! the Church! (Ekklesia! Ekklesia!)—all the crowd began crossing themselves—candles were burnt before the holes—and an opulent Greek, possessed of the land immediately close to the road-side, made a present of it to the Saint, to be dug away, in order to give him a freer egress, and lay open the whole church.

There was a commotion at Athens on account of this discovery, and the road would have been entirely cut up in the course of this religious search, had not the Turks prudently interfered, and prevented all farther excavations. As it was, however, the spot was for many days watched by crowds of pious worshippers, and, whilst I was present, a sort of controversy took place as to the respective merits of the two apertures, one of which was at last deserted, and all the tapers were burnt out before the other opening in the ground. An old woman most earnestly appealed to me to tell her which was the real church; when, as gravely as was in my power, I told her that they were under a sad mistake, and that the cavity which they had deserted was, in fact, the true church, of St. Nicholas. The intelligence was immediately spread amongst the crowd, that the Frank had decided in favour of the other

spot ; and immediately the tapers were carried off to the deserted place, and all the crossing, bowing, and praying, were directed to the hole in the ground which had been before neglected. The Greeks had listened to my decision ; for Franks are thought by them to possess a preternatural, but by no means an enviable, degree of knowledge, communicated to them by the Evil Principle, their master and guide. The children in the streets, when one of them is passing, call out, "Franco di Dio! Franco di Dio!" by which, though I know not how the sentence is supplied, they mean "Godless Frank! Godless Frank!"

The abhorrence of the Franks, which the division of the churches, and the conduct of the Latins, created in the bosoms of the Greeks, is still in some measure preserved by the spirit of bigotry ; and the mass of the people do not fancy that there are in the world any true Christians except themselves and the Russians. As for the English, they contend they are not Christians at all. If asked of what religion we are, they say, "We do not know ; perhaps of none ; some call you Lutherans : it is certain you are not Christians ; you do not cross yourselves," (*δὲν κάμνετε τὸ σταυρὸν*). A respectable person addressed this argument to myself. The Turks have pretty much the same opinion of us ; and, seeing that we show none of the external signs of reverence for Panagia, or other pictures, conclude us to be altogether such infidels as themselves.

A party of us were standing at the back part of a Roman Catholic chapel at Pera, whilst the service was going on at the other end. Just as the host was elevated, a Turk looked in at the door, and seeing the congregation paying their reverence to the wafer, threw up his head with a look of infinite pity and con-

tempt, at the same time smiling, and giving a shrug at us, who were standing, as if he said, "What must you and I think of these poor fools?"

The English have no place for public worship at Pera, and may, therefore, be thought never to pray at all; service, however, has been once or twice performed in the Ambassador's palace. But the ministers of Catholic nations sometimes go in procession to mass.

Notwithstanding the disdain entertained by the Turks for the Christian religion, they grant their protection to the Greek clergy, and find it their interest to ratify the ordination of the great dignitaries of the church. Mahomet the Great presented to the first Patriarch chosen in his reign, the same gifts as the Emperors of the Greeks had formerly given; and, to this day, that sovereign Priest is invested in a triumphant manner by a minister of the Porte, who assists him in taking possession of the patriarchal church in that quarter of Constantinople called Balat. His influence with the Porte is very great, and his applications to the Sultan are generally effectual: he can punish with death.

The dignity is now exposed to sale, costing about sixty thousand crowns, and the Patriarch indemnifies himself by selling every lucrative place, the patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, and all the archbishoprics within his jurisdiction. The Greeks themselves were the beginners of this practice, and the first Patriarch so elected ejected the incumbent by force; a custom of which there are now frequent examples*.

Although the whole of the Patriarch's usual revenue does not amount to more than three thousand pounds, yet he has occa-

sionally, by fines and extortions, the means of increasing his income. The richest Bishops have not more than three hundred pounds a year.—I find by the registry of a parish in Yorkshire, that subscriptions were made in the beginning of Charles the First's reign, for the relief of the Greek church.

The synod of Constantinople, composed of the three Patriarchs and twelve Archbishops, meets every month for the management of church affairs, the only affairs now left at the absolute disposal of the Greeks.

The state of the arts in Greece is, as might be expected, most deplorable. It would be difficult to find an architect, a sculptor, or painter, equal to the common workmen in the towns of Christendom. In building the inland towns, they make use of a saw of a simple kind, a hatchet, and a hammer: the gauge and chisel are used on the sea-coasts, and in larger cities. The cells of their churches are constructed by a sort of quadrant†, which they apply

* An Archbishop or Bishop is styled "Your all-Priesthood, your Beatitude—Πανιερότη σῶ, Μακαρίότη σῶ;"—Priests, "Your Holiness—Αγιότητα σῶ."

The last edition but one of the Bibliotheca Græca, contains, in vol. vi. p. 748, a list of the Patriarchs since the last conquest of Constantinople. The history of Cyrillus Lucaris, is the history of the Patriarchate. "A. D. 1600, Cyrillus Lucaris Pro-Patriarch of Alexandria; A. D. 1621, Cyrill. Lucaris Patriarch (having been before Pro-Patriarch) for one year; A. D. 1624, Cyrill. Lucaris restored, for eight years; A. D. 1632, the same person a third time re-elected for one year and two months; A. D. 1633, the same a fourth time re-chosen, for one year; A. D. 1637, a fifth time, but after one year, *strangled*."

† Under the head of *modern architecture*, Letter xxxv. vol. iii. Mons. De Guys talks of Santa Sophia, and the aqueducts built in the time of the Greek Emperors, near Constantinople. All his detail about the *arts* in modern Greece tells nothing.

to no other use. At sculpture they make no attempt, and their paintings are chiefly gilded saints.

The best pictures are to be seen at Scio, from the hands of Greek artists of an age or two past. There is a composition, containing several figures, the only one I ever saw in the country, in a church at Constantinople, which represents the last day. The sheep are on the right hand, and the devils are driving the goats into the flames on the left: the sinners are drest like Jews, Turks, and, what is something odd, Archbishops and Monks. The picture is very large, and is admired as a masterpiece, but is in reality a tawdry daub. The representations of costume contained in this collection, are from drawings made by a Greek at Constantinople, which, as far as a painter can succeed with no other excellence than minute and exact imitation, are well executed.

Physic is practised in the Levant, partly by Greeks who have received some education in Italy, and frequently continue on their return to wear the Frank habit, and partly by Italians. There is one, at least, of these persons in every considerable town in European Turkey, who is paid a thousand, or fifteen hundred piasters per annum, for taking care of the health of the whole of the inhabitants, and makes besides the most of strangers and casualties. They are extremely ignorant, and full of old prejudices, yet they are personages of some importance, as you will collect by this direction of a letter I carried to one of them—“Al Nobile Signor, Signor, Speridion Cazzaïti, Medico.” Many of these physicians have received no education at all, but, having failed in trade, put on the hat and Frank habit, and commence practitioners. The Turks, and lower class of people amongst the

Greeks, commonly presume every one so dressed to be a Doctor, and travellers are frequently accosted as such in the streets.

The only exception to the general incapacity of these professors which fell under my observation was at Athens, and, by the way, in the person of the noble physician mentioned above. Signor Cazzaiti has tried some courageous innovations, and has even attempted the introduction of the cow-pox, and with partial success. He told me that he had inoculated about three hundred.

The general practice is, to administer jalap, manna, Glauber salts, in quantities too small to be serviceable, and bark draughts in almost every complaint, swilling the patient at the same time with fat broths and slops. Phlebotomy is also frequently practised, but with topical bleedings they seem unacquainted, although the Turkish and Greek peasants scarify themselves on the hands and feet, as a cure for rheumatic pains. If the disease does not speedily give way, and particularly if there is the least delirium, the patient is concluded to be possessed, the Kalo-iatros is dismissed, and the Papas, the most notorious in the place for casting out devils, is instantly sent for to exorcise the tormenting spirit, and either the recovery is attributed to the priest, or the death of the diseased to the prevailing power of the evil principle.

It thus appears, that maladies are considered by this ignorant and superstitious people rather as judgments and visitations, or the immediate operation of the Demon, than as the simple effects of a disordered system. Pestilential fevers, to which the whole of Greece is much subject, and cases of elephantiasis and leprosy, are scarcely attempted to be resisted. The plague, whose presence was announced to the terrified imaginations of the former Greeks by armed spectres dealing death and destruction on every

side*, is now also personified, and the apparition is sometimes seen in the form of a hag, lame and withered.

When in the months of a burning autumn all nature begins to droop, and every herb and shrub die beneath the sickly gale, the Greeks retire within their houses, the doors and casements are carefully closed, and the bold youth and heedless maiden are cautioned not to stir abroad, nor even to look into the street. "If in the dead of night a rap is heard at your window, rise not, nor open the casement, it is the decrepid hag that knocks—it is the Plague."

I cannot help supposing that the use of the hot-bath, which, together with the loose robe, seems to have always belonged to the people of this country, must be prejudicial to health, from the excessive relaxation, and indeed exhaustion, which it produces. A person not accustomed to the heat of the inner chamber of the bath, is unable to support himself a moment in the warm steam, in which a Greek or Turk will remain, under the hands of the bathers, for half an hour.

The appearance of the bathers, white as wax, and shrivelled to the bone, is most disgusting, and it requires some practice to bear patiently the kneading of your limbs and cracking of your joints, with which they conclude their functions. Yet all the people of the Levant resort frequently to these public baths, and

* Such is the account given by Procopius of the plague at Constantinople, in 747. The same author records, that in the winter of 565, in Italy, its approach was signified by tremendous noises in the heavens, like those of mighty armies marching to the sound of trumpets. This authority is quoted by Dr. Pouqueville, in his *Voyage en Morée*, p. 404, chap. xxxvii. de la Peste—the masterpiece of the volume.

in crowds, the men at one time of the day, the women at another, and not so much for the purposes of cleanliness as of luxury, for I am sure that they find a sort of sensual gratification in that state of sleepy languor to which, when stretched upon the couches, they are reduced by the operations of the bathers, and the heat of the surrounding vapour. There are good grounds at least to suppose, that the ancients knew they suffered some corporeal enervation by indulging frequently in this enjoyment, for they ranked it with the pleasures of Venus and Bacchus, and looked upon it no less pernicious, if carried to excess, than the joys of love and wine*.

All the women bathe at least once a month, but some much oftener; the men in general once a week. The bath is the coffee-house of the Levant, and, for the females, is the scene of various diversions and ceremonies, as you may have collected from the luxurious, but, as I have heard, not exaggerated descriptions, of my Lady M. W. Montague. After all, this species of gymnastic has in it something rather revolting to our notions of delicacy, and is, perhaps, not free from rational objection. There are many

Dum vina, *unguenta*, puellas

Carpimus, obrepat non intellecta senectus,

are the words of Juvenal, and I presume the ointments to allude to the bath;—a Greek epigram is more explicit and decisive—

“Οἶνον καὶ τὰ λουτρά καὶ ἡ περὶ Κυπρίν ἐρωή

“Ὁξύτερην πεμπεῖ τὴν ὁδὸν εἰς Αἴδην;”

which is as much as to say,

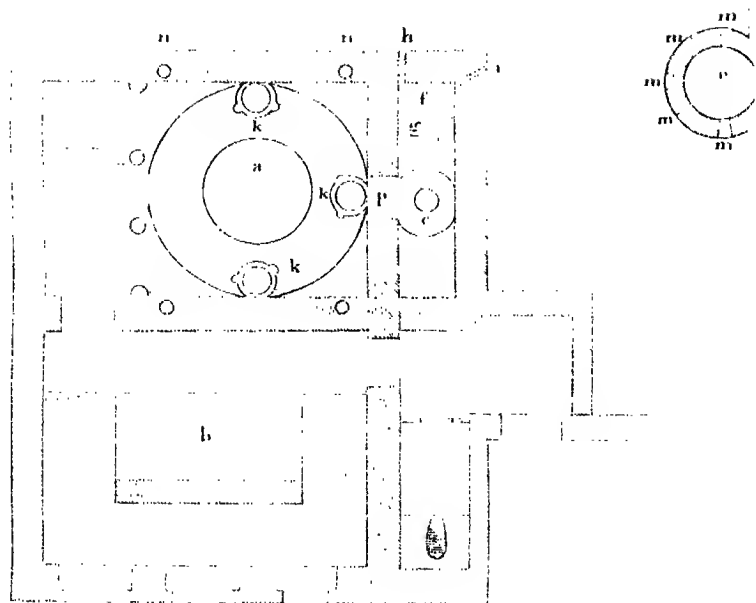
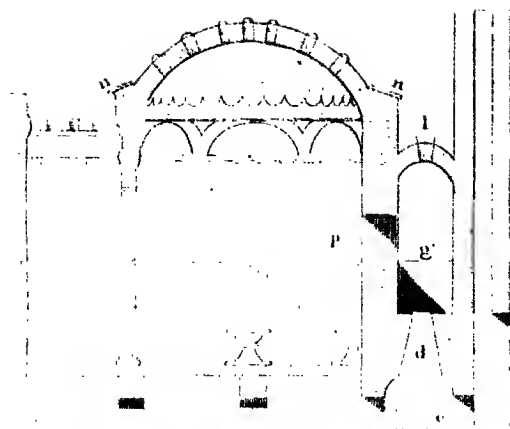
“ Drink much, bathe often, love a woman well—

“ ’Twill send you just the shortest way to hell.”

amber.
 of warm water
 children d.

cold water
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Scale of 8 Feet to an Inch.

stories, both ancient and modern, which do not reflect any credit upon the institution. Busbek has the advantage of a learned language, to tell a most singular tale in his second epistle. The manners of the barbarous people of the West and North, seem less exceptionable in most points than those of the Orientals; amongst which the Greeks, and in some measure even the Romans, may be classed, and the modern Franks may reckon themselves to be better, if not wiser men, than the boasted nations of antiquity.

An exact plan of a bath at Athens, which is here annexed, may assist you in fully understanding the descriptions of this contrivance contained in so many books on the *Levant*.

LETTER XXXIII.

The Literature of the Modern Greeks—Their Share in the Revival of Literature in the West—The Romaïc Pronunciation—The Romaïc, or modern Greek—its Date and Origin inquired into—Latter Greek Writers—Present State of Learning in Greece, &c. &c.

THE Greeks may be justly styled a very ingenious people, and though extremely ignorant, have all that quickness of parts which, with a better education, and an amelioration of their unfortunate condition, would enable them to distinguish themselves for their attainments in the sciences and the arts. The last precious present for which Europe is indebted to their once-famous country, was the care of the silk-worm, and the weaving of the materials produced by that valuable insect. This was in the twelfth century. Since that period, I know of no useful invention which they have transmitted to the nations of the West. The convulsions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, attending the decay and fall of the Greek Empire, put us in possession of those treasures of antiquity, which have taught us how to think, to write, and to act; but for this advancement in every branch of knowledge, we owe more to the activity of the Italian revivers of learning than to the exiled scholars of Greece.

Notwithstanding the gratitude expressed by their pupils to Chrysoloras, Argyropolus, Chalcondyles, and Iascaris, and the veneration with which they were regarded by those who looked upon them as their guides through a lately-discovered and delightful region; yet these Greeks are, perhaps, to be considered in the light of grammarians, well versed in their native tongue, not as the heirs of the genius of their ancestors. Their poets, orators, and philosophers, had long slumbered in the monasteries of Mount Athos, or the recesses of the Byzantine libraries; and the first by whom they were wakened and brought to light, or who inbibed their divine spirit, and revived a true taste for ancient literature, were the scholars of the Florentine academies, supported by the patronage of the princes and rulers of the Italian states*. Indeed, the recovery of the works of the most valuable authors, is not to be attributed to the Greeks themselves, but to the munificent exertions of the Medicean family, and the labours of those who were employed under their directions, or remunerated by their bounty. The industry of Aurispa and Fileffo appears incomparably more active and useful than that of any native Greek; and the talents and erudition of such men as Ficino, Landino, Bracciolini, Politian, and Sannazaro, eclipse the fame of those who are called the instructors of the Italians.

* Petrarch had read Homer, and Boccace had studied more deeply under Leontinus; but it is in vain that Father Gradenigo, in his Letter to Cardinal Querini, printed at Venice in 1742, endeavours to prove, that Greek had been generally cultivated in Italy in the twelfth century. *Græcum est non potest legi!* was the exclamation of Accursus, the civilian of Florence, and his scholars of the thirteenth century, when they stumbled on a Greek word in the Latin text. See Tenhove's House of Medicis, cap. 11.

The great obligations of the moderns to the Byzantine scholars who settled in Italy were questioned, and it appears with justice, by the judgment and increasing refinement of the succeeding age. We are apt to talk of the revival of literature in the West, as if there had been an uninterrupted succession of good writers and able critics in the East, and with the presumption that the learning of the Greeks was, by the irruption of the Barbarians, first driven into exile, and then naturalized amongst the nations established on the ruins of the Western Empire. "Alas!" said one of the Grecian professors of the Academy at Florence, "I see that Greece has fled beyond the Alps*;" but Argyropolus, if he had extended his meaning beyond the mere knowledge of his language, might with greater propriety have owned, that the genius of his native country, after the torpor of a thousand years, was revived amongst, rather than transmitted to, the scholars of Italy. The commentators and scholiasts of the latter periods of the empire, form no exception in favour of their countrymen.

That the Constantinopolitan Greeks of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were judges of the style, and understood the construction, of the great ancient writers of their own country, can scarcely be doubted; but that they had themselves benefited by the contemplation of those perfect models, and could lay claim to the merit of originality, or even of happy imitation, does not at all appear. They were in possession of the key of a trea-

* Spoken to J. Reuchlen, a learned German, who died in 1521, from whom the pronunciation that obtains amongst the modern Greeks was called the Reuchlinian.—See *Addenda Mic. Lang. ad Eras. Schmidt de Pronun. Græc. apud Syllog. Havercampi.*

sury, whose stores they were unable to use. Their literature was in the same degraded state as their arts, which, notwithstanding the advantage of consulting the noblest specimens of ancient skill, were impressed with the deepest traces of barbarity. The painting of the funeral of St. Ephraim, in that part of the Vatican library called the Sacred Museum, is the wretched masterpiece of these bastard descendants of Zeuxis*.

But, in fact, the latter Greek grammarians have not only been refused all praise, but have been severely condemned by some writers, who have not hesitated to accuse them, either of ignorance or dishonesty; ignorance, in accounting the depraved pronunciation of their language to be correct, or dishonesty, in wilfully obscuring the study of the Greek tongue, to the end that they might obtain greater authority by seeming the sole masters of some most difficult attainment†. Our great countryman, Cleeke, with the boldness of a Briton, and the confidence of a scholar, in his tract on the pronunciation of the Greek tongue, disdains to submit to the authority even of Chrysoloras himself; “who,” says he, “as he either acquiesced in the depravity of the pronunciation of his countrymen, or was influenced by interested motives, or studiously endeavoured to obscure the language,

* Such is the strong expression of Tenhove, whose words (quoted also in Mr. Roscoe's *Loren. de Med.* cap. 9) are, “*Venisse et quelques villes de la Romagne ou de l'ancien exarchat de Ravenne montrent encore des traces de ces barbonillages Grecs. Le caractère d'un assez profonde barbarie s'y fait sentir. La peinture qui represente les obseques de St Ephraim, qu'on voit dans le museo sacro, partie de la bibliotheque du Vatican, passe pour le triste chef-d'œuvre de ces fils bâtards de Zeuxis.*—*Mem. Gen. lib.* vii.

† *De Ling. Græc. vet. pronunt.* Adolp. Mokerch. *Libell. ap Syllog. Hs-vercamp*, p. 19.

should not have so much weight with us, as to induce us to fall into the same ignorance, avarice, and envy*.”

It may appear almost superfluous to say much of the pronunciation of the modern Greeks, when we consider, that it was once that of all the civilized nations of Europe, and that the present prevalent mode of reciting this noble language, was formerly thought an innovation, strange, unfounded, and even sacrilegious.

From the first efforts made in the fourteenth century, to revive the study of Greek literature in the West, to the time of Erasmus, the scholars of Italy and France, Germany and England, intent upon the construction and explanation of the Greek authors, neglected to inquire into the pronunciation of the language, and, without examination, adopted that which was in use, and taught by their Byzantine masters. But the more diligent inquirers of the age of that great man, perceiving that a language so noble and copious in composition, was in discourse so languid and effeminate, and so destitute of all variety and grandeur of sound, suspected that they had in this matter been hitherto deceived; and in this notion they were confirmed by the precepts on this express subject, scattered up and down the works of the ancient rhetoricians and grammarians, and also by the many hints of other authors, which were irreconcilable with the adulterate pronunciation of the moderns.

The first who attempted to restore this ancient vigour and variety of sound, was Erasmus himself, who, however, is said to

* Nam ante Chrysoloram qui sive depravatione patrii sermonis contentus, sive quæstu commotus, seu obscurandæ linguæ studio impulsus fuit, non movere nos debet, ut in eadem ignorantia, cupiditate, invidia versemur.—Joh. Chec. de pronunt. Græc. ap. Syllog. alteram Havercampi, p. 235.

have been induced only by a stratagem of his friends to write his famous dialogue on the true pronunciation of the Greek and Latin tongues, published first by Frobenius*. It is related also, that when he discovered the fraud, he never afterwards followed his own precepts; or, either in speaking or writing, showed that he differed from the rest of the world in his way of reciting those languages. Not only Erasmus himself, but many celebrated contemporary scholars, although convinced of the propriety of the new system (called the Erasmian, as the other was the Reuchlinian pronunciation), were not willing to appear innovators, and despairing of influencing others by their example, continued to comply with common custom. But Sir John Cheke, and his firm supporter and friend Sir Thomas Smith, the great ornaments of Cambridge, not only defended, but taught the new method, so different from that which had been introduced by Grocin and Linacre into the schools of England; and this they continued to do for four years, until the second of these learned men retired to France; at which time the sanguinary Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, interposed his power, and in a letter, partly

* Henricus Glareanus dining with Erasmus in the College at Louvaine, told him, that some Greeks had lately arrived at Paris, who pronounced their language quite differently from the common mode in use, calling (B) Vita, Beta: (H) not Ita, but Eta; (ai) not æ, but ai; (oi) not i, but oi; and so on. This induced Erasmus to compose his dialogue. The story is related in the Addenda of Joh. Mich. Langins, *prefixed* to the discourse of Erasmus Schmidt on the Greek pronunciation in the Sylloge; but the authority on which it is told is rather questionable, and the thing itself seems introduced to discredit the *new* pronunciation.

persuasive, partly official, but in which the decisions of the scholar are most powerfully backed by the authority of the Chancellor, commanded the Professor to desist from his attempts at innovation; an innovation which, says the alarmed and indignant Prelate, will, unless speedily stopped, terminate so fatally, that by a sort of lamentable metamorphosis, our Cambridge will be converted into a Babel, and be afflicted with a confusion of tongues as strange, or, if possible, worse than that recorded of that ancient city*.

The letter to Cheke was confirmed by an edict promulgated by the Chancellor and Senate of Cambridge, in which the pronunciation of the learned languages, according to common usage, is decisively fixed, and protected by penalties from all alterations. Whoever dared to adopt publicly the Erasmian method, was, if a graduate, to be expelled the senate; if a candidate for honours, to be refused his degree: scholars so offending were to be deprived of their exhibitions, and school-boys to be privately whipped at home. Yet notwithstanding these threats, the intrepid Cheke publicly vindicated his opinions in a letter to the Chancellor; to which Gardiner replied, and was again answered by his opponent, as well as by Smith, then lately returned from France; and Cheke being allowed to defend his system publicly, and at court, the new pronunciation began by degrees to prevail both in England and on the Continent, although many years elapsed before it was thoroughly established; and the controversy was carried on, as usual in literary disputes, with considerable animosity on both sides. To Erasmus, Cheke, and Smith, succeeded Ramus, Lam-

* Steph. Winton. Episcop. de pronunt. Ling. Græcæ, ap. Syll. alt. 200.

binus, Beza, Ceratinus, Mekerchius, and Hen. Stephanus*, who were opposed by Gregorius Martinus, in his address to Mekerchius†, and more violently by Erasmus Schmidt, in a discourse “*Contra Νεοφυτον*,” in which, however, the modern Greeks are confessed to be in some particulars incorrect, and the strength of the argument rests on the inexpediency of innovation.

Since the period of the last writer, the opposition to the Erasmian method appears to have been given up; notwithstanding the efforts of Gregorio Piacentino and Stanislaus Velasti, two Greek monks of Frescati, in the beginning of the last century, whose dissertations in favour of the Romaic plan, drew from the College della Sapienza at Rome, a decision, that the true pronunciation was, if any where, preserved amongst the said people *and monks* ‡.

Thus the new pronunciation having obtained for two centuries, with some variety, in the different nations of Christendom, the Romaic, or modern Greek method, is confined to the Levant, and is so little remembered to have been once prevalent, as, with a few exceptions, to be absolutely unknown in the universities of

* H. Stephani, Apolog. pro vet. Ling. Græc. pronunt. et Præf. ad Syllog. Sigisb. Havercampi. Samuel Gelhud, and Rodolph Wetstein, wrote on the same subject, but their works are not in the Sylloge.

† Mekerchius, or Adolphus a Metkerke, died at London in the year 1710.XCI. in his fifty-fourth year.

‡ Giacchè se qualche vestigio è pur rimasto così sembra verisimile dell' antica pronuncia Græca, sembra insieme cosa probabile molto, che presso i succennati popoli e monachi siasi conservata.—But people, not only ignorantly, but (as Dr. Johnson observed, speaking of Swift's plan for settling the English language) proudly, disobey the decisions of learned bodies.

Europe. It is difficult, observes Mr. Gibbon*, to paint sounds by words; and in their reference to modern use, they can be understood only by their respective countrymen: besides this, the decision of the controversy is attendant with difficulties apparently insuperable; and although the argument seems decidedly in favour of the new method, yet it must always appear most unaccountable, that so entire a change should have taken place, amongst the Greeks themselves, in the pronunciation of their own tongue, even in so considerable a period of time as that which has elapsed since the ages of its ancient purity. It is easy to conceive how every other depravation and barbarism should have, by degrees, crept in upon the language, but that the ancient sound of its letters should be altogether lost, and now unknown in Greece itself alone of all the countries where it is recited, is not hastily to be believed

Psallida, the schoolmaster of Ioannina, on my reading to him the first few lines of Homer, talked with much contempt of the presumption of those who, coming from a remote corner of the north, from regions absolutely unknown to their ancestors, pretend to teach, in *Greece*, the descendants of the *Greeks*, how to pronounce the *Greek*, their mother tongue. The strange diphthongal sound which the English give to the iota, and which, as it is not found in any other European nation, must have been introduced subsequently to the emendations of Cheke and Smith, may, indeed, have occasioned my friend the Greek to be more than usually astonished at a pronunciation so different from his own. After all, it may be confessed a hopeless endeavour, to arrive at any thing like accuracy in this point; for the cotempo-

* Decline and Fall, note 107, cap. 66, p. 427, 4to. edit.

aries of the ancient Greeks were unable to attain to the nicety of sound which a Greek mouth alone could express; and Homer distinguishes some people by the epithet of *βαρβαροφώνους*, not, says Strabo, because they talked a foreign language, but because they pronounced Greek with a foreign accent.

In considering the Romaic pronunciation, of which, compared with the Erasmian method, a short view is given in the sequel*, it should be understood, that it differs in different parts of the Levant. The kappa and gamma are sounded strongly by the Greeks of Ephesus, whilst at Athens, the first becomes softened into a *ch* (*κεῖνος* is thus *echenos*), and the last is almost always converted into a *y*, and at Smyrna scarcely sounded at all. The people of the Morca drawl and speak through the nose; those of Constantinople give a portion of the sound of *s* to a *theta*, and make the *delta* even more soft than our *th*. The Athenians are, on the whole, the most difficult at first to be understood; but this does not arise from any greater mixture of barbarous words or idioms to be found in their dialect than in that of other districts, but from an affectation of speech: thus, instead of pronouncing *οἶ* (no) as it is spelt, they say *oëshki*, making it three syllables.

It would be a task well worthy the labour of a scholar, to attempt to trace the Greek language from the period of its purity and perfection, through all the gradations of corruption, to its present state of debasement; and as it may be allowed to have been the first and most efficient cause of the superiority of the wonderful nation† by which it was spoken; so it might, perhaps, be found to have gradually lost its vigour, flexibility, and simplicity,

* See the Appendix.

† See Preliminary Dissertation to the Engravings from the Antique, lately published by the Dilletanti.

in proportion as the power, genius, and moral character of the Greeks themselves declined.

The first corruption of the Greek may be traced from the Macedonian conquest, and the diffusion of the language by soldiers and merchants, not the most correct rhetoricians, over the conquered provinces of Europe, Asia, and Africa. It is the complaint of Ovid, that in the people amongst whom he was an exile, he found only a few traces of the Greek tongue, and those already made barbarous by a savage pronunciation*. But a more severe blow was given to the purity of the language under the power of the Romans, a short time after whose predominance, all distinction of dialect appears to have been lost. The introduction of such words as, *σαδάριον, φραγέλλιον, κυστωδία, τίτλος, δηνάριος, κῆνσος*, into the text of the New Testament, shows how soon it had begun to be infected with Latinisms; and, indeed, it was necessary for those who wrote to colonies and provinces, amongst which Roman governors and customs had rendered necessary the adoption of Roman words, to have recourse to a mixed language, in order to make themselves intelligible. The Emperor Julian confesses that, as to himself, it must be wonderful if he can speak Hellenic, so much had he been barbarised in the course of his travels†. Those who are conversant with the writings of the Fathers, notwithstanding the piety of some readers has so far predominated over their taste, as to make them compare St. Chrysostom to Demosthenes, observe

* In paucis extant Græcæ vestigia linguæ
Hæc quoque jam Getico barbara facta sono.

Trist. lib. v. c. 8.

† Τὰ δὲ ἐμὰ ἐν καὶ φθιγγόμην Ἑλληνιστὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, οὕτως ἐσμὲν ἐκβε-
ρωμένοι διὰ τὰ χωρία.—See Præfat. Glossar. Cang.

many unauthorized expressions, of which St. Basil seems to have been aware when writing to Libanius: he confesses, that the purity of his diction had been injured by his incessant study of the Scriptures*.

From the period of Constantine the Great, and perhaps somewhat before the transfer of the seat of government to Byzantium, it appears that the writings of the learned Greeks differed considerably from the speech commonly current in the provinces and at Constantinople, the use of which a new word (*κοινολεκτεῖν*) was invented to express. That this distinction might at all times, in some measure, have been observed, is exceedingly probable: for the case was similar at Rome, where, as Quintilian informs us, the whole people in the Circus would sometimes burst out with exclamations, not Latin, but altogether barbarous. In a later age, the Byzantine historians themselves were obliged to have recourse to new words, in order to express new inventions; and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in his life of his grandfather Basil, describing the ornaments of the palace, says, “it is fit in these things to make use of the vulgar tongue†.” The same necessity was felt by those who wrote on the Roman jurisprudence. Even whole words and sentences of foreign languages were made familiar to the ear of the Constantinopolitan court, as may be seen in the Formularies of the Imperial writer before mentioned. At the banquets in the palace, some of the attendants repeated, says the historian, the following words: *Κωνσέρβετ Δέες ημπίριον Βεστρημ—βήβητε*,

* Ἄλλ’ ἡμεῖς μὲν ᾧ θαυμάσιε, Μωσῆϊ καὶ Ηλὶμ, καὶ τοῖς οὕτω μακαρίοις ἀνδράσι συνέσμεν ἐκ τῆς βαρβάρου φωνῆς διαλεγόμενοις ἡμῖν τὰ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἐκείνων φθεγγόμεθα, νοῦν μὲν ἀληθῆ, λῆξιν δὲ αἰμαθῆ, ὡς αὐτὰ ταῦτα δηλοῖ.—*Præfat. Glossar.*

† Καλὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις κοινολεκτεῖν.—*Cap. liii.*

Δόμνῃ ἡμπεράτωρες ἐν μεγάλῳ ἄνθος. Δέῃς ομνήποτεὺς πρέζεθ—'Ἦν γαυδίῳ πρηνδεῖτα Δόμνῃ. And the same compliment was uttered in all the languages of the nations supposed to be in subjection to the Roman power; for the Gothic, Persian, French, and even the English tongue, were heard on such occasions in the capital of the East*.

The worst of the latter Byzantine writers, such as Theophanes, the two Leos, Symeon Metaphrasta, and others, abound with a thousand barbarisms, and seem to have lost all Grecian taste and style. What was the language most commonly intelligible, at the period of the last conquest of Constantinople, may be judged by the commentaries of Ducas and John Cananus, which, in commemorating that event, offer an excuse for the barbarous solecisms of a book written, says Cananus, not to the wise and learned, but to the unskilful, and such as myself†. And yet during all these latter ages, the purest ancient models were not only in possession of, but, although to no great purpose, were likewise studied by, the Greeks. Michael Psellus, who lived in the eleventh century, commented on twenty-four comedies of Menander. The well-known Eustathius wrote in the twelfth century; and Planudes translated portions of Cicero, Cæsar, Ovid, and Boethius, and collected a Greek Anthology, so late as the fourteenth. The description of the sufferings of Constantinople, when sacked by Baldwin, in 1205, by Nicetas, an eye-witness, has been adduced‡ as a proof, that not only the love of literature, but the taste of this people, still survived their misfortunes.

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall, note 54, p. 490, vol. v. 4to. edit. and Harris's Philological Inquiries, part iii. cap. 4.

† 'Οὐδὲ διὰ σόφειας, ἢ λογίους. . . . ἀλλὰ διὰ ιδιώτας, καὶ μόνον ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ ιδιώτης.—Præfat. Glossar.

‡ Philological Inquiries, p. 111, cap. v.—I know not whether it was from this favourable judgment of the latter Greek writers, or from the frequent re-

It must be impossible to fix the precise period when the distinction between the vulgar and Hellenic Greek began to be generally acknowledged and distinguished by the invention of a new term. The transfer of the Empire to Byzantium, the irruptions of the Goths and other barbarians, and the settlement of the Slavonians and Franks in Greece, introduced, as has been observed, a variety of new words; but a complete mixture must have taken place between the natives and the Barbarians, before the written, or even the colloquial language, underwent in its idiom and structure such a material change, as was necessary to form the Romaic out of the original Greek.

Although, even after the times of Justinian, all the ancient grammatical rules were not observed, yet it is discovered by clear evidence (a diploma of Roger, Count of Calabria and Sicily), that the Greek used in Sicily at the end of the tenth century, although full of barbarisms, still partly preserved the ancient idiom, and differed altogether from the vulgar language of this day. The same may be observed of the speech of the Constantinopolitans, in the time of Alexius Comnenus; for the daughter of that Prince has recorded two or three popular exclamations, to illustrate the annals of her father's reign*; and the Political or city verses of Tzetzēs, who wrote his Chiliads in the middle of the twelfth cen-

spectful mention of the Christian church, that Mr. Gibbon calls this work of the Philosopher of Salisbury, *opus senile*.

* Τὸ σάββατον τῆς Τυρινῆς, χαιρεῖς, Αλέξιε, ἐνόητες τὸ, καὶ τὴν δευτέραν τὸ πρῶν ἔιπα γεράκιν με; and again, ἀπὸ τὴν Δίστραν εἰς Γολόην καλὸν ἄπληκτον, Κόμνηνε.

“ Sabbato Tyrophagi, (seu quinquagesimæ), valeas, Alexie, rem percipisti, altera hebdomadis die, diluculo, ecce mens accipiter.” Snapple evolat. And “ a Distrâ ad Goloen præclara castra, Comnene.”—Præfat. Gloss.

tury, although deplorably vulgar, because evidently meant for the common people, would not be understood by the present Greeks, and besides the want of rhyme, are easily to be distinguished from the specimens now current of the same sort of composition, as an example of both will help to prove*.

* Οἷδας δὲ πάντως ἀκριβῶς πῶς πᾶσαν ὀίδα βίβλιον
 Ἐκ στήθεος τε καὶ στόματος οὕτως ἐτάμνω λέγειν
 Οὐδὲ γὰρ μνημονέστερον τῆ Τζέτζη Θεὸς ἄλλον
 Ἄνδρα τῶν πρὶν τε καὶ τῶν νῦν ἐξέφηεν ἐν βίῳ
 Ὅθεν τὸ δῶρον εὐληφῶς εὐχαριστῶ τῷ δόντι
 Καὶ τρίβω βίον πενιχρὸν σπειρᾶς ὧν γένος πρῶτες.

Chiliad i. v. 275, Ap. Fabric. Bibl. Græc.
 vol. xi. p. 229, edit. Crist. Harles.

This, to be sure, independent of the ridiculous vanity of the writer, is not quite in the style of the ancients, and shows besides, that even in his time the neglect of the long vowels, and the observance of the accents only in versification, had begun to obtain; but it is very different from the following verses, extracted from an historical poem, the Exploits of Michael the Waiwode, much like the Chiliads, printed at Venice in 1806, which I bought at Ioannina.

Καὶ ὁ Μιχαὴλ τᾶκουσε, πολλὰ τοῦ κακοφάνε
 Καὶ πρόβαξε καὶ τοιμασθῆν, καὶ πᾶν καὶ βρῆν τὸν Χάνη
 Καὶ τοὺς Ρωμῆιους ἔστειλε, τριακόσια παλικάρια
 Νὰ δῶσι πόθεν ἔρχονται, καὶ μάθῃσι καθάρια
 Νὰ δῶν ἂν εἶναι περισσὸι, ἂν εἴναι μαζὺ καὶ ὁ Χάτης
 Νὰ τῷ μνηύσαν γλήγορα, καὶ πάγη καὶ ὁ Μιχαὴλ.

“ And Michael heard of these things, and they much displeased him,
 And he ordered them to get themselves in readiness, and go and find the Chan.
 And he sent the Greeks, three hundred brave lads,
 To know whence they came, and learn clearly;
 To know if there were many, and, if the Chan was with them,
 That they should quickly announce it, that Michael himself might come.”

The reader may observe the numerous and strange contractions in these verses. It would be unfair to quote a ballad as a specimen of the poetry of the modern Greeks, if they had any thing better than ballads.

Specimens of the same kind of verse, written in the year 1300, on the war of the Franks in the Morea, which are shown in Du Cange's Glossary, although not of quite the same *purity* as the *Chiliads*, are not Romaic. Philephus, who married the daughter of the second Chrysoloras, and was at Constantinople a little before the taking of the city by the Turks, talks of the depraved language of the Greeks, but does not decidedly note the distinction between the Romaic and Hellenic, and besides, mentions that the ordinary talk of the nobles, and especially of the women, was such as might have come from the lips "of the comic Aristophanes, the tragic Euripides, all the Orators, from those of the Philosophers themselves, and even of Plato and Aristotle*."

This panegyric is not to be trusted, for, before that period, orthography had been entirely neglected†, and it is not probable that those who could not spell, should talk with any very great purity; but still, if there was the smallest foundation for the assertion of Philephus, the Romaic could not have been the common speech, or these noble ladies, when talking Hellenic, would never have been understood by the servants of their household.

Though the works of the Byzantine writers abounded with Græco-barbarous words, of which Meursius collected five thousand four hundred, and Du Cange a greater number, yet I find no notice, that previous to the Turkish conquest, the use of the auxiliary verbs, and the rejection of the simple infinitive mood,

* Philephi Epist. in Hod. de Græcis Illustribus, lib. i. p. 188.—Philological Enquiries, cap. v.

† Martin Crusius, talking of the confusion of the vowels and diphthongs, both in writing and speaking, says, nec hodie modo hæc orthographiæ neglectio apparet, postquam, ex libera Græcia facta est Turco-Græcia, sed in antiquis manuscriptis, quamdiu Imperium Græcum adhuc stabat, conspicitur.—Præfat Glossar.

the characteristics of the Romaïc, were adopted in any book, or in common discourse.

The Oriental languages are, I understand, remarkable for the introduction of the auxiliary verb; and to the settlement of the Scythians amongst them, and their final subjugation by an Eastern people, the Greeks may perhaps owe this innovation in their language*. A multitude of words were at an early period, we know, borrowed from the East, of which it may be sufficient to quote two, *Chiaus* †, and *Dragoman*, (from *Tagerman*, the Arabic word), representing, according to the formularies of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the introducer and interpreter of foreign Ambassadors. There are two officers still distinguished by the same names at the Turkish court.

After the fall of the empire, the common speech, not having the standard of a court by which to direct itself, must by degrees have degenerated down to the present vulgar dialect, and have begun at last to assume something like a consistency of corruption, and to be reducible to rule. The first notice, however, which I have seen of the Romaïc having become a written language, is in an account of Meletius Syrigus, a Cretan, who was born in 1585, and died in 1662, and who is said to have *translated* the four Apologies of John Catacuzenus into Romaïc, or the vulgar tongue †. Previous, indeed, to the time of this person, the knowledge of the Hellenic had begun to be a rare accomplishment, as we find by

* It may be worthy of remark, that Herodotus has recourse to the verb *θελω* to form the future tense—*εἰ δὲ θήλησσι συμβαίνειν*, “if it should happen,” is one instance, and there are others, although I cannot immediately turn to them. Euripides, if I recollect right, has a similar example, or two.

† Du Cange's Glossary, at the word ΤΖΑΟΥΣΙΟΙ;—and Gibbon, cap. 75, Decline and Fall.

‡ Fab. Bib. Græc. vol. xi. p. 447, edit. Harles.

the panegyrics passed upon those who possessed it by Greeks themselves. We know, from the authority of Theodosius Zygomalas and Simeon Cabasilas, in their Letters to Martin Crusius*, that, in the middle of the sixteenth century, those who lived in the great Mahometan towns spoke a language very much mixed with Turkish; and that those who were in territories possessed by the Venetians, had a greater share of Italian and Latin; whilst the inhabitants of the inland villages were not infected either by the one or the other, but spoke Greek; by which must, I suppose, be meant the purest Romaic; for another person†, writing to Crusius, and talking of the same period, affirms, that a district containing fourteen villages, between Nauplia and Monembasia, in the Morca, is inhabited by a people, (called Zacones), “*who speak the ancient tongue, although not indeed grammatically, and understand those who talk to them grammatically, but the vulgar language not at all‡.*” This clearly points at the distinction between the Romaic and even the corrupted Hellenic. Cabasilas declares, that although all Greeks, generally speaking, mutually understood each other, every canton had a speech of its own, and that there were, in the whole, seventy discernible dialects, of which the best was that spoken in Constantinople, Salonika, and in parts of the Morea. The other correspondent of Crusius, mentions Athens as the place whose Greek was the most corrupt; so much so, indeed, as to render her inhabitants unintelligible to those of the other parts of Greece, “and to make any one who heard them weep at

* Præf. Glossar.

† Gerlachius.—Præf. ut sup.

‡ There is a short account of these Zacones, or Lacones, at the word ΤΖΑΚΩΝΕΣ, in the Gloss. p. 1560.

finding that they are now as inferior as they had been formerly superior to others*." Such † inferiority will, however, not be wondered at, when we recollect that this city was long the seat of a Latin Prince, and that about the year 1300, the French was as much the common language of Athens as of Paris.

This diversity of dialects seems to me a sufficient proof that the Romaïc was not until a century after the Turkish conquest a settled and established tongue, at least not in the form in which we behold it at this day, for when it began to be employed in books, the distinctions of dialect were not so apparent, and, in the time of Wheler, not a hundred years after Zygomalas, that of the Athenians seemed to him and his fellow traveller, not the worst, but the best of any in the Levant ‡.

Since the time of Meletius Syrigus, (and perhaps it may be traced higher), the Romaïc has certainly been a written language, and the only one known to the generality of the Greeks. Many grammars of it have been constructed, the earliest and best of which is that of Portius, a Greek of Crete, dedicated to Armand, Cardinal Duke of Richelieu§. From this, an extracted

* Καὶ τὸ χεῖριστον, τοὺς πότε σοφωτάτους Ἀθηναίους ἐῖηκουσας, θαυρῶν ἂν ἐγένετο μεστός· ὅσον γὰρ ὑπερεπέρισσευσεν ποτὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡ καθαρά καὶ ἄδολος τῶν Ἑλλήνων φωνή, τόσον ἡ βάρβαρος ἐπληθύνθη καὶ ἀκούεται ἔξοχα πάντων.—Ap. Præf. sup. dict. p. vii.

† Testetur Raimundus Montanerius sua ætate, hoc est circa annum mccc Gallicum sermonem perinde ac in ipsa Parisiorum urbe obtinuisse Athenis.—Ib. p. ix.

‡ Wheler, lib. v. p. 355.

§ Bernardin Pianzola wrote a grammar in Romaïc, Turkish, and Italian, and Father Thomas, a Capuchin of Paris, composed another. Spon the traveller likewise made an effort, in what he calls his *Petite Dictionnaire*.

abridgment is subjoined, together with other specimens, as the best means of giving a view of the language, and of showing how much, or how little, it deviates from its great original.

Lord Kaimes, after speaking of the present debasement of the Greek, concludes by saying, “and yet, after all, that beautiful tongue, far beyond a rival, has suffered less alteration than any other ever did in similar circumstances*.” I know not of any language having ever been in similar circumstances; but if it had experienced the same fate as the Latin of Italy, there is no one who would have regretted that the change had been more entire and complete.

What has been the state of literature amongst the Greeks, since the establishment of the Romaic, may be partly collected from the last edition of Fabricius’ Greek Library. It appears, that in the course of about one hundred and fifty years, that is, from the age of Zygomalas, so frequently mentioned, to the year 1720, there were ninety-nine persons thought worthy of being commemorated as learned men, by one writer of their own nation, Demetrius Procopius, of Moschopolis in Macedonia, who transmitted from Bucharest, in the month of June of the year alluded to, “A concise Enumeration of the Learned Greeks up to that age, and of some then, at his time flourishing†.” A perusal of this catalogue, an abstract of which, containing the outlines of each character, with a few notices, collected from other places of the same book,

* Book i. sketch 4. The same author says, that there are about three thousand Greek books extant, and only sixty Latin. The expression is too indefinite. If he means books of all kinds, there are more than sixty Latin; if books which may be called classical, there are not three thousand Greek.

† Ἐπιτετυμημένη ἐπαρίθμησις, τῶν κατὰ τὸν παρελθόντα αἰῶνα Λογίων Γραικῶν καὶ περὶ τινῶν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι ἀνθάντων.

is here given, may assist us in forming a judgment of what is likely to be the actual condition of learning in Greece.

Procopius begins with Jeremiah, Patriarch of Constantinople.

2. Theodosius Zygomalas, a Priest, in the time of the same Patriarch—*δοκίμος ἀνὴρ καὶ σοφός*—the correspondent of *Crusius*.

3. Gabriel Severus, Bishop of Philadelphia, a controversialist—*ὀλίγων ἱπαίων ἄξιος*.

4. Meletius Piga, an Alexandrian priest, theologian and philosopher.

5. Maximus, a Peloponnesian, wrote against the Pope. A priest.

6. Maximus Margunius, theologian, and author of Anacreontic hymns.—“Acquainted with foreign literature*.”

7. George Corescius, a Chian, theologian—*ἐν τῇ τάξει, καὶ ἐν θείᾳ διακρίσει*.

8. Cyrillus Lucaris, Cretan, Patriarch of Constantinople, a well known writer, and great controversialist, whose Life was written by Thomas Smith, and printed by Bowyer, in London, 1707. He died, being, as before mentioned, strangled in 1638. It was he who sent the Alexandrine Testament, now in Westminster Library, to Charles the First.

9. Gerasimus, a Cretan, Patriarch

of Alexandria, a theologian, philosopher, and profoundly skilled in the sacred writings, well acquainted with Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. He retired to Mount Athos, and there died. He wrote against the Jews.

10. Dionysius, a Constantinopolitan, Patriarch of Constantinople; skilled in Greek, and the sacred writings.

11. Callinicus, an Acarnanian, Patriarch of Constantinople, versed in Greek, and *καὶ τὰς τοῦ τῶν λογιγράφων, καὶ τὰς τῶν φιλοσόφων βίβλους*, but spending all his time in reading the Scriptures. A good preacher.

12. Gabriel of Smyrna, Patriarch of Constantinople, “a warm admirer of the Liturgy,” and versed in Greek.

13. Athanasius, a Cretan, Patriarch of Constantinople; he knew the Greek and Arabic languages, but chiefly studied the Scriptures.

14. Alexander Maurocordatus, of Scio. He studied physic at Padua, and wrote a book on respiration and the circulation of the blood, frequently printed in Italy, Holland, and Germany; and also a Sacred History, in Hellenic, printed at Bucharest, in MCCCXVI. His other books were

* The inverted commas mark the passages translated verbatim from Procopius. The catalogue does not observe chronological order; and such dates as are here given, I have collected, not from Procopius, but other authorities.

Ρωμαϊκὴ Ἱστορία, τόμοι τρεῖς τῷ ὄντι πολυτέλει-
τατον κειμήλιον.

Φιλοσοφικὰ ὑπομνήματα.

Ῥητορικὰ.

Ἐπιστολαί.

Πολιτικὰ ὑποδῆκαι.

Ὁ πρὸς Γερμανοὺς ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης λόγος.

He is called illustrious amongst the nobles of Constantinople, by the splendour of his birth, and the most precious ornaments of wit and learning—chief Dragoman and Privy Counsellor at the Porte, ἀνὴρ σοφώτατος; πολιτικώτατος. He founded a school at Constantinople. His true character is given in Tournefort, tom ii. p. 12. He died in 1699, full of wealth and honour, having been Minister from 1653 to 1699.

15. Theophilus Corydalleus, an Athenian schoolmaster at Constantinople, skilled in Greek, Latin, and Italian. He translated Aristotle from the Latin, with the Commentary of Cæsar of Cremona, and rhetorical and epistolary formularies, printed at Leyden. He lived about 1630. The last book was printed in London, 1625, and again at Venice, so late as 1786.

16. Gregory, a Chian, a Constantinopolitan priest, wrote on the seven sacraments.

17. Meletius Syrigus, a Cretan, (born 1585, died 1662); he wrote ecclesiastical commentaries in Hellenic, and translated the Four Apologies

of John Catacuzenus into Romaic. He was a Sacred Monk.

18. Nectarius, a Cretan, Patriarch of Jerusalem. He wrote against the Pope; and a curious book, the History of the Egyptians and Saracens, from the records in the Monastery of Sinai.

19. Desitheus, a Peloponesian, Patriarch of Jerusalem, edited some works on the Greek Church, “but scarcely understood a word of Hellenic, and was altogether ignorant of Latin.”

20. Athanasius Patelarius, Cretan, Patriarch of Constantinople; he knew Greek and Latin, but left nothing printed.

21. Germannus, an Ætolian, Archbishop of Nyssa; “versed in foreign literature, an Aristotelian philosopher, a hearer of Theophilus Corydalleus.” He travelled into England.

22. Meletius Macres, a sacred Monk, versed in the Scriptures.

23. Gerasimus Vlachus, a Cretan, Bishop of Philadelphia, acquainted with Greek, Latin, and Italian. He wrote a book, printed at Venice, called, The Harmony of Things.

24. Nicolas Cerameus, of Ioannina; he knew Greek, Italian, and Latin, and was a physician.

25. John Cottuneus, from Berhœa, or Cara Veria, in Macedonia; a physician; wrote commentaries on Aris-

totle, in Latin, and many Greek books, printed at Padua, where he established a Greek school.

26. Dionysius, Metropolitan of Nauplia, a disciple of Theophilus Corydalleus; versed in foreign literature and theology.

27. John Cargophyllis, a Constantinopolitan; a Logothete; a learned theologian, but fell into disgrace for favouring the Calvinists.

28. Theodoret, Bishop of Mistra, in the Morea; acquainted with foreign learning, and a good preacher.

29. Ililario Tzigalas, of Cyprus, Archbishop of Cyprus, a philosopher and poet. He wrote a grammatical essay in Greek.

30. Cyrill, Patriarch of Antioch; he knew Greek and Arabic.

31. Bessarion, a Monk of Ioannina; he wrote "A more full Confession of Faith," and a Grammar of the Greek language, (which is in my possession); the first was printed at Venice, the last at Bucharest.

32. Panayot, of Constantinople, chief Dragoman of the Porte; *before mentioned**; a most learned man. He wrote to Athanasius Kircher concerning the obelisk at Constantinople.

33. Sebastus Cymenites, of Trebezond, a schoolmaster, first at Constantinople, then at Bucharest.

34. Paisius Ligarides, a Chian,

schoolmaster at Yassy; "skilled in every kind of learning and science; in his knowledge of sacred literature, second to none. His various writings never printed, are preserved."

35. Palases, a Constantinopolitan, (μέγας σκευοφύλαξ), *Great Keeper of the Vases* in the High Church of Constantinople. A man, says Procopius, who left no writings behind him, but whose very silence is better, and more precious, than many writings.

36. Stephaces, an Athenian sacred Monk, skilled in foreign philosophy.

37. Eugenius, an Acarnanian sacred Monk, a philosopher, theologist, and lover of the poor.

38. Gerasimus, an Acarnanian sacred Monk, a scholar and theologist; a doctor of the Constantinopolitan school.

39. Chrysanthus, a sacred Monk of Ioannina, educated in the school of that city; versed in foreign philosophy, and a schoolmaster, first in Moschopolis, and afterwards in Ithaca.

40. Antony Corai, a Chian, a physician and philosopher, who learnt Latin and Greek in Rome, journeyed through England, France, and Italy, and wrote and printed Pindaric Odes in Greek; "which are excellent imitations of Pindar."

41. Clement of Chio, Metropolitan of Ioannina—ἐιδημων τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώττης.

42. Meletius, the Geographer,—
 ἀνὴρ σοφὸς, πολυμαθὴς, ῥήτωρ. ἀνιχνευτὴς τῆ βί-
 βως τῶν θείων γραφῶν, καὶ τῶν δόξαθεν φιλοσόφων,
 ἱεροκέρυξ περιβόητος, καὶ τῶν τῆς λατρικῆς θεωρημα-
 των ἱκανὸς ἱμπεριος. This extraordinary
 man, in his account of Natolico in
 Ætolia, says, that a spring of pure
 blood gushed up a cubit from the
 earth near that town. From the praises
 given to Meletius, some judgment
 may be formed of the real merits of the
 other writers. Besides his Geography,
 he wrote a book of Ecclesiastical His-
 tory, in the same middle Greek, be-
 tween Romaic and Hellenic, as his
 Geography.

43. Constantine Catacuzenus, a pur-
 veyor at Bucharest, lived in the begin-
 ning of the last century, wrote theolo-
 gical and philosophical commentaries.
 A scholar well read in the Fathers.
 He travelled over Europe.

44. Constantine Julian, of Constan-
 tinople, and of noble extraction; versed
 in Hellenic.

45. John Porphyrites, a Constanti-
 nopolitan; versed in Hellenic and the
 Fathers.

46. Hierotheus Commenus, a Con-
 stantinopolitan, Metropolitan of Drys-
 tra; versed in Greek, Latin, Italian,
 Hebrew, and Arabic; educated first at
 Constantinople, then in Italy. Wrote
 in Romaic, the History of Mount
 Athos, which was printed. He died
 at Bucharest, mcccxi.

47. Gennadius, Metropolitan of
 Hieraclea; versed in Greek.

48. Andronicus of Constantinople,
 and of noble extraction, (μέγας χαρτοφύ-
 λαξ), great librarian of the Church of
 Constantinople. Versed in Greek.

49. Marc of Cyprus, a schoolmas-
 ter at Bucharest; versed in Greek, and
 in foreign and domestic literature.

50. Antony, schoolmaster at Con-
 stantinople; versed in Greek, foreign
 philosophy, and theology, (τὴν καὶ ἡμᾶς
 ἱερὰν διολογίαν).

51. Churmusius, brother of Antony,
 and equally learned.

52. Dionysius Mantuca, Metropoli-
 tan of Castoria, from Moschopolis;
 acquainted with Greek and Latin, fo-
 reign philosophy, and theology.

53. Jeremiah Cacabella, a Cretan;
 versed in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and
 Italian. He translated Platina's His-
 tory of the Popes, into Romaic, and
 added ten lives. The version is in the
 Imperial Library in Vienna.

54. Elias Meniates, a Cephalonian,
 Bishop of Cernica, in the Morea;
 versed in Greek and Latin, and, above
 all, a skilful rhetorician, as "his
 Ecclesiastical Homilies, in Romaic,
 printed at Venice, evince."

55. Cæsarius, a sacred Monk of the
 Morea, (πρωτοσύγκελλος), first Domestic of
 the Constantinopolitan Church—ἐνθήμε-
 τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου.

56. Abraham, a Cretan presbyter,

skilled in Greek, Latin, and Italian, who studied in Italy.

57. Meletius Gypaldus, of Cephalonia, Metropolitan of Philadelphia; versed in Greek, Latin, and Italian.

58. Nicolaus Calliaces, Professor of Rhetoric in the Academy at Padua, in 1687. Several learned dissertations written by this man were printed at Vienna and Padua, on the Gladiators, on the Punishment of Ancient Slaves, on Osiris, on the Eleusinian Mysteries, on the Games of the Circus.

59. John Patusas, an Athenian Presbyter. He was a professor in a college

at Venice, and edited a Philological Encyclopædia in four volumes, printed at Venice in 1710.

60. Nicolaus, a Moldavian; first sword-bearer of the Waiwode of Moldavia (*πρωτοκατάδρομος*); versed in Greek, Latin, and the Illyrian language. He translated the Scriptures into the Wallachian language: he was sent by the Russians as Dragoman into China.

51. George Maiotas, a Cretan Presbyter; educated at Rome in Greek, Latin, and Italian.

62. John Thalassinus of the Morea; skilled in Greek and sacred learning.

Learned Men of the Age of Procopius.

63. Jeremias, from Patmos; a Greek scholar, an investigator by day and night of the Scriptures and the Fathers. He beautified the patriarchal church in mcccxx.

64. Cyrill, a Lesbian, Patriarch of Constantinople, versed in Greek and the Scriptures.

65. Cosmas of Chalcedon, Patriarch of Constantinople, skilled in Greek. He passed the latter part of his life in the Monastery on Mount Sinai, preparing ecclesiastical commentaries.

66. Samuel of Chios, Patriarch of Alexandria, a most pious and learned man, "but not so learned as the Pa-

triarch who preceded him, Gerasimus."

67. Athanasius of Antioch, Patriarch of that city. He flourished in the beginning of the last century, and left a book in Romæic, preserved in the Imperial library at Vienna, called a "Synopsis of the History of the Patriarchs of Antioch, from St. Peter to the year 1702."

68. Chrysanthus Notaras, of the Morea, Patriarch of Jerusalem; skilled in Greek and Latin, but especially in theology and mathematics; educated at Constantinople and in Italy. "Besides in other things fortunate, be-

cause during his patriarchate the Holy Temple of Jerusalem, and the bed of the Holy Sepulchre, were repaired." He wrote an introduction to Geography, printed at Paris; and a book of Greek rituals, printed at Bucharest, both in Romaic.

69. John Nicholas Maurocordatus, son of Alexander Maurocordatus, Waiwode of Wallachia; "intimately acquainted with philosophy, especially with that of Plato." A profound Greek scholar, and versed in the modern languages of Europe, as well as of the East: "if any one heard him talk Latin, he would suppose him to have been born in the country of Cicero, and those who flourished in the golden age." He published at Bucharest, in 1719, a book in Greek, "on Offices," of which a Latin version was edited by Stephen Bergler, at Leipsig, in 1739. He died in 1739. Other specimens of his erudition are to be found in the Bibliotheca Menckeuiana.

70. Charles Maurocordatus, eldest son of the last-mentioned Prince, a studious and learned youth.

71. Callinicus of Naxos, Metropolitan of Heraclea, formerly schoolmaster of the great school at Constantinople.

72. Athanasius, a native and Metropolitan of Adrianople, versed in Greek and theology.

73. Dionysius of Lesbos, Metropolitan of Anusia, versed in Greek and theology.

74. Ignatius of Lesbos, Metropolitan of Rhodes, versed in Greek and theology. *Κηρύττει καὶ ἀνοικτύσσει τὸν ἐυαγγελικὸν λόγον μετὰ πολλῆς ζήλου καὶ ἀγάπης.*

75. Seraphim of Acarnania, Metropolitan of Drystra, versed in Greek and theology.

76. Gregory Soteris, an Athenian, Metropolitan of Ganos and Chora, acquainted not only with Greek, but Latin and Italian.

77. Neophytus Notaras of the Morea, Keeper of the Holy Sepulchre, and brother of Chrysanthus, Patriarch of Jerusalem; a philosopher, theologian, and mathematician, "who read the Fathers, and meditated on them."

78. Demetrius Julianus, a Constantinopolitan of noble family, great Logothete of the Constantinopolitan Church, versed in Greek and Latin.

79. Spantonos, a Constantinopolitan librarian at Constantinople; versed in Greek, and in the rites and constitution of the church; formerly a schoolmaster.

80. Jacobus Manas of Argos, "first of the philosophers of the holy church of Constantinople," most perfectly skilled in the Greek, and an accurate imitator of the ancient style. "A peripatetic philosopher, a teacher, interpre-

ter, and defender of the Aristotelian doctrines, but a profound theologian." He lived with Alexander Maurocordatus, and spoke his funeral oration, on which he prided himself. He was at the head of the school at Constantinople, where he expounded the writings of Aristotle, and taught theology.

81. Nicholas Commenus Papodopolos, a Cretan Presbyter, versed in Greek, Latin, and Italian, and in ecclesiastical history. He was doctor in philosophy and law, and interpreter of the Sacred Canons in the University of Padua, where he published several learned dissertations, and was (says Harles) the most diligent in his examination of the unedited works of the latter Greeks, of any one since Allatius*. Commenus was born in 1656, and died in 1740.

82. Demetrius Notaras, a Morcote, first physician to the Waiwode of Wallachia, versed in Greek, Latin, and Italian.

83. Gregory Sugdures, of Ioannina, where he was chief schoolmaster; acquainted with Greek, Latin, and Italian; "skilful in the Aristotelian philosophy, but more so in theology." He wrote a Breviary of Logic, and a Concordance of the New and Old Testament.

84. Anastatius, a Presbyter of Ioannina, skilled in Greek and Latin, and

the Aristotelian philosophy. He wrote an exposition of rhetoric.

85. Thomas Catanes, a Cretan, versed in Greek, Latin, and Italian, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Padua. He died at Venice, 1725.

86. John Chalceus, a Moschopolite Presbyter, versed in Greek, Latin, and Italian; an Aristotelian philosopher, and theologist. He was Professor at Venice.

87. Ant. Cathephorus of Zante, a Presbyter. He knew Greek, Latin, Italian, the Aristotelian and latter philosophy, and was a teacher in the Flanginian College at Venice.

88. George Patusius, an Athenian; possessed the same accomplishments, and was a schoolmaster at Venice.

89. Antonius Strategus of Corfu, a teacher in Padua.

90. Macarius of Patmos, a Deacon, versed in Greek and Latin, and the Scriptures.

91. Methodius Anthoracites of Ioannina, a sacred Monk. He lived some years in Italy, and printed at Venice a work in Romaic, called Βοσκός λογικῶν προβάτων —The Shepherd of Rational Sheep.

92. Metrophanes Gregoras of Dodona, a sacred Monk; versed in Greek, a poet, and a preacher, who meditated on the Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church.

* See vol. xi. Biblioth. Græc. p. 450.

93. Anastatius Gordius of Acarnania, a Monk, skilled in the Greek and Latin languages, and who heard the learned in Italy.

94. Anastatius of Nausa, in Macedonia; "a wise man and learned philosopher, a theologist, and famous orator; knowing the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages. He travelled over almost all Europe."

95. John of Thessalonica, and school-master of that city, "skilled in Greek, and not ignorant of Latin." *Πεπαιδευμένος, τὴν τε θύραθεν φιλοσοφίαν, καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν θεολογίαν,*
the common eulogy.

96. George of Trebezond, school-master at Bucharest, versed in Greek, and the Aristotelian philosophy.

97. Agapius of Ithaca, a sacred Monk, (*ἱερομόναχος*); versed in Greek, the Scriptures, and Fathers.

98. Philotheus, "a Monk of Parga, a friend of the said Agapius, and like him in every thing."

99. Gregory of Salonika, "a Monk. A famous man, skilled in Greek, instructed in foreign philosophy and our sacred theology: a sacred preacher."

Written by Demetrius Procopius the Moschopolite, July MDCCLXXI.

It may be supposed, that the learned Greeks of the middle and close of the last century, were much of the same sort as those mentioned by Procopius; that the greater number of them were theological writers, mostly educated in Italy; and that they were thought prodigies by their countrymen, on account of being able to read the Hellenic. The names of some are detailed in modern publications; and although never heard of in England, have been for some time pretty well known in Italy and Germany, and latterly at Paris. Such are Marinus of Cephalonia, professor of chemistry at Padua, and Marcus his brother, a good mechanist, who removed the rock on which the statue of Peter is placed, to Petersburg, and printed an essay at Paris in 1777.

The more intimate connection which has taken place of late

years between the nations of Christendom and the Levant, has certainly improved very considerably the general literature of the Greeks. The number of those who seek for instruction in the universities of the Continent, increases daily: Leghorn, Venice, Vienna, and more especially at this time, Paris, abound with young men from Constantinople, Smyrna, and Albania, but chiefly from the Ionian Isles. Medicine is the study to which they usually apply, in order to qualify themselves for gaining a respectable subsistence in their own country; but there are not wanting instances of those who, having made a greater proficiency, and demonstrated more genius than ordinary, have settled in the countries which gave them their education. In fact, the greater advances which a modern Greek may make in knowledge, the more insupportable must he find a residence in the Levant. If he has devoted himself to the study of history, how can he contemplate the miserable condition of his country, and continually behold oppression in all its modes—the injuries of the master, and (what is more intolerable) the meanness of the slave? If he has imbibed any portion of the philosophical spirit, now so generally diffused throughout Christendom, how will he be able to consort with the priests of his church, the most literate but unenlightened of his countrymen? Must he not feel his genius pine within him, and decay like the exotic transplanted to a soil unfit for its encouragement and growth? A very reasonable despair of benefitting their country by their presence, has, indeed, naturalized the most illustrious of the modern Greeks at a distance from their homes; but they have been by no means forgetful of their native soil, and have directed their labours to the improvement of their countrymen.

A variety of Hellenic grammars, in Romaic, with Italian and French translations; and dictionaries, some in four, some in three languages, are in use in all the principal towns, although they are not very common. I was shown at Athens a lexicon, in ancient and modern Greek, Latin, and Italian; and my fellow-traveller has in his possession one in Romaic, French, and Italian, in three volumes, printed at Vienna in 1798, by George Ventote, of Ioannina, to which is prefixed, a well-contrived grammar of the two latter languages.

It is no disgrace for the Greeks, returned to a second childhood, to receive the instructions suited to infancy. It was the peculiar advantage of their ancestors, and one which contributed as much as any thing to form those mighty masters, that the study of mere words made comparatively but a very small portion of their education, that they had not to acquire the knowledge of any language but their own, but directed at once the whole force of their rising genius to those useful studies which are now not to be commenced without many previous years of philological initiation. At present, almost the whole ingenuity of the modern Greeks is exercised in the acquisition of many languages, and in this, it must be confessed, they display a wonderful proficiency. A quick and delicate ear, a flexibility of speech, a tenacious memory, enable their youths of a tender age to speak five or six, and sometimes a greater number of languages, especially at Constantinople, where many even of those of the lowest orders can make themselves understood in French, Italian, Russian, Turkish, Slavonian, and even Latin, some of them being capable of also comprehending the Hellenic. But unfortunately they have had but little opportunity of showing their natural ability in any of the more useful attainments of literature;

and their want of a press open to liberal writers, has thrown an insuperable bar in the way of their improvement.

So early as the middle of the seventeenth century, one Nicholas Mataxo, a Cephalonian Monk, came from London, with a press and Greek types, to Constantinople; but his endeavour was stopped at once by the Turkish Government. One was indeed established at Bucharest, but only theological works, and vulgar romances and song books, proceeded from an office liable to be denounced, both by the civil and ecclesiastical authority. A Greek press has been long established at Venice, but subject to the supervision and censures of a licenser; and transmitting therefore no ray of light calculated to pierce and dispel the thick gloom of ignorance. Grammars and dictionaries, with translations of such books as are not judged dangerous, either by the Italian or Greek clergy, were, it is true, a valuable, though a very inadequate addition to the homilies and catechisms which formed the scanty library of the Greeks; but no original work of any importance has ever been dispersed in Greece.

Pogozi, an Armenian, had a press at Constantinople, in 1798, which has not of late been worked; so that books of all kinds must come from abroad—from Paris, from Venice, or Vienna; and even at the last place, there is no certain security for those who undertake the task. Riga, a well-known name, who, after the failure of the last insurrection of the Greeks, endeavoured to reorganize the confederacy, and again to rouse his countrymen, having retired to the capital of Austria, prepared for the press a translation, (not composed by himself), of Anacharsis; but just as it was about to be printed, the unfortunate patriot was delivered by the Emperor Joseph to the Turks. He failed in an attempt to destroy himself, and was thrown into the Danube.

Some years afterwards, a Romaic journal was established at the same city, conducted by one Pouli, who, besides the sheets of this paper, issued a violent pamphlet against the Emperor Paul, called, "Considerations of a Greek Patriot, printed in Vienna, in Austria, at the new press of the Greek Journal*." The Sultan made a requisition for the conductor, and eight other Greeks, living at Vienna, and Pouli was arrested by the Emperor, although not delivered to the Turks, which was the fate of the other eight persons, who were instantly beheaded. The Greek types were destroyed, but have, I believe, been since replaced.

What then is the actual state of knowledge amongst the Greeks? Mr. Corai, of Scio, has rendered himself well known, by his French translation of Theophrastus's Characters, and of Hippocrates, *περὶ ὑδάτων καὶ ἀέρων, καὶ τόπων*, by an edition of the Æthiopics of Heliodorus, with a Romaic preface, by his commentaries on Herodotus, and more particularly by a version of Beccaria in modern Greek, with a preliminary exhortation to his countrymen. He has been lately concerned in an edition of Strabo, of which the English reader has already had some information†. He is a member of the French Institute, which has given him a prize for his Hippocrates, and he resides at Paris, in the enjoyment of a reputation fairly acquired by his literary labours. "Offspring of a country once the most fortunate of Greece, for him is it reserved to associate his own with the immortal name of the Oracle of Cos‡."

* Στοχασμοὶ ἑνὸς φιλέλληρος. . . ἐν Βιέννῃ τῆς Αὐστρίας, ἐκ τῆς πρώτης τυπογραφίας τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἡφημερίδων.

† Edinburgh Review, No. xxxi. art. iii.

‡ Pouqueville en Morée, p. 338.

Paris has also to boast of Panayotes Kodrikas, an Athenian, who has translated the Plurality of Worlds into Romaïc, and keeps a school for students in Greek and Arabic; and of Polyzois, a poet, who has composed several patriotic songs, the most celebrated of which is an address to those who served under the French in Egypt: extracts of it are subjoined in the next Letter.

To these must be added Phillipides, author of a geographical work, very decidedly superior to that of Meletius; John Camasares, a Constantinopolitan, who has translated into French Ocellus Lucanus; Athanasius of Paros, who has written on rhetoric, and, not inferior to any except Corai, Psallida, the schoolmaster of Ioannina. Marmaratouri, an Athenian merchant, should be mentioned in this list. He has published a Life of Suvaroff, in Romaïc, not a translation, but, what is very uncommon, an original work. His scheme for publishing a modern Greek version of Anacharsis, undertaken by three Greeks, is already given to the public*.

At the same time that I recount these men, it will be necessary to add, that only the last mentioned resides in Greece. It should be remembered also, that only a very few copies of their books are to be met with. I only saw one of Psallida's on True Felicity, and one of Corai's Beccaria. There is not in the Levant a library where books are sold. It is possible, in the shops of those who sell other articles, sometimes to pick up a collection of homilies and romances, and, although very rarely, an Hellenic grammar. Psallida, at Ioannina, was the only person I ever saw who had what might be called a library, and that a very small one. It consisted of such books as he found serviceable in instructing his scholars. Amongst them were a Thucydides, with a Romaïc

* In the Appendix to Childe Harold.

translation, and Goldsmith's Grecian History, in Romaïc. The school at Athens had also a few classics; and I recollect being shown a torn copy of Xenophon's Hellenics, which the owner said he would have been very willing to give to me, had he not kept it for the use of the English Resident. Some of the Greek palaces of the Fanal*, and the patriarchal house, contain sets of books, chiefly theological, and written by those who have been enumerated by Procopius; but neither the owners themselves, nor any portion of the public, are benefitted by these volumes.

A Romaïc translation of Locke's Essay may be found in Greece; but I never saw it. I must say the same of Montesquieu on the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire, and of Tissot's *Avis au Peuple sur sa Santé*. One copy of Telemachus, and of Rollin's Ancient History, both in Romaïc, I did see, and only one; as also one volume of the Arabian Nights. The Plurality of Worlds, which, (on account of a note where the invention of balloons is mentioned, and something said about animal magnetism), has been denounced by the Patriarchal Synod, never fell in my way; nor did I ever meet with the Romaïc Robinson Crusoe, which, for some reason or other, is also a condemned book.

Thus it is evident, that there is no dissemination of knowledge in Greece. That there are clever, enlightened, and well-informed Greeks to be found out of the Levant, and that a few books, truly excellent, are sparingly scattered about in the country, can hardly be taken into account in estimating the general condition of the people.

* More correctly, but not so frequently, called and written Phanâr, as the gate in that quarter, near the head of the port of Constantinople, is called Fener-Capoussi, the Fener-Gate, yet the *φανάρι*, or light-house, is now on the side of the sea of Marmora, between the two quarters called Thatladi and Ahour Capoussi.

It is true, that schools where the Hellenic is taught, have been established in all the great towns. Constantinople has two very large academies. At Haivali, or Kidognis, opposite Mytelene, there is a sort of university, for a hundred students and three professors, now superintended by a Greek of Mytelene, who teaches not only the Hellenic, but Latin, French, and Italian. At Athens, there are two public schools, and many private instructors: but neither Latin, nor any of the Frank languages, are there known, except by a few of the Roman Catholic children who frequent the Capuchin Convent.

The schools of Ioannina have been before mentioned; that of Psallida, who has a hundred pupils, gives instruction in French, Latin, Italian, and Hellenic: and the literal Greek, together with writing and reading, is taught in another school, containing three hundred boys, who pay nothing for their instruction. All the larger islands of both seas have establishments of the same kind. Thus the generality of the Greeks can write and read, and have a smattering, at least, of Hellenic, but without books, these accomplishments are of no use to them; and accordingly they have not made any progress in any science, nor have advanced a step towards the attainment of any useful art. They are only enabled to read the church service, and their foolish romances, and are qualified for an employment in the service of their Pashas, and the transaction of the business attendant upon their petty traffic.

It will not therefore appear strange, that the Greek, I mean the colloquial language, should, under such circumstances, become daily more corrupt. In some parts of the Levant, the very basis of the old tongue seems to have been subverted. Although, in the days of Theodora Chrysolorina, the wife of Philelphus, the ladies of

Constantinople may have been notorious for the purity of their speech, nothing can be more mixed and barbarous than the common dialect of the wives and daughters of those principal Greeks of the capital with whom strangers consort. Their language is indeed materially injured, even by the superior education which these ladies receive, in order to qualify themselves for the Frank society of Pera, and which they take every opportunity of displaying, by the introduction of words and phrases wholly French and Italian. But the priests and princes of the Fanal, amongst whom young Ipsilanti, whose father was lately Waiwode of Moldavia, is distinguished as a most elegant and accomplished scholar, affect a greater accuracy, by the choice of ancient words, and a few of them might, if so addressed by a stranger, be able to keep up a conversation in pure Hellenic.

The Greek of Smyrna is much infected by the Franks. That of Salonica is more pure. The Athenian language is not, in my mind, so corrupted, nor has admitted so many Latin and Italian words, as that of the Morea; but it has not preserved so much of the ancient elegance as the dialect of Ioannina, which the inhabitants of that city boast to be superior to any, except that of Constantinople.

Some villages near Triccala in Thessaly, speak at this day, not the Romaic, but a corrupt Hellenic, as pure, perhaps, as the Zaconian language before mentioned. Of the traces of the four dialects, Doric, Ionic, Attic, and Æolic, which Cabasilas asserts to have been preserved in his time, I neither found, nor heard any evidence.

The substantives most commonly in use, have undergone the most complete change; such as represent *bread, water, clothes,*

would surprise the ear of a Hellenist, and yet neither ψωμῆ, νερό; nor ῥῆκα, are of a very late date *. But the names of plants are nearly all Hellenic, and a botanical treatise would scarcely want a glossary of Romaïc terms. The old names of places are, as might be expected †, not altogether lost in the modern appellations of the Greeks, although the Turks have, in many instances, given names of their own.

With respect to the written tongue, it must be observed, that the composition at this day current, is of three kinds: the first, is the language of the mass, and some other parts of the rituals, which are grammatically Hellenic: the ancient Greek has also been lately used by Corai, and one or two others, but is not adopted in any common books. The next may be called the Ecclesiastical Greek; which is the kind employed by the majority of the church writers in their pastoral letters, and which, besides other characteristics, does not have recourse to the modern vulgarism of always recurring to the auxiliary verbs. This is the style of many of those cited by Procopius, and even of earlier authors, of Meletius, in his Geography, and several other later works, and does not seem to be formed by any certain rule, but by an attempt of the writers to come as near as possible to the

* The first is found in the history of Apollonius Tyrius—

Ἐπίασαν δίχως τὸ ψωμὴ καὶ φάραν τὸ ψάρακι;

νερόν, derived perhaps from ὑγρόν, is in Constant. Porphyro. Gen. de Adm. Imp. cap. 9. Σκλαβινιστὶ Βερόντζη, ὃ ἔστι βράσμα νερῷ—ῥῆκον and ῥῆκα, recur repeatedly in Nicetas.—Du Cange Gloss.

† Monboddo on Language, vol. i. The contracted preposition and the accusative article, (σ'την), have helped to form some of the new names. Thus, Dium in Thessaly, is Standia; Cos, Stancho; and the capital, (Πολις), Stamboul.

Hellenic. The Romaic is the third species of composition; but even in this vulgar idiom, there is necessarily some distinction made by the nature of the various subjects, and the talents of the respective authors. The philosophical treatises of Corai and Psallida, are as good, in point of style, as the dedication of Simon Portius' grammar to Cardinal Richelieu, and although, perhaps, their subjects contribute much to their apparent superiority, are not so entirely vulgar, as the downright common dialect, of which some specimens are added to these Letters from the translation of the Arabian Nights, and some original romances.

The modern Greeks delight in poetry, and very many amongst them evince a great facility in versification. There is an infinite variety of love and drinking songs; some of which are common in every part of Greece, whilst other pieces of poetry are known only in the town or village of their author. A young man of any spirit, who has been ill-treated by his mistress, anathematised by his priest, or beaten by a Turk, seldom fails to revenge himself by a lampoon.

I am not aware that there are any verses which the poet did not write to be sung, or, as the expression is, *εις τραγῳδι*, "for a song." Let me observe in passing, that the Greek music* is plaintive, but monotonous. The specimens given by Dr. Crotch, possess the character of all which I happened to hear. A first part of some airs borrowed from Italian sailors, and the first part of Malbruc, and even of God save the King, are well-known tunes. It is said, that they cannot arrive at a second part. The men and women all sing, and all sing through the nose. The fiddle and three-

* Two specimens of Greek music are in the Appendix.

stringed guitar are the usual instruments, and on these most of the young men, particularly the sailors, are able to perform ; for all ranks are most attached to singing and playing, no less than to dancing, and, at some seasons, appear to do nothing else. But to return. The accentual quantity, which seems to have taken place of the syllabic so early as the eleventh century*, is alone observed in all the metres. Of these there is a variety, but the most common is the fifteen-syllabled verse, of the kind before quoted. Some lively expressions and agreeable turns of thought, may be discovered in many of these effusions, which, however, have more of the Oriental profusion of images, than of the Greek simplicity, and although by no means deficient in the tender and pathetic style, have nothing of the vigorous and sublime of ancient poetry. There may be persons willing to except from this criticism two or three patriotic songs of a late date.

Their amatory pieces, in which they chiefly delight, speak that which some critics would call the very language of love. These are exceedingly extravagant, abounding in metaphors, similes, personifications, abrupt exclamations, and not unfrequently with the conceits rather than the licensed figures of poetical rhetoric, ardent, wild, and unconnected, with more poetry than sense, and more passion than poetry. Acrostics, and even those echo verses, which an inimitable author of our own nation has parodied and ridiculed, are much employed in their

* Previously to the political verses of Psellus, Manasses, Metaphrasta, Philip the Hermit, Manuel, Philas, and Tzetzes, the noble Hexameters of Homer were debased into miserable trochaics, which were printed by Pinelli, at Venice, in 1540. A specimen of the opening of the Iliad, is given in *Philological Inquiries*, p. 78.—See vol. xi. p. 320, *Fab. Bib. Græc. edit. Harles.*

romances; in short, there is hardly a single evidence of what is generally supposed a vitiated and paltry taste, which is not discoverable in the poetical compositions of the modern Greeks. Their *Cotsakias*, or alternate verses, which are composed and sung apparently extemporaneously, but are in fact traditional, display a singular talent for versification, and are of the same cast.

Their prose writings can hardly be subject to any critical decision, for these are, as has been said, almost all translations, and leave therefore no room for any display of ingenuity, or depth of thought. Their homilies, as well as their tales, are insipid and affected, but evincing a copiousness of words, no less surprising than tedious. I shall content myself with annexing some specimens, the verbal criticism of which may be undertaken by more competent judges.

It may appear hardly worth while to inquire into the merits of a corrupted tongue, and, with respect to the best means of restoring it to its purity, the condition of the people is to be taken into consideration, rather than the state of their language. It seems to me, perhaps erroneously, that the *Romaic* will never receive any Hellenic improvements whilst the *Turks* remain masters of Greece; and even should any event drive the *Mahometans* into Asia, any material alteration in the language of a people who can never be independent, may be very problematical. There are but few, very few indeed, of the *Greeks* themselves, who have any conception of the benefits to be derived from such an amelioration; and, indeed, from a document now before me, it should seem that there is, generally speaking, an indifference, and even unwillingness, observable amongst them, to reach at any

extraordinary advantages, by departing from the common course of education.

In 1808, a year after the establishment of the French at Corfu, and, “by a happy synchronism, on the same day of the same month which had brought their troops within view of its shores, on the 15th of August, in the year when, if empires did not perish like man himself a short time after the period of their glory, the Greeks would have celebrated their Olympic Games for the six hundred and forty-seventh time*,” an institution, calling itself the Ionian Academy, held its first sitting. Its first attention was directed towards Napoleon, Benefactor and Protector; it then proceeded to declare, that courses of gratuitous and public lectures would be given by competent professors, in physic and chemistry, natural history, physiology, and medicine. This in effect was performed, if I may trust the paper before me, for the first year, and an additional lecture was read to the students, on anatomy and surgical operations, by Dr. Razis, at that time, says the secretary Dupin who signs the prospectus, not one of our colleagues. But, “*notwithstanding these efforts*, and the attendance of some respectable persons matured by age and experience, (meritorious officers and men skilful in the different branches of the art of healing), upon these courses, the Academy saw with grief, that it had made a vain appeal to the Corcyrean youth; and had found no fathers eager for the instruction of their sons, and no sons who had felt that this instruction might be a benefit to themselves.”

The prospectus, which bears the date of June 1809, or, in the

* See the Paper in the Appendix.

language of the Academy, "Corcyra, the first year of the six hundred and forty-seventh Olympiad," pronounces in a strain proceeding professedly from an Ionian, but rather Gallic than Greek, that to the former lectures will be added a course on Belles Lettres and Hellenic by Dr. Mavromati, which, together with prizes distributed at each quaternal celebration of the Olympian games, to the authors of the best original Romaic composition, and of the best translation from the standard works of the modern nations, *especially the French*, will, "in a few Olympiads, cause the corrupted language of the modern Greeks to become one of the most perfect dialects of the ancient Hellenic." The first prize is to be allotted on the 15th of next August, (1812). It is to be a medal of iron, "*the money of Lacedemon*." On one side is to be a resemblance of the Emperor, with this inscription—"Napoleon, Bienfaiteur et Protecteur;" on the reverse a star, with these words—"Au Genie, l'Academie reconnaissante;" on the rim will be written the name of the author and of his work, with the number of the Olympiad.

"In the hall appointed for the public sittings, will be suspended the crown of wild olive which shall have been bound on the forehead of the victor, with suitable inscriptions underneath*: these crowns shall constitute the trophies of the Academy." To this first adjudication any living author may transmit his work whenever published, to contend for the prize. The olive wreath appears already to encircle the brows of Coraï.

It is not difficult to foresee, that the success of Dr. Mavromati will not be much more satisfactory than that of Dr. Razis, particularly as the Ionian dominions of Napoleon are now confined to Corfu, and the Olympic games of the ensuing August may be disturbed by the cannon of a hostile fleet. Perhaps the

* See the Paper in the Appendix.

Academy has, ere this, ceased to exist*. Under every favourable circumstance, the project of improving and settling the common discourse of a people by any similar institution, is altogether hopeless; and although the number of Hellenic scholars in the Levant may be somewhat increased by late events, the revival of the ancient Greek language, even according to a modified meaning of that phrase, appears an event too unparalleled in all history to take place in our days, or at any future period.

But whatever may be the fate of the Romæic, the scholar may expect that inquisitive travellers will add to his library, by the discovery of many valuable manuscripts which may throw a fresh light on the history of past times, and increase the number of those treasures which the philosophers of antiquity with justice hoped might be transmitted as “possessions in perpetuity” to all future ages. Such sanguine expectations have, however, hitherto been disappointed, and, with the exception of Dr. Clarke’s manuscripts, of which the public may soon expect a detailed account, the search of the learned has as yet been very inadequately rewarded. After many an eager wish directed towards the Seraglio library, and a thousand conjectures as to its supposed contents, all doubt appears to be lost in the certainty, that as far back as the year 1688, there was not a single Greek manuscript in that repository. The partial dispersion of the Sera-

* There was in our time a Corfiote Journal in Romæic, which detailed some of the principal events of Europe to the Greeks: one of them reached Athens with an account of transactions in the English Parliament, and of a speech from *Κόριος Πύραμ*—Mr. Windham. The dispersion of a well-written newspaper would be of infinitely greater service to the Greeks than that of any other publication, and, as the whole people are most eager to hear news, would soon be very general. Yet some preliminary knowledge seems necessary to make even this reading intelligible and useful to them; for the Bishop of Chrysso, under Mount Parnassus, who lent us a *Meletius’s Geography*, asked me—if Spain, where the English were fighting, was in the Baltic?

glio library took place at the deposition of Mahomet the Fourth, and shortly after that period M. Girardin, ambassador from France to the Porte*, by the assistance of an Italian renegado and the Jesuit Besnier, purchased fifteen manuscripts in Greek and one in Latin, which he transmitted to France in the year 1688, and which are now in the Imperial library at Paris. The selection was made by Besnier out of two hundred books which composed the collection, and which, as they were all sold, should be now in the libraries either of Western Europe or of Greece. They would be easily recognizable by the Sultan's seal attached to each volume, and some might be discovered by their Turkish binding. The remaining 185 manuscripts were in bad condition, and had before appeared in print; but it is with some reason that the learned Villoison reprehends the scrupulous nicety of the Jesuit, which confined him to his very partial selection. It may then be almost unnecessary to add, that Prince Italinsky, late ambassador from Russia to the Porte, having by permission visited the winter harem of the Seraglio, in one of the apartments of which was the library of the Eastern Emperors, told a gentleman who gave me the report, that he could not see a manuscript of any kind in the place. But the dispersed volumes cannot have entirely disappeared, and the monasteries have reasonably been supposed the receptacles of these hidden treasures. Yet the Abbé Fourmont, in 1730, in vain explored Nea Moni in Chios, and Mega Spelion in Arcadia; and no greater success attended the researches of Mons. Biornstapol in the libraries of Meteora. Mr. Villoison in 1785† visited the Monks of Amorgos and Patmos, and his report will scarcely justify the eager expectations at present entertained respecting the literary wealth of the latter community.

* See the Ambassador's letters, of 10th March and 15th Sept. 1687, to the Marquis de Louvois. *Notice des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, tom. viii. pp. 12, 13, &c. 1810.

† *Ibid.* See the Appendix.

LETTER XXXIV.

Patriotism of the Greeks—Their ardent desire of Emancipation—War-Song—The object of their Wishes—Attachment to Russia—Views directed towards France—Their Notions of England—Chance of Emancipation—Importance of their Marine—Short Remarks on the Political Conduct of the English in the Levant.

MR. DE GUYS's long thirty-seventh Letter, entitled *Patriotism of the Greeks*, is much such an essay as Montaigne's on a custom in the island of Cea; or, like that chapter on Snakes which Dr. Johnson could repeat entire, it leaves us only to conclude that there is no patriotism worth speaking of to be found amongst the modern Greeks, or indeed amongst any of the moderns; for the whole of his remarks and examples are adduced from the two great nations of antiquity. But notwithstanding such a deficiency in an express panegyric of this people, it is most true, that the generality of the Greeks are devotedly attached to their country and nation, and, even to a degree which may appear foolish and incautious, continually express their hatred of their masters, and their confidence in themselves. This latter feeling is, however, tempered by a complete sense of their own degradation; for, whatever may be their discourse to one another, they never fail to enlarge upon this subject to a stranger. A common commence-

ment of a conversation with them is, “Your Excellency will find but poor fare in our country; but you are not in Christendom. What can be done amongst these beasts the Turks?” The detestation of their masters breaks out on every occasion; and when the chanter from the Minaret is announcing the death of a Mahometan, each Greek that meets his friend in the street salutes him thus,—“A dog is dead,” (ἀτιθύνε σκυλί *). The Archons,

* This expression σκυλί, a dog, is the favourite term of reproach with the Greeks, whose convitiatory language is most violent and abusive. The vulgar phrases, which are too indecent to be translated, are some of them borrowed from, or are similar to, the Turkish. The γαμέτε μάνα σε, the most common, is the “anassiny sictim” of the Mahometans. Most of the assertions of the Greeks are confirmed by an oath; the ancient form being preserved; the most usual are, Μὲ τὸ Θεὸν, “By God;”—Μὲ τὸ κεφάλι μου, “By my head;”—Μὲ τὸ γαστήρι μου, or Μὲ τὸ γαστήρι τοῦ πατρὸς μου, “By my beard,” or “By my father’s beard;”—Μὲ τὸ ψωμὶ, “By my bread;”—Μὲ τὴ ψυχὴ τῶν παιδιῶν μου, “By the life of my children.”—The women in common conversation say, Μὲ τὰ μάτια μου, or Μὲ τὰ ψυχὰς μου, or Νὲ ζῶ, “By my eyes;” “By my soul;” or “Let me live.”—The strongest expression of anger, is the extension of the five fingers, with the exclamation Νὲ τὰ πέντε, “There are five for ye.” Nearly all, if not all of these phrases, are of a high antiquity. The spreading of the five fingers is, Dr. Pauqueville says, alluded to in the words “ecce dono tibi quinque,” in the *Andria*; but neither in Terence nor in Plautus have I been able to find such an expression. One of the most singular instances of a transmitted habit is, that the Greeks of *Timo* universally carry their long sticks, or guns, across their shoulders, with their arms over them on each side, something like the picture here given of the Albanian. Now an ancient coin of that island represents a man carrying a staff exactly in the same position.—A very usual expression of anger is Κεῖται, “Horns.” The Athenian oath mentioned by Spon. Διὰ τὸν αὐθέντι τὸ κόσμον, “By the Master of the world,” I do not remember to have heard; but my fellow-traveller recollects two or three instances of it. The words of tenderness, ὦ μου, “My son,” have an odd sound in the mouths of the young girls, by whom they are frequently used.

who enjoy the confidence of the Turks, are infected with the same spirit, and, in proportion as they are more powerful, feel a stronger desire of revenge. Signor Londo, of Vostizza, the son of the person who, under Veli Pasha, may be said to govern the Morea, on hearing the name of Riga,* when he was playing with me a party of chess, jumped suddenly from the sofa, threw over the board, and clasping his hands, repeated the name of the patriot with a thousand passionate exclamations, the tears streaming down his cheeks. The same person recited with ecstacy the war-song of that unfortunate Greek. The strain is of a higher mood, and I have endeavoured to preserve the metre of it*, and, with a little variation, the position of its rhymes, in the following version of the four first stanzas.

1.

Δίετε παῖδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 Ὅ καῖρος τῆς δόξης ἦλθεν
 Ἀς φανῶμεν ἄξιοι ἐκείνων
 Ποῦ μᾶς δῶσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν
 Ἀς πατήσομεν ἀνδρείως
 Τὸν ζυγὸν τῆς τυραννίδος
 Ἐπδικήσωμεν πατρίδος
 Κάθε δυνειδος αἰσχροῦ.

Τὰ ὄπλα αἶς λάβωμεν,
 Παῖδες Ἑλλήνων ἄγωμεν,
 Ποταμιδὼν ποταμιδὼν
 Τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὸ αἶμα
 Ἀς τρίξῃ ὑπὸ ποδῶν.

1.

Greeks arise! the day of glory
 Comes at last, triumphant dawning;
 Let us all in future story
 Rival our forefathers' fame.
 Under foot the yoke of tyrants,
 Let us now indignant trample,
 Mindful of the great example,
 And avenge our country's shame.

To arms then, our country cries,
 Sons of the Greeks, arise, arise;
 Until the blood in purple flood
 From the hated foe
 Beneath our feet shall flow.

* A mixed trochaic, except the chorus, the fourth line of which, for the sake of rhyming with the fifth, is shorter by one foot in the translation than in the original.

2.

"Οθεν ἔισθε τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 Κόκκαλα ἀνδρειομένας;
 Πνέυματα ἐσκορπισμένα
 Τώρα λάβετε πνοήν.
 Ὡς τὴν φωνὴν τῆς σαλπικῆς μὲ
 συναχθῆτε ὅλα ὅμου,
 Τὴν ἐπτάλοφον ζητεῖτε
 καὶ νικάτε πρὸ παντοῦ.

Τὰ ὅπλα, κ. τ. λ.

3.

Σπάρτα, Σπάρτα, τί κοιμᾷσθε
 ὕπνον λήθαργον βαθύν;
 Ξύπνησον, κράξε Ἀθήνας,
 σύμμαχον παντοτεινὴν.
 Ἐνδυμειθήϊε Λεονίδου
 Ἡρώς τοῦ ξακοστοῦ,
 Τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπαινεμένου,
 Φοβεροῦ καὶ τρομεροῦ.

Τὰ ὅπλα, κ. τ. λ.

4.

Ὅπου εἰς τὰς Θερμοπύλας
 Πόλεμον αὐτὸς κροτεῖ,
 Καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ἀφανίζει,
 Καὶ αὐτῶν κατὰ κρατεῖ.
 Μήτριακοσίους ἄνδρας
 Ἐἰς τὸ κέντρον πρόχωρει,
 Καὶ ὡς λέων θυμωμένος
 Ἐἰς τὸ αἶμα τῶν βουτεῖ.

Τὰ ὅπλα, κ. τ. λ.

2.

Whither now, alas! retreating
 Limbs where Grecian blood is beating?
 Breathe again ye spirits fleeing,
 Now your scattered force recall.
 At my trumpet's voice resounding,
 Each his country's flag surrounding,
 Towards the seven-hill'd city bounding,
 Fly, and conquer for your all.

To arms then, &c.

3.

Sparta! Sparta! why in slumber?
 Why in lethargy so deep?
 Rouse thyself, thy friend awaken,
 Glorious Athens, from her sleep.
 Call to mind thy ancient warrior,
 Great Leonidas of old,
 Mighty man of fame immortal,
 The tremendous and the bold.

To arms then, &c.

4.

See him, where the noble patriot
 All th' invading war withstands,
 At Thermopylæ victorious
 O'er the flying Persian bands.
 With his brave three hundred heroes,
 Forwards now the Lion goes,
 Plunging through the blood of battle
 To the centre of his foes.

To arms then, &c.

* The difference between the two languages, has prevented me from filling up all the syllables in the translation without some trifling amplification of the original sense, a six-

There may appear a triteness in reminding the Greeks of Leonidas; but the truth is, that of him, and of the other heroes of antiquity, the generality of the people have but a very confused notion, and that very few of them trace the period of their former glory farther back than the days of the Greek Emperors. Those who are most fond of recurring to past times, dwell on the power and merits of those Princes, and begin their history with the great Constantine, the Emperor of the Greeks, (*Ὁ Μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων*). All their hopes are directed towards the restoration of the Byzantine kingdom, in the person of any Christian, but more particularly a Christian of their own church, and I believe they have never for an instant entertained the project of establishing an independent confederacy on the model of their ancient republics. Their views have naturally been turned towards Russia for more than half a century, and every one is acquainted with their two desperate attempts to create a diversion in favour of that power in the heart of European Turkey.

Notwithstanding the failure of their efforts, in the Russian war concluded at Kainargi in 1774, the Greeks prepared to take up

cumstance which, if it does not bespeak want of pains on my part, may serve to contrast the ancient and modern Greek. This song, the chorus particularly, is sung to a tune very nearly the same as the Marsellois Hymn. It may be necessary to offer an excuse for giving in this place a specimen before published in a book so universally circulated as *Childe Harold*; but on this head I shall only say, that the chance of multiplying the copies of what is in itself a curiosity, and has some merit, may plead a sufficient apology for the insertion of the Romaic text; and, that as to a competition with any portion of the admired work in question, all circumstances, whether of inclination or capacity, are, in the case of the writer of these Letters, such as to render a disavowal of such an attempt altogether superfluous.

arms in 1790, and Sulli, then in open rebellion, was the centre of their operations. Three Greeks from that town arrived at Petersburg, and hailed the Archduke Constantine with the new and sounding title of Emperor of the Hellenes, (*Βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων*) *. A plan was agreed upon, according to which the Greek army was to set out from Sulli to Livadia and Athens, in two divisions, to be joined by the Moreotes and Negropontines. Crossing the plains of Thessaly, it was then to march to Salonica, and after collecting the Greeks of Macedonia, proceed with the whole force, amounting, they supposed, to three hundred thousand, to Adrianople. Constantinople was to be the immediate prey of the confederate forces, even without the combined attack of the Russians, who, however, were expected to sail from the Crimea to the Bosphorus, and decide the fate of the Turkish empire. Lambro Canziani, the celebrated Greek, was to cruise with his squadron in the Archipelago; and this turned out to be the only part of the project which was to be accomplished; for Lambro, although not supported after the peace between Russia and the Porte, in 1791, and declared a pirate, kept the sea, until his ships were destroyed by a French squadron. The Sulliotēs did not stir, but defended their mountains, as they had before done, against the Pasha of Ioannina. The close of their struggles is already known.

Mr. Eton, who has detailed this account †, conceives the plans

* The word *Βασιλεὺς* answers to Imperator. The Greeks called Charlemagne "Vasilens," but the petty princes "Reges," (*Ρῆγες*). Lieutprand says, "Petrus Bulgarorum Vasileus."—Decline and Fall, cap. 55, note 16. This serves to prove that the Greek B was decidedly the Latin V, so early, at least, as the twelfth century.

† Survey, p. 37, et seq.

of Pano-Kiri, Christo Lazzotti, and Nicoló Pangalo, the Sullioté Ambassadors, to have been wise, and every way competent for the attainment of the great object in view, and condemns the policy of those who differed from them in opinion, namely, the British, Prussian, and Russian cabinets.

Wherever the fault lay, the Russians ceased to be the favourites of the Greeks, who, however, did not on that account lose sight of their darling object; for, at the news of the French revolution, they began to form other projects, or at least to indulge fresh hopes. The friends of universal freedom were, of course, the friends of the Greeks, and long before the cession of the Seven Islands to the tri-coloured flag, the Carmaguole was danced on the shores of the Ionian sea*.

During the expedition to Egypt, the health of Bonaparte was the daily toast at Athens; and the Greeks of Crete were so far assured of their approaching independence, that, until the victories of the English over the French destroyed their hopes, they had, in a manner, taken the island into their own hands, and had come to an agreement with the Turks, each of whom they undertook, upon certain conditions, to protect. A small mountainous district in this island contains, indeed, the only Greeks in the whole empire who have never been subdued either by the Venetians or Turks. It is called Sphakia, (Σφακία), and has one town and twenty villages, each governed by its own primates. It can send about four thousand men into the field. The person, himself

* Ἦν οἱ Φραντζέζοι λέγουσι
Ἦν τὰς Κορφεὺς τὰς Θέλυσι
Κεφαλοῖνια καὶ Τζάντε
Ἦν ἔναι τὸ φιδόρα τῷ Λευάντε.

'Tis true the French would have it known
Corfu shall shortly be their own,
Cefalonia too, and Zante
The fairest flower of the Levant.

a Sphakiote, who furnished a late author* with an account of these Cretans, makes rather a favourable report of them; but others have represented them to be a horde of blood-thirsty savages.

In fact, in the French army in Egypt there were some Greek soldiers whose patriotism was roused and kept alive by the muse of Polyzois, the new Tyrtæus. His song of nine stanzas in trochaics is called, Ἀσµα πολεμιστήριον τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ περὶ ἐλευθερίας μαχομένων Γραικῶν, “ War Song of the Greeks in Egypt, fighting in the cause of Freedom;” and it opens with the following exclamation.

Φίλοι µη συμπατριῶται

Δέλοι νὲ ᾗµεθα ὡς πότε

Τῶν ἀρχαίων Μωσουλµάνων

Τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῶν τυράννων;

Ἐκδικήσεως ἡ ὥρα

Ἐφθασιν, ὦ φίλοι, τώρα.

Gallant Countrymen! for ever

Shall we dread the vile enslaver?

Shall the Mussulman victorious

Reign in Greece, the great, the glorious?

Friends! the tyranny is past,

Vengeance is our own at last.

The concluding verses are in the same strain.

Ἀφανισθῆτω

Κ' ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξαλειφθῆτω

Ἡ κατάρατος δουλεία—

Ζήτω ἡ ἐλευθερία.

Fading from the face of day,

Banish'd from the world away,

Cursed slavery expire—

Freedom is my fond desire.

The last of these four lines is the burthen of the song, of which one more specimen, part of the fifth stanza, may suffice.

* Leckie on Foreign Affairs, Tract xiii. p. 211.

Εἰς τυράννων τὴν θυσίαν
 Ἀπαντες μὲ προθυμίας
 Ἐχρонт', ἄλλος ἀλλαχόθεν
 Τῆς Ἑλλάδος πανταχόθεν.
 Ὡς εἰς ἑορτὴν συντρέχων,
 Ὡς πανηγύριν τὴν ἔχων.
 Καὶ δὲν στέργεται κανένας
 Ἀπ' αὐτοὺς, μικρὸς ἢ μέγας.
 Ἐξοπίσω νὰ ὑπομείνῃ
 Ἕναι, λέγει, κατασχύνῃ.
 Τὰς υἱὰς τῶν οἱ πατέρες
 Ἐγκαρδιῶνουν, καὶ αἱ μητέρες.
 Ἐύγε! τεκνᾷ με, τὰς λέγων
 Κ' εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὰς στέλλων
 Ἐὼς πότε ἡ δαλεία
 Πίπτει, καὶ ἡ τυραννία.

To the sacrifice of tyrants,
 All with eagerness combining,
 Rush from every Grecian region,
 Each his country's standard joining.
 To the festival they fly,
 To the feast of victory.
 No one from the danger shrinking
 Hesitates, or small or great,
 Forward each advances, thinking
 Nothing shameful but retreat.
 Hark, their valiant sons inflaming,
 Fathers, mothers, all exclaiming,
 'Children brave, well done,' they cry,
 'To the glorious combat fly,
 'Till the fall of slavery,
 'Till the fall of tyranny*.'

At the same time another Greek, in a small work printed at Paris, but written at Rome, made this decisive declaration—
 "Since this city, (meaning Rome), has, contrary to all expectation, been delivered from the tyranny of the Popes, it must be averred, in the face of all the world, that the hatred of tyrants is rooted in our hearts, and that what has as yet prevented us from being delivered from their yoke, is not our own want of courage—it is the jealousy of the greater part of the Princes of Europe†." The sentiments of all the nation were not, however, in unison, for the Patriarch

* These extracts are part of a communication made by M. Vilvoison to Charles, and are contained in vol. xi. p. 563, of his Bibliotheca Græca.

† See Letter from Vilvoison to Charles, in the page before cited.

of Constantinople, in his circular letter of the year 1798, informs the Greeks, that “ the wicked serpent, the origin of all evil, had designed the nation of the Gauls to be the damnation of the human race* ;” a phrase which is cited, and indignantly refuted by a writer, apparently the same quoted above, in a pamphlet of eight pages, printed at the press of Pogozi, in October 1798, and addressed “ to the Romans of Greece, by a Patriot and Friend to Freedom†.”

If Bonaparte had marched an army from Vallona, across Macedonia to Constantinople, as it is said he was prevented from doing only by his war with Russia, there can be no doubt that every Greek would have joined his standard.

The events of the last ten years have turned the attention of the Greeks to the English nation, and, by degrees, their former misconceptions as to the extent of our power and resources, have begun to be dissipated. Hopes were entertained, during our short war with the Porte, that we were to be the liberators of Greece, or, at least, of her islands. In June 1807, a body of fifteen hundred Macedonian Greeks seized upon the isles of Skiathus and Chilidronia, not far from the mouth of the gulf of Salonica, and offered to co-operate with the English squadron off the Dardanelles with a force of ten thousand men, but were advised by their intended allies to lay down their arms. The islanders of Hydra, which maintained three thousand seamen and one hundred and fifty ships, actually fitted out privateers against the Turks,

* Ὁ ἀρχέκακος καὶ ποιηρὸς ἔφης ἐπενύησε τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Γάλλων, δια νὰ καλᾷσῃ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος.

† Πρὸς τὰς Ῥωμᾶιους τῆς Ἑλλάδος—Φιλόπατρις ἰλευθεριάδης.—See as above.

and were disarmed, not by the Capudan Pasha but by the British Admiral*.

This conduct, and the subsequent peace, checked any expectations which the Greek patriots might have entertained of being assisted by the English; and even now that the Mediterranean is in our possession, and even since we have occupied the Six Islands, they do not, as far as I could judge, hope to receive at our hands any decisive measures in their favour. They think of the vicinity of the Russians and French, whom, notwithstanding our prowess in Egypt, and allowing our unrivalled naval superiority, they still consider the most formidable soldiers in the world, (*πολὺ φοβερὸι στρατιῶται*, is their eulogy of them) and they believe us placed at the extremity of the world—at too great a distance to afford them any material support.

Even so late as the time of our travels, the notions prevalent amongst the generality of the Continental Greeks, and other people of the Levant, respecting our nation and country, were altogether laughable. I collected, that England was an island, a little bigger than Cefalonia, whose town is called London; of this, however, all are not certain, for one person asked me whether England was in London, or London in England. In this town, all the English who are not employed at sea are supposed to live, except a few peasants, who inhabit the villages. But the far greater part of the nation exist upon the water, either in merchant-vessels or ships of war, the management of which is the sole purpose and occupation of their lives; and in which, together with manufacturing cloth, hardware, and trinkets, the English

* Leckie, Tract xxxiv. p. 34, 40, 41, 42, 43.

excel all the world. An Albanian directed a letter to his son, who was in our service, with this address,

To

Dervish Tacheere,

In the English Ships,

at Constantinople.

He conceived my fellow-traveller and myself belonged, of course, to the English fleet, and after looking at the country by land, would join our vessels at the port of the great city. Some of the higher orders are doubtless better informed, and know as much about England, as the majority of our countrymen know about the present state of Greece: and thus, although they are far from being acquainted with the actual extent of our resources, they still believe us extremely powerful, and richer than any people in the world. They frequently advert to the great subject of their independence in their conversations with English travellers, and protest to them, as they do to French, Russians, Danes, Swedes, Dutch, and to every Frank, that with money, arms, and ten thousand foreign troops, they would expel the Turks from Europe.

It is easy then to see, that the Greeks consider their country to belong to them as much as it ever did, and look upon their right to the soil as not at all affected by an ejection of three centuries and a half. Their patriotism is a flame that has never been utterly smothered, although it has so long glimmered in obscurity, and has narrowly escaped from being, like the lamp of Rosicrucius, for ever extinguished by a heedless discovery.

It cannot be so easily determined that the Ottoman empire in the Levant is now to be called an usurpation, and that the

Greeks, when in revolt, are therefore to be regarded, not as rebels, but as patriots fighting for the recovery of their birth-right. If the Grand Signor cannot establish a claim to the throne of Constantinople, I know not of any sovereign in Europe whose title will bear an examination. The singularity of two nations living on the same spot, and of the conquered having been kept so entirely distinct from the conquerors, preserves the original injustice of the subjection fresh before our eyes. Were it not for this circumstance, neither the importance nor the character of the Greeks is such as to awaken the political or moral sympathies of the nations of Christendom. The country called Turkey in Europe has received such a perpetual succession of invaders and settlers, that it would be impossible to fix upon those in whom the right of possession might be justly vested. A great proportion of those comprehended under the term *Romaioi*, (*Ρωμαίοι*), or Christians of the Greek Church, and amongst whom would be found the chief supporters of an insurrection, are certainly of a mixed origin, sprung from Scythian colonists. Such are the Albanians, the Maniotes, the Macedonian, Bulgarian, and Wallachian Greeks. And yet the whole nation, including, I presume, these Christians, has been laid down only at two millions and a half, of all ages and sexes, and consequently there is no part of Continental Greece to which a body of Turks might not be instantly brought, sufficient to quell any revolt: the Mahometans of Albania are themselves equal to the task, and on a rising of the *Giuours*, the Infidels, would leave all private dissention, to accomplish such a work. The Greeks taken collectively, cannot, in fact, be so properly called an individual people, as a religious sect dissenting from the established church of the Ottoman Empire.

Any general revolution of the Greeks, independent of foreign aid, is quite impracticable; for, notwithstanding the great mass of the people, as is the case in all insurrections, has feeling and spirit enough to make the attempt, yet most of the higher classes, and all the clergy, except as far as the expressions of discontent may operate, are apparently willing to acquiesce in their present condition.

The Patriarch and Princes of the Fanal* are at the devotion of the Porte. The primates of the towns and the richer merchants would be cautious not to move, unless they might be certain of benefiting by the change; and of this backwardness in the chiefs of their nation, the Greeks are by no means insensible. They talk of it publicly, and make it the subject of their satire, revenging themselves, as is their constant practice, by a song. My fellow-traveller was presented with a long paper of verses to this import, which, in a dramatic colloquy between a Greek patriot, an Englishman, Frenchman, and Russian, a Metropolitan, a Waiwode of Wallachia, a Merchant, and a Primate, and by the introduction of Greece, personified as a desolate female in tears, displays the apathy of the privileged classes, and concludes with this assertion of the Frank strangers: "We have found a Metropolitan, and a Bey of Wallachia, and a Merchant and a Primate, all friends to tyranny†."

* The change of the P in the Greek φανάρι into the L of the French "fanal," and the Italian "fannale," shows the difficulty of exactly catching a word transmitted only by sound.

† Μετροπολίτην ἔυρομεν
Καὶ Μπῆς τῆς Βλαχίας,
Πραγματευτὴν, καὶ προεστὸν
Φιλὸν τῆς τυραννίας.

This prudence, or timidity, of the principal people amongst them, not only diminishes the chance of an actual insurrection, but takes away from the zeal with which we might otherwise embark in their cause; and when we begin to examine the moral power, if I may use the expression, of the nation at large, we shall not be inclined to indulge in any very decided expectation of their future success.

The Greeks have in many instances shown a desperate frenzy in distress, and a sanguinary ferocity in prosperity, but are certainly not at all notorious for that cool, determined courage, which is necessary for the accomplishment of any great action. They are light, inconstant, and treacherous, exceedingly subtle in all their dealings, and quite remarkable for a total ignorance of the propriety of adhering to truth*. Their situation may account for these defects. I do not make them objects of accusation; I merely state the fact. When Mahomet the Great overran the whole of Greece, he said he had found a great many *slaves*, but only one *man*†; and, according to the notions entertained of men by that conqueror, it is probable he would not, were he now alive, make a more favourable report of the present race.

The Christian powers, however, must naturally look with anxiety towards this people, or rather, towards their country; and, although sure of their co-operation, cannot but endeavour to cultivate such an acquaintance with them as might secure the immediate success of any future project. In this the English are

* It seems an odd sort of praise, but it has been bestowed upon the Greeks by Mr. Eton, p. 349 of his *Survey*, that they cannot tell the same story twice, *without varying the embellishments of circumstance and diction*.

† This was Thomas, a petty Prince, who defended the castle of Salenencia for a year against the Ottoman army.

more peculiarly interested; for the most important portion of the Greek nation is the islanders, and their marine, if any thing, promises to rescue their character from contempt, and give them that weight in Europe which they have lost for so many hundred years.

An attachment to commerce, one of the principal characteristics of the nation, arising from the topography of their country, as well as from its various productions, makes almost all the Greeks of the islands, and very many of the inhabitants of the continent, acquainted at some time of their lives with the sea. There is a petty trade carried on in innumerable boats amongst the islands of the Archipelago, and thence, as also from the port of Smyrna, to Constantinople. The boats, called *rolik*, are half-decked, and high at stem and stern, with one thick short mast, and a long yard. I have seen them as if in squadrons, with a strong breeze and rapid current, shooting out of the mouth of the Hellespont, their white cotton sails glittering in the sunshine, and pleasingly contrasted with the dark hue of the subjacent waters. This navigation is performed without the assistance of either chart or compass, and, as of old, only by the observation of the coasts and headlands.

But the Greeks are acquainted with the management of vessels of the largest size, and of the common European construction. They navigate the Ottoman navy, the warlike part of the duty alone being entrusted to the Turks, and they have also large merchant-ships of their own which trade as far as America and the West-Indies, making a voyage now and then to England. Those of the island of Hydra, whose ships are built generally at Fiume, are reckoned the most expert and the boldest of their sailors.

Hydra, the Aristera of the Ancients, is a rock, about a league from the main-land of cape Skylo, almost bare, having only one town, which, however, contains inhabitants sufficient to man eighty ships of about three hundred tons burthen. The Hydriotes, by the carrying trade, have accumulated considerable wealth, and have purchased of the Porte the independent election of their own magistrates; which privilege they exercised, for the first time since the fall of the Greek empire, in 1810. The building of the government-house in the island cost ten thousand pounds sterling. Their ships are usually armed with ten or twelve short cannons, and musquetry for the crew. In the common Greek songs, whose burthen is liberty, the Hydriotes are spoken of as being no less formidable by sea than the Sulliotés are by land. Spechia, of old the island Tipareus, only six miles in length, and a little more than two in breadth, and off the same coast, maintains also at least sixty large vessels, chiefly occupied in the transportation of corn from the Morea to Constantinople, or to the south of France and Italy. It is the next to Hydra in the scale of the Greek marine.

The number of Greek mariners actually employed at sea, is supposed to be at least fifty thousand, and although the nautical skill of this people is not very considerable, (for they are totally unacquainted with the principles of navigation, and know not how to take a common observation, directing themselves by the compass only); a little practice under experienced seamen would render them capable of any naval service, and there is no doubt that their employment by an European power would soon supply many of the deficiencies of their present character.

The occupation of the islands of the Archipelago by some Christian power, has long been a favourite topic of speculation;

and many years past, the traveller Sonnini settled Naxos to be the point which the French Government should fix upon for the centre of an insular dominion in these seas. A similar project has been very lately discussed, and proposed as a necessary step to be taken by the English Government, by a writer of our own nation, to whose work, dictated, if I may presume to offer such a judgment, by a generous and well-directed enthusiasm, I have before had occasion to refer. Any one who pronounces decisively on a variety of future events, must run the risk, in case of the non-accomplishment of his prophecies, of losing some little political reputation, and this Gentleman cannot but find a great many critics ready to turn to those of his pages* which first foretel the return of Mr. Adair from an ineffectual attempt to make peace with Turkey; and afterwards, (when the treaty, contrary to prediction, had been concluded), insist on the folly of supposing that the peace can continue inviolate†, and recover our influence with the subjects of the Porte. Yet no one who has been in the country can fail to be struck with the general importance of his remarks, and with the truth of the fact upon which he most particularly dwells—the extreme neglect of the British interests in the Levant; a neglect arising, not from the incapacity of the Ministers employed abroad, but from a want of information in our Cabinet at home.

* Leckie, p. 484, Tract iv.

† Tract ii. of the Historical Survey of the Foreign Affairs of Great Britain for the Year 1810: Mr. Leckie's foresight with respect to Sicilian politics, may be balanced against these passages. Bayle, in his Dictionary, (Artic. Mahomet, note G. G.) relates, that a famous Minister in Amsterdam preached, during the siege of Vienna in 1683, that the city would be taken by the Turks; and on its being saved by John Sobieski, died of grief.

The justice of seizing upon the islands, or any other appanage of the Turkish Empire, may be fairly questioned; and the policy of the measure, at this, or any former juncture, is not hastily to be decided, nor without a knowledge of official details: but no doubt can be entertained of the propriety of strengthening our influence, and raising our character with the inhabitants of Turkey in Europe, and of providing by every precautionary scheme for such an emergency as the ambition of our great enemy is likely to produce. The certain co-operation of the Greeks, of the islands at least, in our favour, in case the expulsion of the Turks from Europe should be decided upon and undertaken by Bonaparte, should of course be secured by every means consistent with the good faith which we owe to the Turkish Government. It would indeed be a lamentable stroke, if the whole of the Christian population of Turkey should at once join a French invader, to the prejudice of the British, and in opposition to their efforts; and yet the nicest management is necessary to counteract those prejudices to our disadvantage which even the most honourable conduct may awaken in the bosoms of the Greeks, who cannot easily separate the two ideas of a faithful ally of the Turks and of a determined enemy of their own nation. Unfortunately, an acquaintance with the actual national character of this people makes us inclined to dislike them so much as to prevent us from wishing to examine the cause of their debasement, and from duly appreciating the improvement and important services which might be expected from them under a change of circumstances.

Although the least observation must show, that the situation of the two nations will not admit of their being compared; yet it is very true, that the Greeks and Turks are by most writers, and by late ones especially, put in the opposite scales of the same

balance, and so weighed that the character of the one cannot preponderate without that of the other kicking the beam. Thus a partiality for one nation seems to involve a necessary dislike of the other. An English traveller passes into Greece prepossessed in favour either of the Greeks or 'Turks, in proportion as he gives the preference to Mr. Eton or to Mr. Thornton. But there is surely no necessity for him to ask himself which he likes best, or to decide whether he likes either of them. He does not come into the country to form an affection or aversion for either one or the other, but to see as much as possible of the manners and characters of both. In all communications with other nations, it is particularly requisite to be sensible of the justice of a maxim, recorded by a lively person of the last century*—that we are not to despise the world, but to live in it.

Besides the mission at Constantinople, we have only one Minister in the Levant who is an Englishman by birth. Every other agent, whether under the denomination of Minister, Consul, or Vice-Consul, is a Greek, except at one or two places, where Jews are employed. The salaries of these agents, who are all petty traders, are not such as to enable them to support themselves with any respectability as representatives of the British Nation. The English Vice-Consul at Scio has about twelve pounds sterling a-year; the French Vice-Consul at the same place, eleven hundred sequins, between five and six hundred pounds. The conduct of some of the Vice-Consuls is exceedingly disgraceful. The person

* Colley Cibber.—See note to verse 167 of the *Dunciad*. Our countrymen are not sufficiently aware of the necessity of showing a disgust to none, and of making use of all. And this seems to be the case in the conduct of their concerns in Turkey.

settled in that capacity at Prevesa, who has many concerns with our Adriatic squadron, on receiving information that an English Midshipman had made a present of the wreck of a prize to some Albanians, near whose village (Volondorako, opposite to Sulli) he was thrown ashore, and who had received him very hospitably, applied to the Governor of Prevesa for an order to seize the vessel himself, pretending that all such casualties should turn to his advantage, as British Agent. He obtained the order, and was employed in making himself master of the hull and some damaged corn which it contained, whilst we were on the spot, and heard all the bitter complaints of the indignant Albanians, who did not think the English, they said, ever made a present in order to take it back again.

The French seldom employ any but French agents, and these are settled with adequate salaries in every sea-port town, and in many inland places. The unwearied activity of these persons, not only in commercial, but political concerns, although beneath the dignified state of a British Resident, is very serviceable to the cause which they intend to promote. It may be alleged, perhaps, that no Englishman would condescend to take these small places; they would not banish themselves, nor can they readily associate, as is the case with our enemies, with people of all kinds, stations, and capacities, from the most civilized to the most barbarous of mankind. And yet it would be well worth while to go to the expense of supporting some creditable commercial agents, who might, one should think, be found amongst the mercantile establishments at Malta, and who, acting with vigilance and vigour under the British Minister at the Porte, without dealing out threats to the Turks and promises to the Greeks with the libe-

ality of a Frenchman, or having recourse to any low intrigue, might not only support the dignity of the national character, but put their Government in possession of very valuable information.

Being on this subject, I must farther remark, that considering how long we have been in possession of the Mediterranean, it is truly astonishing that the importance of the Seven Islands to us has but lately been acknowledged, and that Malta, instead of being made a grand *dépôt* for the support of a disposable force to be employed as occasion might require on the shores of the Levant, or even on the Italian coast, has been converted into little else than a large warehouse. The merchant-houses in the island in ten years, since the arrival of the English, have increased from two to fifty-six, several of which, during our stay in Turkey, became bankrupts.

Corfu, as far as relates to European Turkey, may be considered to turn the post of Malta, and the possession of the Six Islands without their capital, can neither be tranquil nor very serviceable. The French have now rendered the town as strong as Malta, and the distance of the mainland of Italy from the island is so small, and the garrison is so continually supplied from the contiguous shores of Albania, as to give very little hope of the success of a mere naval blockade. The siege of the town by land would require a much larger force than we are likely to be able to spare. Our enemies are now prepared for an attack; yet little doubt is entertained by many in the Levant, that this strong post might have been occupied, with very little opposition, a year previously to the taking of Zante, when Lord Collingwood's squadron was in the Ionian Seas. The peculiar situation of the

British Ambassador at the Porte must prevent our being able to take advantage of any fortuitous circumstances, and the utmost vigour and ability in that Minister will often fail to be of any service, for want of prompt and immediate measures to second his advice.

From the first establishment of the embassy at Constantinople, in the time of Queen Elizabeth*, until within these fifteen years, the British Minister has been sent to the Porte merely with a reference to our commercial interests, and to give respectability to the Levant Company. The place was given as a favour to Noblemen, and other considerable persons, curious of observing the manners and customs of the Turks; and the Corps Diplomatique had little other business or object in view, than penetrating the walls of the far-famed Seraglio. It is not very generally known, that one of the prices set upon his patriotism by Mr. Wilkes, was the embassy to Constantinople.

But of late years, our relations with Turkey have become political and important to the last degree, and the responsibility of the Ambassador has increased in a greater proportion, perhaps, than his discretionary power. His influence is divided with, and is, in a great measure, dependent on, the Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean. This officer now holds not only a great naval, but a diplomatic situation, and yet it is more than probable that he may know nothing at all of Turkish politics, and think

* The first English Ambassador in Turkey was, if I mistake not, William Hareborne, whom letters patent dated at Windsor Castle, the 26th of November, 1582, appointed *Oratorem, Nuntium, Procuratorem, and Agentem, certum et indubitatum*. See Hakluyt's *Navigations, Voyages, &c.* 2d. vol. fol. p. 157, edit. London, 1599.

only of protecting the trade from Smyrna to Malta, which is now become a secondary consideration. Of seventy-nine English pendants in the Mediterranean, there were, in 1809, only two, a frigate and sloop, on the Levant station. Now, unless it has been known to those officially acquainted with our naval resources, that the thing was impracticable, it must, since the peace with Turkey, have been by no means an useless disposition of our force, to have had a small squadron always at hand, to act in conformity to the advice of the Minister at the Porte, who alone can be a judge of the measures which any emergency may require. By the time that arrangements can be made with the Commander in Chief off Toulon, who may himself choose to wait for instructions from home, the occasion may be gone by and lost. The Cabinet of London cannot lay down any unvarying line of conduct with regard to the Turks, who are not to be dealt with by rule or precedent, or to be managed, except by a sort of extemporary policy, which it must require an actual personal knowledge of them to arrange and conduct. This consideration might induce the Government to entrust their Ministers in Turkey, (where, if Napoleon succeeds by peace or war against Russia, we may soon have to play for our last stake), with an extended authority, which, even if not exerted, would give a considerable and requisite addition to his influence with the Porte, and with the subjects of the Ottoman empire.

What is here said, is *concio ad populum, non ad clerum*. The official gentlemen may know better: it shall only be added, that these hints might be followed up by a variety of details, (not enough connected with the subject in hand to be here inserted), which every traveller in the Levant has it in his power to collect.

LETTER XXXV.

Departure from Athens—Passage to Smyrna—Entrance into the Gulf of Smyrna—The Promontory Melena—The South Side of the Gulf—Clazomene—Sangiak-Bornou—The Shoals in the Gulf caused by the Hermus—Arrival at Smyrna—Description of the City—The Frank Quarter—The Frank Society—The Consuls in the Levant—The Greeks of Smyrna—The Armenians and Jews—The Buildings—The Burying-Grounds—The Castle—The Shut Port—The Hospital—Description of an Idiot—The English Hospital.

AFTER so long an oblivion of our own proceedings, it may be time to go on with our tour, and give the account of our departure from Athens.—We were surprised on Sunday the 4th of March, by a visit from the Captain of an English sloop of war, who offered us a passage in his ship to Smyrna, which we accepted; and accordingly made every arrangement for taking leave of the place where we had so long and so agreeably resided. Having sent off our baggage before us on the Monday morning, we bid adieu to Athens at a little after one o'clock, and passing through the gate leading to the Piræus, we struck into the olive-wood on the road going to Salamis, galloping at a quick pace, in order to rid ourselves, by the hurry, of the pain of parting; for true it was, that

we were not a little melancholy at quitting the country; and that although there was certainly not a single existing tie to bind us to the spot, we felt that uneasy sensation which arises on beholding, probably for the last time, objects rendered familiar by long use and habit. We could not refrain from looking back, as we passed rapidly to the shore, and we continued to direct our eyes towards the spot, where we had caught the last glimpse of the Theséum and the ruins of the Parthenon through the vistas in the woods, for many minutes after the city and the Acropolis had been totally hidden from our view. It was no affectation which drew from the philosophic Julian a tear at quitting his beloved Athens.

After riding round the shore of Port Phoron, and leaving the ruined tower on the crag of land which stretches from Corydallus, on our left hand, we arrived at the spot where the ship's boat was in waiting for us, and embarking, soon found ourselves on board the Pylades, which was lying at anchor in seventeen fathoms water, between Salamis and the little island Psyttalia.

An English traveller has an advantage which no one of any other nation can enjoy, as, by the hospitable accommodation which he receives from the Naval Officers of his own country, he is not only most agreeably assisted in the progress of his journey, but has the opportunity of indulging in that honest national pride, which must necessarily arise from a personal acquaintance with the condition of the British marine, and with a character, whose existence and absolute predominance,

“ above all Greek, above all Roman fame,”

must be for ever remarkable in the history of mankind.

At sun-set, contrary to the advice of four Greck pilots on board, who were not acquainted with the customary decision of the service, we got under weigh, but made very little progress during the night. The next morning we had a strong breeze from the south, and by twelve o'clock were off Cape Colonna. Doubling the southern cape of Macronesi, or Long Island, we passed, at four o'clock, the north of Andros, a mass of rocks, as barren as in the days of Themistocles, when Poverty and Despair were the tutelary deities of the island. From this point we bore north-west, looking out for the small rocks called Caloyero di Andro, which we discovered at six, and varied our course a little to the north. The rocks seemed a small peaked cluster, about the size and height of our ship. They must be dangerous in a dark night, especially as in the charts of the Archipelago, which are all singularly incorrect, they are placed too far to the south.

During the evening and night, we had the same strong favourable breeze, and when we rose the next morning, found ourselves in the mouth of the Gulf of Smyrna. The wind was now adverse, and we were obliged to beat up the Gulf: this brought us close to the land on the south, part of the promontory anciently called Melæna, and now Kara-bornou, a stupendous ridge of woody precipices. We saw a village near the summit of one of the crags, named, from the appearance of the surrounding soil, Kokkino Chorio—the Red Town. Sudden blasts from the hills, to which the gulf is very subject, rendered it difficult to carry much sail, and we did not get within sight of Smyrna during the day.

At three o'clock, a boat with a Midshipman came alongside, and informed us that the English frigate, the *Frederickstein*, had struck on a rock on the north side of the gulf. This accident

happened on a long neck of land, which runs out from a promontory, supposed to have been formerly the island Leuce.

The Captain of the Pylades, left us in his gig at six in the evening, being anxious to learn the fate of the frigate, and we continued beating up the gulf until twelve at night, when we dropped anchor in a bay under the hills to the south, near some islets, not far from the spot where Chandler found (but not discovered, as he says, Pococke* having before mentioned it) the mole of the ancient Clazomene, the work of Alexander, connecting the little island of St. John† with the mainland. A town on two small hills, three miles inland, distinguished by its numerous windmills, and called Vourla, overlooks the bay. To this

* Observations on Asia Minor, book ii. cap. ii. p. 40, edit. London, 1745. The mole is about thirty paces wide, and a quarter of a mile long. The first Clazomene, before the inhabitants fled from the Persians into the island, was on the mainland, not as Meletius says, at a place still called Κλαζομεννίδ, on the east side of the bay, but nearly opposite the island of St. John.

Strabo says the islets before Clazomene were eight; Chandler saw but six. His words are, "Three of them were called Marathusa, Pele, Drymusa: it is probable the names of all of them are contained in a passage of Pliny, book v. cap. xxxvii."—Pliny's six names, in the thirty-first chapter, are, Pela, Drymusa, Anydros, Scopelos, Sycusa, Marathusa. Drymusa is called Kinslim by the Turks, and Long Island by the Europeans. Marathusa was, according to Meletius, the island of St. John.

It may be worth while to insert all the biographical notice which Meletius takes of Clazomene, Κλαζομεννίος ἐστάθη Ἀναξαγόρας ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὅστις ἀπέδειχνε τὴν χιόνα νὰ εἶναι μέλαινα—"amongst the natives of Clazomene was Anaxagoras, the philosopher, who discovered that snow is black." One might have expected that the Archbishop would have added another discovery of the same sage, namely, that the sun is bigger than Peloponesus.

† Travels in Asia Minor, cap. xxiv.

place the Clazomenians retired from the peninsula, to free themselves from the perpetual incursions of the pirates of Tino.

We weighed again at seven in the morning, and still kept near the south land, which, although very high, began to wear an appearance of cultivation that announced the vicinity of some large city. The vineyards running up the sides of the mountains, and the extensive tracts of corn-land spread out on the vallies beneath, the olive-groves, and gardens of fig, almond, and pomegranate trees, all contributed to give a tint of the liveliest green to the face of a landscape, whose beauties seemed to be on a much larger scale than those of any scene which we had witnessed in European Greece. We conceived, perhaps fancifully, that it was easy to distinguish, by its comparative magnitude, the other quarter of the world to which we were approaching, from that which we had lately left.

The whole of that projecting part of the continent of Asia, which has been distinguished by the name of the peninsula of Erythræ*, is composed of two ranges of gigantic hills, the first of which, running north-west to the promontory Melæna, is the mountain anciently Mimas; and the second, stretching westward from the continent, that formerly called Corycus. Two peaks rising from a range more inland, once the hill Corax, are now named the Brothers. The whole of this vast mountainous tract is interspersed with thick forests, abounding with every descrip-

* The once famous town in a bay of the promontory Melæna, called now Rytæ. Some bronze medals, several of which, in great preservation, are in my possession, were lately discovered on its site, having a head of Hercules on one side, and on the reverse the three initial letters of the town, and the names of the magistrates.

tion of game, and also with wild boars. The Franks of Smyrna frequently make parties, and encamp in the hills for several days, to enjoy the diversion afforded by the chase of these latter animals. The woods are driven, and the boars roused by peasants of the villages, assisted by their dogs, and the sportsmen, armed with guns, destroy the game in the passes, after the manner observed in shooting the Scotch roe. The isthmus, once called Chalcidias, connecting the peninsula with the main, having Teos* on the south, and Clazomene on the north, which is laid down at seven miles and a half in breadth†, is a tract of level well-cultivated land: we visited it in a shooting excursion from Smyrna.

The morning was spent in tacking backwards and forwards, and it was half past twelve o'clock before we came to a low fort on a tongue of land to the south, called Sangiak Bornou by the Turks, and Agia Souli by the Greeks, which forms the defence of the bay of Smyrna. We were obliged to steer near the castle, in order to avoid the shallows to the north; and we passed close to the mouths of enormous cannons, whose balls of granite were scattered about on the outside of the embrasures, so as to afford another ostentatious specimen of the calibre of these immense pieces of ordnance. The fort was built in 1656, and has been very lately repaired; I believe, during our war with Turkey. As it is defended on the land side by nothing but a low

* The ruins of Teos are seen at a place now called Bodrun; its port, Geræ, is now Segigeck, three miles and a quarter from Bodrun, and reckoned eight hours from Smyrna.

† Plin. lib. v. cap. xxix. Strabo makes the distance fifty stadia, but does not allude, perhaps, to the whole breadth of the isthmus, but to the distance between the spot where the Alexandria were celebrated, and the high ground of Clazomene. Alexander the Great endeavoured, by cutting through this isthmus, to turn the peninsula of Erythræ into an island

wall and shallow ditch, not having a single gun mounted except towards the sea, all resistance from Sangiak castle would be effectually prevented by landing a company of marines.—The shoals (some of which, at certain periods of the year, are visible above the water) have been formed by the sand and mud deposited by the river Hermus, whose mouth is a little to the north of the point opposite to Sangiak castle, and about seven miles and a half from Smyrna.

We took an opportunity, during our stay at Smyrna, of visiting the plain on the north side of the gulf, and found it to have every appearance of newly-created land. It was intersected by dykes to drain off the water, which, however, was ankle deep in many places, and rendered some portion of this new territory utterly inaccessible. A fishery constructed with fences, like that of Messalonge, projected to a considerable distance into the gulf. Farther inland, at the foot of the mountains, we had a view of a tract of garden land, and passed through some acres covered with the water-melon (the *χειμωνικόν* of the Greeks), with which the markets of Smyrna are supplied. The principal village, Menomen, was distinguishable at a distance by several ruined towers, the remains of fortresses erected at an early period by the first Turkish invaders.

We were told that several shoals had appeared during the memory of inhabitants still living at Smyrna, and our informants seemed to entertain serious apprehensions that the gulf would in time be entirely filled up. Yet notwithstanding the changes which the Hermus has, in the course of many ages, been supposed to have effected in this part of the coast*, there appears to

* Pliny talks of the plains made by the Hermus: "a Smyrna Hermus amnis campos facit."—Lib. v. cap. xxix. p. 77, edit. Paris, M.D.CCCXII.

be some counteracting power, which has a tendency to prevent any such catastrophe; for the channel between the shoals and Sangiak castle, seems to have been as small in the time of Wheler*, as at the present moment. The event now apprehended was predicted fifty years ago, by another celebrated traveller, who, at the same time, however, recorded a circumstance, the possible recurrence of which, in some degree serves to render doubtful the accomplishment of the prophecy; namely, the disappearance of the shoal opposite to Sangiak castle, from the convulsion of an earthquake in 1739†. The continual incursion of the waters of the open sea, pushed forward by a strong breeze from the westward, called the Inbat, which blows almost daily during the summer months into the gulf, may contribute to dislodge the shoals from the mouth of the bay, and thus prevent the ingress into the harbour from being choked up, until the whole of the inner bay shall be entirely filled with sand.

Soon after our passing the fort, we had a view of the city,

* See a Voyage through the Lesser Asia, book iii. p. 240, London, 1682.

† “The river Hermus, by its influence on the gulf, has already effected great changes, and will gradually accomplish some signal alterations, of which the progress deserves accurately to be marked. The flats before Smyrna will mutually approach, and leaving only a narrow ingress, the city will be on a lake. This will be fed by the Meles, and by torrents, and in time become fresh. The plague of gnats will then, if possible, be multiplied at Smyrna. The land will continue to increase until it is in a line with the mouth of the gulf, when the site of Clazomene, and the islets within Cara-Bornon, will be encompassed with soil: and if no current intervene, Phocæa will be deprived of its harbour. The sea within the gulf will by degrees give place to a noble plain created and watered by the Hermus. Commerce will then have removed to some more commodious mart, and Smyrna be, if not utterly destroyed, desolate and forlorn.”—Chandler, cap. xxi. p. 77, London, 1776, sec. edit.

and being carried gently along by the breeze, which now began to rise, came to an anchor in the port at three in the afternoon, having been more than thirty hours in passing up the gulf, whose depth is at the utmost not more than thirty miles*. The Frederickstein, so damaged that she was obliged to be heaved down, and the Salsette frigate, were in the port, and after dining on board the latter, we removed to the house of the Consul-General, to whose hospitality (with the exception of a few days spent in a short tour to Ephesus) we were indebted for a most agreeable residence until the 11th of April.

Smyrna, called by the Turks Ismeer (a corruption probably of *ἡ Σμύρνα*), as far as regards commerce, is without doubt the most considerable city of the Turkish empire; and notwithstanding the frequent calamities of plagues and earthquakes, continues to increase rather than to diminish in size, and is said to contain nearly a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. Previously to the year 1675, it had been partially destroyed six several times by earthquakes, and it was predicted that a seventh convulsion would be fatal to the whole city. Such a calamity, attended with a dreadful fire, and the swallowing up of multitudes by the incursion of the sea, recurred in 1688†, and did, indeed, very nearly fulfil the prophecy. Repeated shocks, and almost annual pestilences, have since that period laid waste this devoted city; and yet the convenience of a most spacious and secure harbour‡, to-

* Wheler makes it only twenty miles; Pococke states the width, at the western extremity, to be three leagues.—*Observations on Asia Minor*, book ii. p. 34.

† Meletius, article *Ἰωνία*, p. 465.

‡ Smyrna is eight days by land from Constantinople, four hundred miles by water, and twenty-five days, as the caravans travel from Aleppo.—*Tournefort*, letter xxii. p. 496.

gether with the luxuriant fertility of the surrounding country, and the prescriptive excellence allowed during two thousand years to this port, in preference to the other maritime stations of Asia Minor, still operate to collect and keep together a vast mass of inhabitants from every quarter of the globe; and how much the population has increased in the last century and a half, may be seen by a reference to 'Tournefort*.

The narrow streets of this town, especially the Bazar and Bezestein, which are large and well-built, are on some days so crowded as to be almost impassable, and the press is increased by the camels, which, in strings of two or three hundred, preceded by an ass, pace slowly along, or lying down in the middle of the way, effectually prevent the crossing of passengers. The city is built partly on a hill, once called Pagus, whose summit is crowned by a castle, and partly on a plain extending to the north of the eminence. The mercantile establishments have for more than two centuries drawn together so many Franks to Smyrna†, that the part of the town which runs along the edge of the water

* Tournefort reckoned the inhabitants of Smyrna at only 15,000 Turks, 10,000 Greeks, 1800 Jews, 200 Armenians, and as many Franks. Letter xxii. p. 495. Pococke makes the whole number nearly 100,000, of which 7000 or 8000 were Greeks, 2000 Armenians, and 5000 or 6000 Jews. *Observations on Asia Minor*, book ii. p. 37, edit. London, 1745.

† In 1702 there were thirty French merchants, nearly as many English, and eighteen or twenty Dutch. 'Tournefort, letter xxii. p. 496, Paris, edit. 4to. 1717. A list of the precious commodities exported by the European merchants, is given in 'Tournefort, (letter xxii. p. 498, Paris, edit. 4to. 1717); and in Pococke (*Observat. on Asia Minor*, book ii. cap. i. p. 38, edit. fol. London, 1745); (their nature and quality are too well known to many of our London merchants, to require a statement in this place.

to the northern extremity, has been long allotted to them, and distinguished by the name of Frank Street. The houses of the Consuls and the principal merchants, are built altogether in a very commodious fashion, enclosing on three sides a court or small garden, but are only one story in height, and composed of unburnt brick in frames of plaistered laths. The warehouses, stables, and offices, are below, the family apartments above; open galleries or terraces, on the top of the unraised part of the lower buildings, serve for communication, or as a place of promenade. The best houses are at the edge of the water, and as there is a stone pier for the whole length of the Frank town, are thus very conveniently situated for the loading and unloading of the boats from the ships. The mansion of the English Consul-General, as far as respects the interior of the building, is such as might do credit to any of the capital streets of London.—There is in the Frank quarter a very good hotel, besides several taverns and lodging-houses for the accommodation of travellers.

The many English, French, Dutch, German, and Italian families, who are settled in the place, and some of them intermarried with the principal Greeks, formed, before the revolutionary war, a very large and amicable society, and the Frank quarter at Smyrna deserved and was flattered by the name of *Petite Paris*. Since that period, although the good understanding between those who are protected by the English, and those who are protected by the French Consul (to whom all not British, except a few Americans, and those under the Austrian Minister, are now subject), has been interrupted by the manners of the new regime, yet there still subsists an institution which renders a residence in Smyrna agreeable to strangers as well as to settlers. This is a club, which sup-

ports a set of public rooms, fitted up in a very comfortable and splendid style, called, as in Italy, the Casino. Here there is a reading-room furnished with all the papers and gazettes of Europe, except the English, and there are two other apartments with billiard tables: refreshments of every kind can be procured in the house, for those who choose to form parties for supper.—The rooms open at eight o'clock every evening; and during the Carnival, the subscribers give a ball once a week, to which all the respectable Greeks and the ladies of their families are invited. The annual subscription is five guineas, and all strangers, not residents of Smyrna, are permitted to attend the Casino without any payment. Unfortunately the wars of monarchs have become the wars of the merchants of Smyrna, and the Casino, during our visit, was threatened to be overturned by the national feuds of the two belligerents.

Nothing attracts the attention of a traveller in the Levant, more than the consular establishments*, which the Turks, so haughty and despotic, so averse to every thing Christian, have long suffered, and still suffer, to exist in almost all the principal towns of their empire. At Smyrna, the Frank town, no inconsiderable place of itself, may be said to be under the complete jurisdiction of the foreign powers. The Consuls display the standards of their respective nations; they have their prisons, and their soldiers, who wait at their gates and precede them when they walk or ride; and their houses are sanctuaries which not even the Turk attempts to penetrate.—On the night of the 10th of March, a Greek was murdered by an assassin, who took refuge

* The first residents of this name, were I believe appointed by the republic of Florence, in the time of the first Cosmo de Medicis, under the name of Consules Maritimi.

in the house of the French Consul. The next day the gate of the palace, as it is called, was besieged by Janissaries, and a crowd of the relations of the deceased. The man was not given up; and in consequence a whole host of complainants surrounded the Governor of the city as he was riding; but, as I myself saw could get from him no other answer, than that he would speak to the French Minister.

This foreign interference, which the Turks originally admitted, strange as it may seem, solely from a contempt of the Christian dogs, and from a persuasion that these Infidel merchants were fitly employed in administering to the luxuries of the true believers, has not contributed to increase the good liking between the Mussulmans and the Franks at Smyrna, and dreadful disturbances have been sometimes excited, either by the presumption of the colonists, or the jealousy of the natives.

About nine years ago, a Venetian killed a Janissary, and fled to a vessel in the harbour. The Turks, after various attempts to get at the murderer, set fire to the Frank town; and finding the merchants had escaped to the ships, wreaked their vengeance on the Greeks and Armenians, three hundred of whom they slew in the streets. The crews of some Slavonian vessels landing in boats, completed the distress, by plundering the warehouse of every Frank, except that of the English Consul-General, who, with the assistance of two faithful Janissaries, resolutely and successfully defended his house and property, and was the principal means of allaying the disturbance.

When the war between France and Turkey was declared, the lives of the French in Smyrna were saved only by a scheme, according to which the merchants were made prisoners by a body

of soldiers sent into the town by Cara Osman Oglou, the celebrated independent Pasha of Caramania. It may be supposed, that the Governor of Smyrna has a difficult task to perform, in keeping his city in tranquillity, and even in retaining possession of an office from which he may be removed, not only by the revolt of the citizens, but even (as has happened more than once) by the intrigues of the Foreign Consuls with the Ministers at the Porte. The present Governor purchased the renewal of his place in the time of the last Sultan Mustapha : Sultan Mahmoud sent another person to supersede him ; but he prepared to resist with two thousand armed men, and by having recourse to the intercession of a Foreign Minister at the Porte, re-established himself in his post.

The Greeks of Smyrna, some of them, live near the Frank town, and others interspersed amongst the Turks. They are all in trade, differing in nothing from their countrymen in other parts of the Levant, and they are next in point of number to the Turks : they have an Archbishop and three churches. Since the increase of strangers, and the removal of the factories once settled at Aleppo, to Smyrna, the intermarriage between the Greeks and Franks has not taken place so frequently as in former times.

Dr. Chandler* mentions the ladies of the merchants as dressed in the Oriental fashion, and having the manners of natives. At present that singularity is not to be observed, except in one or two instances, and the tendour alone is now left, of all the particularities remarked by that traveller in the houses of the factors. This utensil, similar to a contrivance employed in Holland, is a

* Travels in Asia Minor, cap. xix.

brazier placed under a table covered with a green cloth or carpet, under which the assembled females of the family hide their feet.

Harps and piano-fortes, and many articles of ornamental furniture, from London and Paris, are to be seen in the drawing-rooms of Smyrna. When abroad, the ladies generally wear a veil; and I observed also, that in a large assembly of them at the Roman Catholic chapel, they had all scarfs over the left shoulder, tied in a large loose knot behind. A girl at Smyrna, even when she is an only daughter, is considered possessed of a handsome fortune if she is heiress to ten thousand piasters.

The clerks in the merchant-houses are most of them Greeks; but the domestics employed in the families are Armenians; and the lower servants, or porters of the factories, Jews, who, notwithstanding their laborious employments, live chiefly on bread and dried olives, and can support themselves for about three paras a day, although their daily pay, as well as that of other labourers in the country, is from thirty to forty paras. The principal brokers in the place are also of that nation, which is sufficiently numerous to maintain five or six synagogues.

The Armenians live in a quarter of the town to the north-east of the Franks, and between the Greeks and Turks, called the Three Corners*, and have a large well-built church of their own, although many of them, being of the Roman Catholic persuasion, frequent the Frank chapel.

What may be called the principal buildings of the town, are the Bazar and Bezestein, and a han called Vizir Han, built nearly

* Near the Three Corners, was the ruin seen by Wheeler, which Chandler supposed part of the ancient Gymnasium. *Travels in Asia Minor*, cap. xviii. p. 6, 2d. edit.

a century and a half ago, and chiefly constructed out of the marble ruins from the site of the ancient theatre in the north side of the Castle-hill. The mountain Pagus itself contained veins of fine marble, and some vestiges of the quarries are now to be seen under the spot once occupied by the theatre, which, from a pedestal found by Mr. Spon on the spot, has been supposed the work of the Emperor Clandius. The site of this building, as well as that of the Stadium, is still visible to those accustomed to the position usually chosen for such places in the Grecian cities, whose architects assisted themselves in forming these structures, by raising only a part of the circular range of seats on arches, and excavating the remainder of the amphitheatre out of the slope of a hill. Every part of the buildings themselves has disap-

There is a considerable space unoccupied by any houses between the suburbs and the summit of the hill, and this is allotted for a burying-ground to the Jews, who have nearly covered it with their tomb-stones, lying flat on the ground, and not raised in the manner usual in our church-yards.

A little to the north-east of the Jews' burying-ground, and also on the side of the Castle-hill, is a Turkish cemetery, the most populous I ever saw, walled in and shaded by a thick forest of cypresses. This fine tree has with its gloomy green, long overshadowed the memorials of mortality; and its thick foliage, as well as the grateful odour of its wood, must serve to counteract the effects which would otherwise be produced, if graves, only a foot or two in depth, and containing corpses without coffins, were exposed to the burning summer sun. The hardness and lightness of the cypress wood renders it very serviceable for the construction of

chests, or of any furniture which requires durable materials. The Romans, as we learn from a line in Horace*, preserved their manuscripts in boxes, or between layers cut from this tree, believing it, according to Pliny†, to be capable of resisting decay, and keeping out the moth.

The walls of the castle are extensive, and the lower stones, like those of the citadel of Arta, are too massive to be confounded with the superstructure which was erected at the beginning of the thirteenth century, by John Angelus Commenus. The cisterns in the fort are also of a date coeval with the first foundation of the new city of Smyrna by Antigonus and Lysimachus‡.

* " linenda cedro, et lævi servanda cupresso."—De Arte Poet. lin. 332.

† Plin. lib. xvi. cap. xlii. The folding doors of the Temple of Ephesus were of cypress, and after four hundred years looked like new ones, cap. xl.

‡ The ancient Smyrnéans came from the neighbourhood of Ephesus, and dispossessed the people called Leleges, then living on the site of the ancient Smyrna, about twenty stadia, two Roman miles and a half, from the new city. The Smyrnéans were afterwards expelled by the Æolians, and retired to Colophon, but returning with an auxiliary force, recovered their town (Strabon. Geog. lib. xiv. p. 624, edit. Xyland, Parisiis, m.dccxx). The Æolian Smyrna is that which contended for the birth of Homer. The Lydians under Gyges, in a war which was the subject of a poem in elegiac verse by Mimnermus, (Pans. Bœotic. p. 884, edit. Xyland), destroyed the place, and the Smyrnéans lived dispersed in villages for four hundred years (Strab. lib. xiv. p. 646, edit. qu. sup). Alexander the Great sleeping after the chase on Mount Pagus, was warned by the goddesses Nemesis in a dream, to build a city on the hill where he slept, and people it with the Smyrnéans, who on consulting the Oracle at Claros, were told, that those would be thrice and four times happy who should till the lands on the *farther bank of the sacred Mæis*. (Paus. Achaic. p. 404 and 405, edit. qu. sup. Hanov. m.dcc.xiii). The task was begun by Antigonus, and finished by Lysimachus: Smyrna was the most

The castle can now hardly be said to be fortified, although a few cannon are still mounted on the tottering walls. A low eminence to the south-west of the Castle-hill, and separated from it only

beautiful of the Asiatic cities: part of it was built on the hill, but the larger portion of it on the plain towards the port, and the Temple of Cybele and the Gymnasium. The streets were large, and constructed at right angles to each other, and well paved. There were large square porticoes both in the higher and lower part of the city; besides a library and a Homerium, which was a square portico containing a temple and an image of Homer. The Meles flowed by the walls, and besides the other structures, there was a port which might be shut. (Strab. lib. xiv. p. 646, edit. qu. sup). It was the first city in Asia Minor which, even during the existence of Carthage, erected a temple to "Rome the Goddess," (Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. sect. 56). Part of the city was destroyed by Dolabella, when he slew Trebonius, one of the conspirators against Cæsar. But it flourished under the early Emperors, and under Caracalla took the name of the First City of Asia.

Meletius in his Geography, (article *Iωνία*), mentions that Smyrna was in possession of the Venetians from the year 1056 to 1343; but the more accurate sketch of its modern history is given in Tournetort (letter xxii. p. 508, Paris, edit. 1717), and in Chandler, (p. 59). In 1084 it was taken by a Turkish insurgent called Tzachas, and in 1097 by John Ducas. In the thirteenth century it was in ruins, except the Acropolis on Mount Pagus, which was beautified and restored by John Angelus Comnenus, who died in 1224. In 1313 it was conquered by Atin, the Sultan of Lydia, and was subjected in 1332 to Honnur, his son and successor; but in 1345 some Knights of Rhodes surprised, and made themselves master of a fort called the Castle of St. Peter near the port, the ancient shut port, which they retained, in spite of the efforts of Sultan Amurath the First, and Bajazet, together with a new town attached to it, until they were expelled by Tamerlane in 1402. The Acropolis and the Latin City, commanded by an independent Turk, Cineis, or Cineites, son of Carasupasi, governor of Ephesus, was taken, with the assistance of the Grand Master of Rhodes, by Mahomet the First, who destroyed fort St. Peter, and retired; but returning in 1424, finally subdued the city, which has continued from that period in the hands of the Ottoman Sultans.

by a narrow valley, through which runs the road to the Ephesus, has been called the Windmill-hill. On its summit are seen large foundation-stones, and it appears to have been included within the wall of the ancient city. In the south-western quarter is a recess, where there are vestiges of the shut port mentioned by Strabo, which was choked up by Tamerlane*; and here the small armed boats belonging to the Governor, or other Turks of the town, are laid up in dock. An old fort (built perhaps out of the Castle of St. Peter†, which was constructed by the Latins, whom Lord Sandwich, in his Voyage round the Mediterranean‡, apparently on the authority of Tournefort§, calls Genoese) stands at the mouth of this artificial basin, and contains a few cannon, which the Turks discharge on days of rejoicing.

The building which most attracted our attention at Smyrna, was a large public hospital at the north-east side of the Frank quarter. It is supported by, and is under the controul of the Christians, being superintended by Greek physicians, who have formed a sort of college, or faculty, and are in more repute at Smyrna than in other parts of Turkey. The building is an open square, divided into a laboratory and three sets of wards surrounding a court-yard, which is pleasantly shaded by rows of trees. One of the wards is appropriated to patients of every description; another is for the reception of infirm and bed-ridden

* See the foregoing note.

† See the foregoing note.

‡ Page 307, London 1749.

§ The Genoese historians fix the expedition against Smyrna at the year 1346. The city itself was taken by Morbassan, a general of Sultan Orcau the Second, about that period, so that these Genoese may perhaps be identified with the Knights of Rhodes.—See Tournefort, letter xxii. p. 509.

old women; and a third for idiots and maniacs. Of this last class there were, when we saw the place, several most distressing objects; but the one which alone was deserving of particular notice, was a female, distinguished by the appellation of the Wild Woman, quite dumb, nearly deaf, and possessed of no one consciousness belonging to humanity. She was sitting, rolled up, as it were, upon a truss of straw in the corner of her cell. Her legs were crooked under her, but upon the name, "Athoula," to which she would sometimes attend, being loudly called, she hopped slowly towards us, pushing herself along principally by the use of her hands. Her length (for height she had none), if extended, would have been about three feet and a half. Her head was sunk on her chest; not a muscle of her face moved, and the keeper who attended us, passed his hand over every feature, in order to point out its conformation, without her seeming sensible of his touch. Her head was entirely bald, her eyes small, sunk in her head and fixed, and her ears were of a disproportionate magnitude. An idiotic smile was settled on her mouth, and every line of her countenance indicated an entire absence of reason. Her skin was yellow and shrivelled, but smooth, and neither body nor limbs, although distorted, were at all monstrous in any particular, except that her fingers'-ends had the appearance rather of claws than nails.

The keeper, and other persons whose authority I understood might be depended upon, informed me, that Athoula, who was thought, although upon no certain grounds, to be near sixty years old, had been nine years in the hospital, to which she had been brought by a person who had found her in a wood near Smyrna, and had nourished her for many years at his own expence. When found, she was without any clothes; she had not the use of her

feet, but appeared young and active. In other respects, she was the same creature as when seen by us. That a being so idiotic could procure itself food, seems impossible; and this unfortunate creature cannot be supposed to have continued any length of time in the forest, but rather to have been left behind by some of the wandering tribes of Turcomans, or of the Zinganies or Gypsies, which often advance to the vicinity of the city. My Lord Monboddos theory will, I fear, receive no additional support from this singular fact, nor Athoula be thought a fit match for Mons. Condamine's Wild Girl*.



ATHOULA,

Smyrna, March 28, 1810.

Besides this asylum, there is a small hospital belonging to the British Factory, pleasantly situated in the outskirts of the town to the north, which is as neat and comfortable as any similar establishment in England. But the merchants in our time were provided neither with a resident physician nor a chaplain, so that, were it not for the occasional attendance of the surgeons from the ships on the Levant station, the hospital would be not more serviceable than the elegant chapel attached to the house of the Consul-General.

* Mr. H. Tooke, however, has, from good authority, furnished his Lordship with a tail of a foot long, and a tail like the tail of a horse, at least of such a horse as Archbishop Becket used to ride. See ΕΠΕΑ ΠΙΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΑ, Part I. cap. ix. p. 397, sec. edit. London, 1798.

LETTER XXXVI.

The Musselin's Summer Residence—Fruits—Sherbets—Fish—Meats—The Inner Bay—The Flat near Smyrna—Game of the Djerid—Horses of the Turks—The Meles—Caravan Bridge—Homer's Cave—The Site of the Æolian Smyrna—The Road to Bournabat: that Village described—The Storks—The Village of Boudjah—The Plague—The Climate—Cranes—Chameleons—Lizards.

BEYOND the Frank street to the north, and close to the edge of the water, is the summer residence of the Musselim, or Governor of Smyrna. This title is given to the commanders of some large cities in Turkey. The house is in the midst of a spacious garden, and many acres of the adjoining grounds, belonging to the principal Franks, are laid out in the same manner, and abound with almost every species of fruit of the finest quality*. Their figs, which are eaten when green, and their grapes, so

* Les orangers y sont si communs qu'on ne daigne pas en cueillir le fruit, de maniere qu'il reste sur l'arbre toute l'année jusqu'à ce que les fleurs poussent. Le figuier, l'olivier et le grenadier croissent pêle-mêle dans les champs.—Hasselquist, Voyages dans le Levant, premiere partie, p. 38, edit. Paris, 1769. The ground-ivy (the *χαμαιισσος* of the Greeks) is found in great quantities in the gardens.

much prized in Europe, are not more delicious than their citrons, lemons, oranges, pomegranates, and *mélons*.

In the city there are several shops almost in every street, where sherbets, made from these fruits, are sold. The sherbets are sweetened with honey and pomegranate seeds, and are exposed in the open windows in coloured glass jars, or in small tin fountains, in which, by means of a little wheel turning round after the manner of an overshot-mill, the liquor plays through several slender tubes into the basin below. The heat of the climate renders these cooling draughts, although they are extremely insipid, not only grateful, but exceedingly salubrious. Whey, sour thick milk, called *yaourt*, or *ὀξύγαλα*, and *caimac*, or *ἀφρόγαλα*, something like our clotted cream, and no bad substitute for butter, are also consumed in great quantities, not only in Smyrna, but in every large town in Turkey. The wines, particularly the muscat and dry white wine, grown in the neighbouring plains and on the sides of the hills, are much esteemed, and they receive an additional flavour by having the dry and powdered blossom of the vine steeped in them during their fermentation.

The tables of the Franks of Smyrna are supplied with every delicacy. Fish abound in the bay, particularly the red mullet : in March and April, oysters and sea-urchins, and other shell-fish, amounting, according to Hasselquist, to more than ten different sorts*, are dragged up from the beds in the inner part of the harbour, and innumerable fishing-boats, covered with a black-tented sail, are at that season moored at a little distance from the shore.

* Nous ne connoissons que les huitres, et ils ont dix sortes de coquillages, sans compter les ecrevisses de mer; les cancre, les chevrettes, les langoustins, &c. &c.—Voyage dans le Levant, edit. Paris, 1769, seconde partie, page 134.

Hares, red-legged partridges*, woodcocks, and snipes in abundance, are found in the vicinity of the city.

The butchers'-meat cannot be kept long enough in the hot months, to become tender and palatable; but the mutton of the broad-tailed sheep, the common breed of Asia Minor, is of an excellent quality. It is between eleven and twelve paras a pound. One of the most disgusting sights in Turkey, is a meat-market. The limbs of the slaughtered animals have the appearance of being torn, rather than cut into portions, and lie in mingled heaps together, exposed to the dirt and heat. Beef is very little esteemed, but I have found it fat and well-flavoured at the tables of the Franks.

Beyond the Musselim's country-house to the north, is a flat marshy piece of land, round which the sea winds, and forms a bay to the east. This is a sort of inner harbour.

About half a mile down the harbour, there is a long wooden pier projecting from the land, near which the large merchant vessels are laid up to refit. This inner port was, when we saw it, full of Dutch and other ships, under the French flag, unwilling to run the risk of being captured by the English cruisers. Nevertheless, a very considerable trade was carrying on in American, Greek, and Barbary vessels, with the French Ports. American ships have also lately furnished Smyrna with many articles from the other hemisphere, which were once supplied by France and England†.

* The red-legged partridges are reared in broods, like domestic fowls, by the peasants of Scio.—See Busbeck's Letters, translated, London edit. 1744, p. 129.

† The whole system and policy of our Levant trade have undergone a change by our possession of Malta and the Mediterranean, and by the circumstances

The Frederickstein frigate was heaved down at the point of the wooden pier, which being covered with her guns and stores, was protected by a guard, much to the surprise of the

of the present war. The monopoly of the Turkey Company, against which Dean Tucker exclaimed many years ago, seems not at all favourable to the British interests in the Levant. During our stay at Smyrna and Constantinople, I took the opportunity of making several inquiries respecting the British Turkey trade; but a mercantile gentleman, Mr. Galt, who was in the Levant at the same time with myself, having published his travels, and given the result of his observations, I refer to his work (page 372, 4to.), and content myself with hinting at these general prominent facts which fell within my own notice. First, that English cloths, the former staple export, being undersold by the German, scarcely find a market in the Levant, and are, therefore, seldom to be met with; but that cottons of our manufacture are in great demand; secondly, that the direct trade in English bottoms from London to Smyrna has nearly ceased, the goods being conveyed from Malta in Greek vessels; and thirdly, that as a channel for supplying the European continent with our manufactures and colonial produce, has begun to be opened at Salonica, whence our exports are now conveyed over land into Germany, the necessity of opening the trade, or at least of forming other establishments in addition to those at Smyrna and Constantinople, becomes every day more apparent. To this may be added, that our resident Levant merchants are not sufficiently interested in the English trade, as they are able to engage with the merchants of other countries. Some of them having been long settled, have married and become otherwise connected with French, Dutch, and other Frank families, and have a share in their concerns. The success of a British cruiser has more than once been nearly fatal to the fortunes of some of these British merchants; and I remember, that not a little address was employed at Smyrna, to learn the destination of the sloop *Pylades*, after she had brought us from Athens. As then these gentlemen have found a means of carrying on their speculations, even in the event of a war between Great Britain and the Turks, any English Negotiator with the Porte, must not be surprised at finding his endeavours but poorly seconded by the resident members of the Levant Company.

inquisitive Turks, who did not know what to think of being turned off from their accustomed walking-place. The flat piece of land has increased considerably in half a century; for Hasselquist, who travelled in 1750, describes it as about an acre of ground. There are certain evidences, as that naturalist has observed, that not only the flat, but the garden ground more inland, have been gained from the sea; for marine plants, and such grasses as will not grow without sea-salt, besides shells of every sort, are still found upon this new soil*. This is the spot on which the Turks amuse themselves at their favourite pastime of throwing the djerid. They generally chuse a Sunday for this sport, when all the Greeks and Franks are enjoying the sea-breezes on the beach.

On the 11th of March, the spot was crowded with them mounted on horses superbly caparisoned, the Musselim himself, with the chief Agas of the city, being amongst the number. Several slaves, chiefly blacks, were attending on foot. Each of the riders was furnished with one or two djerids (straight white sticks, a little thinner than an umbrella stick, less at one end than at the other, and about an ell in length), together with a thin cane, crooked at the head. The sport soon began.

The horsemen, perhaps a hundred in number, galloped about in as narrow a space as possible, throwing the djerids at each other, and shouting: each man, selecting an opponent who had darted his djerid, and was for the moment without a weapon, rushed furiously towards him, screaming "Ollóh! Ollóh!" The

* *Voyages dans le Levant*, premier partie, p. 40 and 52, edit. Paris, 1799, "le brin de buissons, le jonc marin (*arundo phragmites* et *donax*)," and more particularly "le *Triglochin palustre* de Suede."

other fled, looking behind him, and the instant the dart was launched, either stooped downwards, almost touching the ground with his head, or wheeled his horse with an inconceivable rapidity, and picking up a djerid with his cane, or taking one from a running slave, in his turn pursued the enemy, who wheeled instantly on throwing his djerid. The greatest dexterity was requisite and practised, in order to avoid the concurrence of the different parties, and to escape the random blows of the djerids, which were flying in every direction.

The chief performer was a Mameluke slave, mounted on an Arabian courser, whom I observed generally engaged with the Musselim, himself a very expert player. His djerid flew with a celerity almost sightless, perhaps for a hundred yards, and when it struck against the high back of the flying horseman's saddle, sounded through all the field. He would wheel in as small a space as would suffice for an expert scater; and not unfrequently he caught the flying djerids in the air, and returned them at his pursuer, before the other could have time to turn his horse.

The sport is not a little hazardous: a blow on the temple might be fatal; and several accidents have occurred, which might reasonably deter any one from exposing himself on such occasions. The late Capudan Pasha, Kutchuc Hussein Pasha, cut off the head of one of his officers who wounded him on the shoulder with a djerid. The conduct of Jussuff Pasha, twice Grand Vizier, was indeed very different. When he was Musselim of Erzeroun, a slave deprived him of his right eye by a similar accident: Jussuff, on recovering from the first stupefaction of the blow, ordered the man a purse of money, with an injunction to quit the city immediately; "for," added he, "though I am not angry now,

I know not what I may be when I come to feel the consequences of this accident."

The Mahometan had arrived at a more humane and practical wisdom by the generosity of his nature, than a sage of antiquity taught himself by the prudential maxims of his own philosophical sect—"I am not enraged at present," said Diogenes the stoic, to a man who spit in his face, "but I doubt whether or not I ought to be angry*."

The Turks engaged in this amusement with a childish eagerness, and however manly may be the exercise, a foreigner cannot help thinking, that it would be very laughable to see the Mayor and Magistrates belonging to a town in his own country, galloping about in a circle, and flinging sticks at each other for an hour together. The custom, however, seems as old as the empire of the Parthians, whose method of fighting it must have been meant to represent, and it is practised by all the inhabitants of the East who excel in horsemanship.

Nielhuhr the traveller has given in his work, a representation of the Governor and chief Arabs of Loheia, in Yemen, playing in parties of four; and the Moors left the same game, called *juego de canas*, behind them in Spain, where it was revived at the marriage of the present Charles the Fourth, when prince of the Asturias. There, as in Arabia, it was not performed promiscuously, but in quadrilles composed of the grandes, and headed by a prince of the blood†.

The great men of Turkey, like those of most countries, are all

* Seneca de Ira. lib. iii. cap. 38.

† See Carter's Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga.

expert horsemen, and exemplify the saying of Carneades, who averred, that rich men, and sons of kings, are generally good riders; because a horse is not, like other instructors, a flatterer, but will throw down any person of any rank who has not learnt to sit him*.

Every one knows what care and attention are paid by the Orientals to their horses. The Turk thinks it beneath his dignity, and indeed has no notion how any one can feel inclined, to walk for amusement, and if he has only ten steps to go, always mounts his charger. The numbers and condition of his stud, are the true criterion of his wealth and importance; and the Pashas, when they would shew any distinguished honour to a guest, fail not to present him with a horse. It is said of the Sultan Saladin, that he never mounted a courser which he had not either given away or promised. The horses of the Turks bear no marks of ill-treatment, but are in general sleek, plump, and spirited, and the kind usage they receive from their grooms, renders them exceedingly tractable and free from vice. They are neither so fast, nor capable of bearing such a continued quick pace as those of our own breed. Their best paces are a walk and gallop, although the first is often interrupted by a curvetting amble, and the last is constrained by the custom of frequently stopping them short at full speed. This is effected by means of the long bit. The inner corner of the stirrup, which is like the head of a fire-shovel, serves the purpose of a spur, except that the Tartars or couriers generally have a sort of short goad fixed to the heel of their boots. Entire horses are alone in use, for the Orientals are, in this par-

* Menag. Observat. in Diog. Laert. lib. iv. sec. 66, p. 185, edit. Wetsten.

ticular, less cruel to the brute creation than to their own species, and have never adopted a custom which is universal amongst the Franks, and bespeaks their origin from the barbarian nations of the north*. They live to a very advanced period of life, although I cannot say I was ever shown any which were said to be fifty years old, the age of those horses seen by Busbeck in the stables of Sultan Solyman †.

In the spring of the year the Turkish horses are tethered in the downs, and amongst the young corn. They are fed, when in the stable, upon barley and chopped straw; the use of oats never having been, from the earliest times to the present day, introduced amongst the Oriental nations. There are no separate stalls in their stables, but their fore legs are shackled, and one of their hinder legs confined by a rope, to prevent them from doing each other any mischief by kicking. Dried horse-dung is used, instead of straw, for litter.

It cannot be thought that a people, who have no physicians that can cure the diseases of men, should understand the treatment of maladies in horses; yet the Turks are successful in some cases which might puzzle an European practitioner. Total blindness is not unfrequently removed in the following manner:—They run a needle and thread round the back part of the eye; then, by means of the thread, they draw the eye almost out of the socket, so as to reach the back of it, and with a razor or knife cut off the horny excrescence which is the cause of the disease: washing the wound with a little salt, they afterwards return the part to its

* *Ἰδίον δὲ τῷ Σκυθικῷ καὶ τῷ Σαρματικῷ πάντες ἔθουσι, τὸ τοὺς ἵππους ἐκτέμνειν, ἐντεθείας χάριν.*—Strab. lib. vii. p. 312, edit. Xyland.

† Busbeck's Letters, translated, London edit. 1744, p. 133.

position, and consider the horse to be sufficiently recovered to be used the next day.

Below the djerid ground and the pier, the land is marshy, and intersected with dykes near the water. Amongst their gardens, the stream of the Meles is lost during the summer, but in the winter, and even in the spring of the year, flows through a shallow pebbly channel into the lower bay. The river has its source in a ravin, a mile and a half, perhaps, on the south-east side of the Castle-hill: it runs in a deep valley, crossed by two aqueducts; the one is in ruins, the other still serving to furnish the town with water supplied by torrents from the mountains. Immediately at the back (the east of the suburbs), the Meles flows in a broad placid stream through a green meadow; at this point it is crossed by a one-arched bridge, and two or three large weeping willows hang over its margin. Under the shade of these trees, the Turks collect in parties to smoke; and the meadow of Caravan Bridge, for so the place is called, is the Mall of Smyrna. Beyond the bridge the river becomes more wide, and no longer confined between its banks, overflows the road at the back of the suburbs, and spreads into the olive-groves, and fields and gardens.

The Meles, in its short progress, is equally serviceable to the modern as it was to the ancient Smyrñeans, but it has lost the name by which it was once so famous, and goes by the usual appellation of "*the Water*." The pleasing fiction which conferred so much celebrity upon this *sacred stream*, after being for ages forgotten, was revived by a traveller of our own nation*; for a cave

* See Chandler.

in the bank above the aqueduct, near the source of the river, is shewn, on the authority of that learned person, as the solitary retreat in which the divine poet was accustomed to compose his verse. No other memorial of Homer now remains. The Homerium, called by some the Temple of Janus, and seen by Wheler, had disappeared before Chandler travelled, as well as the tomb of St. Polycarp, who is said to have been burnt or torn to pieces in the amphitheatre of the ancient city. But the worship of the Saint has survived that of the Poet; for the 23d of February is set apart as the festival of the first Christian Bishop of Smyrna, "the Lieutenant-general of the great army of Martyrs*."

To the east of the Meles, lower down in the inner bay, amongst the marshes, and under a low hill, some vestiges of what has been supposed ancient Smyrna, the original city, were discovered by Pococke†. They are near some springs of water mentioned in all books of travels, and still well known at Smyrna under the name of the Baths of Diana. Wheler thought the Æolian Smyrna had been on a hill, south of the present city; but the Clarian Oracle seems to show, that, with a reference to the ancient settlement, the position of Mount Pagus was *beyond* the sacred Meles. Now Mount Pagus, the Castle-hill, is to the south-west of the Meles; therefore the ancient Smyrnæans lived to the north of that river.

At the extremity of the inner bay there is a sort of scale or landing-place, near which is a solitary hut kept by a Turk, who supplies you with coffee and a pipe, and a mat—the usual accom-

* Wheler. A Voyage in the Lesser Asia, book iii. p. 245.

† Observations on Asia Minor, book ii. p. 39, London, fol. edit. 1765.

modations of these resting-places. At this place there is a number of jack-asses kept ready saddled, for the use of those going to the large village of Bonavre, or Bournabat, which is about four miles up the country, in a direction north-east from the city. The jack-asses are attended by boys; and the hire of the beast is thirty paras for going to the village, and the same sum for returning from it. The whole road from the shore to Bournabat is between hedge-rows.

When riding to the village, we found ourselves in a beautiful green lane, which, as we had seen nothing like it since the commencement of our tour, made us forget we were in Turkey. Trees thickly dispersed in the hedges, gave the whole country the woody appearance of one of our most cultivated English counties. They were chiefly of the sort producing *amygdalon*, or wild almond, which was then (March the 21st) green, and eaten by the peasants. The grounds on each side the road (which are of a chalky soil mixed with a portion of sand, and covered with a light black earth) were laid out in corn-fields, or cultivated with the cotton and tobacco plant, interspersed with many large gardens and olive-groves. The anemony, tulip, and ranunculus, were blooming in wild profusion under the hedges and beside the path. A little way from the village we passed a very large burying-ground, shaded by an extensive forest of cypresses. From the magnitude of this cemetery, Bournabat is supposed to have been once a town of some note, and, indeed, the first patents granted to our Levant Consuls, gave them jurisdiction at *Smyrna* and *Bonavre*: at present, the village is chiefly composed of very elegant country-houses, built in the European fashion, belonging to the merchants of *Smyrna*. It contains one

open space, surrounded by a few neat shops, and shaded by several large and aged cedar trees, whose branches are hung with storks' nests. These birds had arrived from their winter quarters nearly at the time when we passed into Asia. They were stalking about on the flat roofs of the houses, and even in the streets of Bournabat, perfectly unmolested. Such, indeed, is the attachment of the storks to the habitation of man, that I do not recollect to have ever seen their nests in a tree at any distance from some human dwelling, and they build even in the tops of moscks and inhabited houses: I have observed many in the suburbs of Constantinople.—The traveller, in his walks amidst the ruins of ancient cities, is often awakened from his reverie by the loud chatterings of one of these domestic birds, perched on the fragment of a column, or on the shed of the solitary shepherd. The clapping of their long bills produces a sound similar to, and full as loud as, that of a watchman's rattle when turned round slowly, or of the wheel put in a garden to scare the birds. The kind and salutary superstition, which grants to the storks the protection of the Mahometans, is justified by the real utility of these animals. They feed principally on the serpents, frogs, and other reptiles, with which the marshes, during the summer months, are almost choked up.

A pillar in the mosck of Bournabat, contains an inscription relative to the Meles, which was copied, and, I believe, discovered for the first time, a short time before our arrival by an English traveller*.

The country-house of the English Consul-General is in a village between four and five miles to the south-east of Smyrna, called

*

* Mr. R. Walpole.

Boudjah, which is less frequented than Bournabat, and is distinguished at a distance by a large grove of cypresses. The mansion, fitted up altogether in the English taste, has an excellent garden and vineyard attached to it, and is constantly inhabited by the family of the owner from June to the end of September.

Houses belonging to Frank merchants may be found in Narleui, Hadjelar, and other small villages, scattered up and down in the fine plain, of about four or five miles in breadth, extending from the feet of the mountain at the back (the east and south-east) of Smyrna to the suburbs of the city. During the hot season, and the visits of the plague, the town is deserted, and the richer part of the whole population passes into the villages.

Smyrna, which has been so long considered as the very hot-bed of the plague, has of late years suffered less than formerly by the ravages of that dreadful calamity. The Turks have become more cautious to prevent infection, and the sale of clothes taken from the bodies of those killed by the disease, which was formerly encouraged, has been punished with death. The Frank settlers, by frequent experience, know how to secure themselves from danger, and talk of the plague with much more indifference than those separated by a thousand leagues from the usual scene of its ravages. All the numerous theories advanced on the subject, agree in attributing the diffusion, in a great measure, to the terror, of the plague, and some very pointed instances corroborative of the fact, were related to myself. If, however, as has been supposed*, the use of coffee, tobacco, and other narcotic and alkaline substances, predisposes the body for the reception of

* See some Reflections on Shrieber's "*Dissertatio de Pestilentia Odzachovii*," in Baron Reidsel's *Voyage en Levant*, chap. xi. p. 369, edit. Paris, 1802.

the venom of this pestilence, the hope of ever exterminating the disease from amongst the Turks cannot be entertained. The plague powder of the famous renegade, Count Bonneval, which cured ninety out of a hundred persons, is either forgotten, or has lost all its credit.

The heat was never intolerable during our stay in this part of Asia; the thermometer continued at about sixty-eight until the 27th of March, when it sunk ten degrees, and the weather was rainy and cold for several days. The spring had commenced early, as was manifested by the arrival of the storks, and the flight of the cranes northwards about ten days sooner than the usual period. We observed the movements of the latter birds on entering the Gulf of Smyrna. Numerous squadrons of them, in the shape of a wedge, or the legs of an unequal-sided triangle, might then be seen flying over the high mountains to the north of the gulf, which they did not surmount by a direct upward flight, but by repeatedly wheeling diagonally, similar to the frequent tackings of a ship beating against the wind, or to the patient march of an army winding up the paths, rather than climbing over the precipices, of a hill. Some advanced columns were disappearing over the summit just as others were beginning their progress at the foot of the rocks. Their ceaseless clamour might be distinctly heard during the stillness of the evening, many miles from the shore, in the mouth of the gulf. The marshalled order preserved by the cranes in their flight, and during their migration, has been painted by the hand of a master, in the Ambra of Lorenzo de Medicis*.

* See Appendix to Roscoe's Lorenzo de Medicis, vol. iii.

Stridendo in ciel e gru veggonsi a lunge
 L'Aere stampar di varie, e belle forme;
 E l'ultima col collo steso aggiunge
 Ov'è quella dinanzi allè vane orme:
 E poichè negli aprichi lochi giunge,
 Vigile un guarda, e l'altra schiera dorme.

The migration of these birds continued for three weeks.

A fortnight after our arrival chameleons were found amongst the old stone walls of the gardens; and an English gentleman, resident at the Consul-General's house, kept one of these singular animals on a fresh bough of the *rhamnus*, or white-thorn (its favourite shrub), suspended in his room, for the sake of observing the frequent variation of its colour. Its usual hue was green, of the same shade as the bough on which it was placed, marked with a few white spots. When provoked, by being slightly touched with a twig or feather, it became suddenly, first of a bright yellow; then large black spots broke out on every part of its body, and it appeared by degrees to be of a dark grey. It did certainly assimilate itself pretty nearly to the colour of that on which it was laid, except that (as Sir George Wheler observed) it never turned to a red or blue.

The unsightly form, the tail, the long tongue, and above all, the curious conformation of the eye, which is fixed in a moveable convex socket of an oval shape projecting from the head, would direct the attention of naturalists to the chameleon, even if it was not distinguished by its more characteristic peculiarity*. It was thought necessary by the traveller† mentioned

* See Paley's Natural Theology, cap. xvi. p. 281.

† Wheler, a Voyage into the Lesser Asia, book iii. p. 248 and 249.

above, to give a most minute description of this animal ; and the very first object which Dr. Chandler notices, next to his reception at Smyrna, is his sight of a chameleon*. The swift lizard (stellio) is seen perpetually crossing the walks in the gardens, and the smaller kind (lacerta Chalcidica) is found also in the court-yards of the houses, under the loose stones. The excrement of the former is said by Belon to be sold in Egypt for an excellent cosmetic†.

* Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor, cap. xvii. p. 56 and 57.

† Cited in cap. vi. tome ii. p. 91, of Ray's Collection of curious Travels and Voyages.

LETTER XXXVII.

A Journey to Ephesus—The Route—The Han at Tourbali—A Dervish—Metropolis—The Coffee Shed near Osebanlar—Turcomans' Tents—The Plain of the Cayster—The Ferry—Arrival at Aiasaluk—The Han—The Ruins—Desolation of this Spot—The Site and Remains of Ephesus—The Temple of Diana—Return to Smyrna.

AT two o'clock on the 13th of March, we set out from Smyrna, accompanied by a Janissary belonging to the Consul-General, and our usual number of postmen and baggage-horses: our Albanians did not attend us. Indeed, from the moment we left Greece, we found but little occasion for their services, and they rather incommoded us than otherwise; for their nation is held in great horror amongst the Turks of Asia, and the Janissaries, who by prescriptive usage attend all travellers, do not suffer them to interfere with their charge. Dervish and Vasily being richly dressed, were at Smyrna taken for our slaves, and our Dragoman Andreas was one day in the streets asked if he would sell them.

Passing through the whole length of the 'Turkish town, we ascended the side of the Castle-hill near the Jews' burying-ground, and came to a paved road in a state of dilapidation, the remains

of the ancient military way to Ephesus. The paved road lasted, with intervals, for about a mile; we then went between hedges on a hard well-beaten road, and in an hour had a view of the village of Boudjali, and of Sedicui, a larger country town nearer the hills to the east of Smyrna: our route was south-south-west. Farther on was another village. The country appeared everywhere well cultivated, and the abode of a people more civilized than the inhabitants of European Greece. Large plots of green sward, cotton grounds, and ploughed lands, extended on both sides of the road, as far as the eye could reach, over the level country to the foot of the mountains, which seemed themselves partially cultivated, and crowned with trees to their summits. Farther on we passed over some open down country, covered in parts with prickly shrubs, on which a large drove of camels was feeding dispersed over the plain.

In four hours from Smyrna we passed through a neat village, Jemourasi, in which was a mosck shaded by cypress, surrounded with a green. The country to the right (the west) was a succession of fine pasture lands, inclosed with low hedges and trees, partly in tufts and partly disposed in rows: the route was south-south-east and south. In an hour more, still travelling on a very good road, and between pasture lands, we passed another village, Terrenda, and in a short time crossed a stream, the same which Wheeler calls the Halys, and Chishull the Halesus. From this place we went through a marshy extensive flat, directing ourselves towards the woody hills to the south. It was nearly dark. The whole country resounded with the croaking of the frogs, which was so loud, and in so different a tone from any we had ever heard before, that we were at first inclined to believe it proceeded from the packs

of jackalls with which the mountains abound, and whose howling we had been told we should hear upon our journey. Beyond the marsh the road was bad and stony. At half after eight we arrived at a small mud coffee-house, near which was a large well-built stable: this was the han or caravan-serai. Not choosing to take up our abode with several other travellers in the hut, we put up our beds in the stable.

The traveller in Asia does not find himself accommodated as in Greece, with lodgings in private houses, belonging to persons who are obliged to give him entertainment, but either must procure introductions to the Agas, or squires of the villages, whose hospitality, although very kind and liberal, is troublesome, from the necessity of conforming to their customs, or must content himself with the hans.

We spent an hour before we went to bed in the coffee-hut. The floor was covered with a promiscuous company, sitting cross-legged on their mats, round a little fire made between four bricks, over which the master of the hut was warming his coffee-pot. Every man in the room was furnished with a pipe, and upon our entering, they asked only a question or two of our Dragoman, as to who we were, and whither we were going, beckoned us to a place amongst them, and resumed their smoking. The silence was interrupted by no one but a strange-looking fellow, who had established himself in the best corner of the cabin. This man, without addressing himself to any person present, frequently ejaculated the name of God very loudly, exclaiming "Ollóh! Ollóh!" with a strong and peculiar emphasis, and now and then screaming out part of a song. He seemed half in jest, and a smile curled upon the grave lips of the other travellers, who, however, said nothing.

nor attempted to interrupt him. We were soon given to understand, that the strange person was a Dervish, of that sect which leave their habitations in the spring and autumn, and wander about the country singly, supported by the alms of the believers, or by less honest means. He addressed himself now and then to us, and in the midst of his pious ejaculations not only laughed very obstreperously, but both by words and actions gave us several most indecent intimations. The other guests, when his back was turned, spoke but slightly of him, but showed him no disrespect to his face; and gave a conspicuous proof of that characteristic piety of the Mahometan discipline, which respects even the semblance of religion, and will not run the chance of degrading the sanctity of the profession for the sake of reproving the depravity of the man. These Dervishes abound in Anatolia, where they have several monasteries; one of which, near the tomb of a saint of their order, contains five hundred brothers, superintended by the chief of the sect, called Assambaba, or Father of Fathers. From the specimen we saw, I could bring myself to believe any thing bad of them, although I never heard quite enough to justify the character given of them by a late writer, and inserted below*.

We were up the next morning at sun-rise, and found that our han was in the neighbourhood of a village inhabited by Turks only, called Tourbali. The stable in which we slept, is built

* “ If they meet on the road a passenger whom they think in easy circumstances, they ask alms of him in honour of Ali, son-in-law of Mahomet; if he refuses, they cut his throat, or butcher him with a little axe which they carry at their girdles. Ils violent les femmes qu'ils trouvent à l'écart, et se livrent entr'eux aux excès les plus monstrueux.”—Notice sur la cour du Grand Seigneur, &c. par T. E. Beauvoisins, Paris, 1809.

partly on the broken columns mentioned by Chandler*. The land round the village was all enclosed, but at a distance, to the north and east, seemed wild and marshy, and was enveloped, until the sun was fairly risen, in a thick white fog. To the south, and close to the village, was a range of low hills, running east and west, and covered with wild olive and turpentine trees. I consider them to be a part of the ancient Galleus, now called Aleman by the Turks. Leaving Tourbali, we directed our steps to the east, towards a lake of no great extent. The path was in places paved, and leading near plane trees, under which, here and there, were a few Turkish tomb-stones. Arriving at the head of the small lake, we turned south-south-east, and travelled by the side of it, under the hills to the right, for an hour and a half. The lake was reedy, and flocks of wild-fowl, by our rustling through the bushes near the banks, were startled from the sedge, and sailed into the middle of the water. The path was in places very narrow, and we were now and then stopped in our progress by a camel browsing amongst the shrubs at the side of the road. Beyond the lake we crossed a shrubby plain, called by Tournefort the plain of Tcherpicui, enclosed on all sides by mountains.

Near the southern entrance of the plain we passed by a large collection of sepulchral stones, carved as usual into the Turkish turban, under some trees. This was the spot called Cabagea, near which some vestiges of Metropolis, the city of Ionia, nearly half way between Smyrna and Ephesus, were discovered by Wheler, and seen afterwards by Chishull†. We afterwards ascended low

* Travels in Asia Minor, cap. xxxii. p. 109, sec. edit. London, 1776.

† Wheler, a Journey through the Lesser Asia, book iii. p. 25, edit. London, 1682; and Chishull's Diary in Chandler, cap. xxxii. p. 112, 2d edit. London, 1776.

hills, over a rough stony path, for an hour, and then riding for a short time in a kind of pass along a dry water-course, came to a forest of low thickets and brushwood; passing through which, we arrived by twelve o'clock at a fountain and a solitary coffee-shed, with a green before the door. Here we stopped half an hour, for the refreshment of the horses, the surgees, and our Janissary Suliman. Tracing Chandler's route, I find this spot to be the one to which he alludes as near the Turkish village on the mountain side, called Osebanár.

Leaving the coffee-shed, we turned a little to the east. An extensive marsh was on our right, as far as we could see; the heads of camels were seen peeping above the tall reeds. We came to where a few black tents were dispersed in different parts of the plain and on the brow of a low stony hill on our left, belonging to the Turcomans, a wandering tribe, who have no other habitation, but change their abode whenever it becomes expedient to drive their cattle to fresh pastures. Their similarity to the ancient Scythian shepherds has been recognised by travellers*, but their character is not so harmless as that of the Nomades; for the Turcomans of Anatolia have been decried as being greater thieves than the Curds of higher Asia, inasmuch as the latter sleep during the night, but the former rob both by day and by night†. They are not, however, all equally dangerous, although it is generally acknowledged, that those amongst them who do not

* Chandler, cap. xxxii. p. 110.

† Passé Tocat on n'entend plus parler de Curdes; mais bien de Turcmans, c'est à dire d'une autre espece de voleurs encore plus dangereux, en ce que les Curdes dorment la nuit, et que les Turcmans volent jour et nuit.—Tournefort, letter xxi. p. 439, edit. Paris, 1717.

plunder by violence, support themselves partly by private theft. Those whom we saw were black-looking half-naked wretches. A few goats, sheep, and small cattle, together with some camels, and two or three lean horses, were feeding near their tents.

A little farther we crossed, perhaps for a mile, a stone causeway over the marsh, which was in places entirely under water. Before us to the south-south-east, we saw a castle on an eminence under the hills. This was the castle of Aiasaluk, one of the supposed sites of Ephesus; we had now and then a view of the Cayster winding through the plain to the east and south of the marsh.—The route to Aiasaluk seems to have taken former travellers by a different way from that which we followed. A little distance beyond the coffee-hut, near Osebanár, there was a road more to the north, which must be that described by Wheler, Tournefort, and Chandler; for they did not cross the marsh, but going to the head of the plain, passed the Cayster over a bridge above Aiasaluk, which is now in ruins. Our path was that which leads directly to Scala Nuova, the ancient Neapolis, belonging first to the Ephesians, and afterwards to the Samians*. After crossing the causeway, we turned to the west, instead of directing ourselves to Aiasaluk, and continued for more than a mile over a sandy flat by the side of a shallow reedy lake. We arrived at the banks of the Cayster, called by the Turks Kutchuk Meinder, the Little Mæander, and crossed it on a raft of a triangular form, with sides a foot high, which was ferried over by a rope slung across the stream.—The Cayster is in this place about the size of the Cam near Cambridge, but more rapid, as its waters

* Strab. lib. xiv. p. 641, edit. Xyland.

are raised by a fisherman's weir: in its course, however, down the plain from the north-east, it winds with a stream not less sluggish than that of the English river. It empties itself into the sea a little more than a mile below the ferry to the west.

After passing the river, we turned again eastward towards the castle on the hill, and crossing some marshy land, and a small stream running from the south into the Cayster, which I take to be the Cenchrius of Pausanias and Strabo*, arrived in an hour (by three o'clock) at Aiasaluk. We did not notice the vestiges of Ephesus, which, since our passing the ferry, had been under the hills on our right.

At Aiasaluk we put up our beds in a most miserable han, but we partook of some cold provision, which we had brought with us, on a stone seat by the side of a fountain, in an open green opposite to a mosck shaded with high cypresses. During our repast a young Turk, after washing his feet and hands at the fountain, got on the wall surrounding the mosck, and there, on a flat stone apparently designed for the purpose, went through his prayers most devoutly, totally inattentive to the appearance and operations of us, who were within two paces of him.

The whole evening, and part of the next morning, were spent in rambling about the ruins at Aiasaluk, and those under the hills to the west. We passed but a bad night in the coffee-hut. Only two other travellers, besides ourselves and our attendants, slept

* Tournefort puts that river in the hills above Aiasaluk, but Pausanias (lib. vii. p. 406) says the Cenchrius runs through the Ephesian territory; and Strabo (lib. xiv. p. 639) lays it down on the coast near Ephesus, a little distance from the sea, flowing through the Ortygian grove under Mount Solmissus, where Latona was delivered of Diana and Apollo.

in the room, but some Turks of the village continued loitering there, smoking and drinking coffee, until a late hour. Our wooden bedsteads and our bed-clothes were the principal objects of their curiosity; but when we went to bed, they watched the progress of our undressing with a smile of astonishment; and seeing us divest ourselves of one article after another, looked as if they waited until we should strip off our skins, for they continued staring to the last, even after we were in bed, and then burst into a laugh. It is probable, that no former travellers had ever gone regularly to bed in the Frank fashion at Aiasaluk; and as for the Turks of the place, even the Aga himself can have but one change of garments, and when once habited, is dressed for half a year.

The morning had hardly dawned when we were awakened, and found the same Turks taking their dish of coffee, and smoking, at our bed-sides, waiting, although with nothing rude or uncivil in their manner, to witness our rising from, as they had before done our going to, our beds.—It may not appear worth mentioning, that I observed in this house the customers' debts scored up on a board over my bed, as in our own pot-houses; and that, on inquiring, they told me, that in this, as well as in other similar places in Asiatic Turkey, a cup of coffee costs one para; that the attendant never receives any thing; that nothing but coffee is sold; and that consequently each person brings his own pipe and tobacco.

Aiasaluk, or Aiasaluk, until the time of Chandler, was considered to stand upon the site of Ephesus; but that traveller has, with his usual learning and perspicuity, decided that the remains at this place must be referred to a comparatively modern town,

established, perhaps, by the Mahometan potentate Mantakhia, who conquered Ephesus and all Caria in the year 1313. The name of the town, by a derivation at first sight fanciful, but most probably correct, has been deduced from the circumstance of a famous church of St. John the Theologian having once stood near the spot*.—Aiasaluk is now a miserable village, and a scene of complete desolation. It is situated in a tangly flat overrun with low shrubs and enclosed by a semicircular theatre of hills, from the middle of which projects a narrow tongue of high rocky land, which Tournefort mistook for Mount Pion, and which is perversely still so called by the compiler of M. de Choiseul's *Voyage Pittoresque*. On the northern extremity of this ridge, where it rises into a circular mount, are the ruins of the castle. In the front (the north) of the castle, is the head of the large marshy plain through which the Cayster flows from a dell between the opposite range of Gallesus. The flat to the east of the castle-hill, is about a quarter of a mile in breadth, and bounded by a rocky mountain, the ancient Pactyas, which, taking a sweep to the north, and joining Gallesus, closes up the eastern extremity of the great plain. From Mount Pactyas to the castle-hill are the remains of a considerable aqueduct: the piers are high and square, chiefly composed of marbles, many of which contain inscriptions placed sideways and upside down, and showing that the structure has been formed from ruins of ancient buildings: Chandler calls them pedestals. Their inscriptions, as far as the eye can reach them, have all been repeatedly copied. The

* The original words Agios-Theologos, being pronounced shortly, and the Θ, as usual in Asia Minor, changed into an Σ, become Agio-Sologos, or Ayio-Sologos, thence Aiosolog, and, through two or three unimportant changes, Aiasaluk.—Tournefort, letter xxii. tom. ii. p. 514.

arches are of brick-work. From Pactyas there is a chain of thirty-two piers; a long interval ensues, and then one is seen standing by itself; after a second gap, there are seventeen others, extending to the foot of the castle-hill.

The entrance to the outwork of the ruined castle, to which it is somewhat difficult to ascend amongst heaps of shattered stones and rubbish, is through an arch, supported by two side walls or buttresses of marble, long distinguished by the name of the Gate of Persecution. The famous reliefs copied by Tournefort, and by Dr. Chandler's associate, Mr. Pars, are still seen over the arch; but cracked in half, and otherwise so loosened from their bases, as to threaten a speedy fall. It is to be lamented, that this fine piece of sculpture has not been secured in the cabinet of some European antiquary. There might be some difficulty in conveying the fragments from the spot: the least of the pieces is five feet long, and two feet and a half high; the second is ten feet long, and three feet and a half high; and the third somewhat less in height, and four feet long*. The smaller marble represents boys in a vineyard, the two others seem to relate to one subject, which was first thought to be the persecution of the Christians, and then the revenge of Achilles on the body of Hector, but has, by a late author, been called the bringing the corpse of Patroclus to Achilles†. If that be the case, very little ceremony is observed towards either the living or the dead hero, for a soldier is dragging Patroclus on the ground by the left leg. The part of the castle which is of the most ancient construction, appears to be

* See Tournefort, letter xxii. tom. ii. p. 514.

† Constant. Ancient and Modern, p. 225, London, 1797.

that to the south, and near this gate. Between this outwork and the castle itself, the hill is choked up in parts with large masses of brick and stone. The castle, with its walls and low towers of a barbarous construction, is in many parts in ruins, and is now entirely deserted. The sides of the hill are steep and rough, and scattered with fragments of marble and carved stones.

Under the western side of the castle-hill is the mosck, which has usually gone by the name of the church of St. John*, and which, although nearly entire when Wheeler travelled, and called by Pococke a stately building, partakes now of the general decay and wretchedness of Aiasaluk. The part of the building to the west, which is raised on a flight of steps, is of marble, but the pieces composing it are of a size too small to be of any ancient date. On this side there are several casements, with latticed window-frames of wood, and Saracenic mouldings, which give this front the appearance of a modern mansion in decay: the side next to the hill is of stone. The mosck is composed of two buildings. There is an uncovered court on the north side, the three walls of which have each a door-way entered by a flight of three steps. This is over-run with weeds, and contains also a few wild shrubs shooting from the broken walls, and from a dry fountain in the middle of the area. A minaret, which has been built over the west door, is now in ruins, and a stork has built her nest in it. In this court there are some broken columns, the remains, says Chandler, of a por-

* Tournefort speaks decisively as to its being the church of St. John, although perhaps not that church which Justinian built at Ephesus. Wheeler has the same notion, (p. 256, book. iii.) but Pococke says, "the large mosck of St. John at the village is falsely stated to have been a church," (*Observ. on Asia Minor*, book i. p. 52) and Chandler seems to acquiesce in this opinion.

tico. The other portion of the structure is the body of the mosck, which is vaulted on five arches (the middle one being the largest), supported by stately columns. Three of these are of polished granite, two of which have stone capitals rudely carved in the worst style of modern Greek architecture: the third has a marble capital of the composite order. This last is twelve feet eleven inches in compass*.

The interior of the mosck is divided into three compartments, the middle one of which contains the kibleh (the recess directed towards Mecca), and is covered in with two small cupolas, that immediately over the kibleh being the least of the two. The two other compartments are unroofed, and are overgrown with weeds. On the west side of the altar-place is a sort of elevated pulpit for the Imaum, or reader, to which the ascent is by a long flight of marble steps. The mosck is now no longer used. The marble of which it is partly composed is either of a creamy white, or streaked with veins of rose colour, and must have been brought from the ruins of Ephesus.

Besides this building, there are several other ruined moscks at Aiasaluk, whose minarets at a distance may easily be taken for the naked columns of some Grecian temple.

There is no monument of undoubted antiquity at this village, except a marble sarcophagus†, very large and thick, serving for a water-trough, with a bas-relief on one side of it, now not dis-

* Wheler, p. 52, &c.

† Of this sarcophagus Chandler says, "some figures, holding Roman ensigns, have been carved upon it; and, as we learn from the inscription, it once contained the body of a captain of a trireme, named the Griffin, together with his wife."—Cap. xxxiii. p. 113, *Travels in Asia Minor*.

tinguishable, and the high marble mouth of a well at the open spot near the fountain where we dined.—The desolate walls of the mosck of St. John, and the whole scene at Aiasaluk, cannot but suggest a train of melancholy reflections. The decay of three religions is there presented at one view to the eye of the traveller! The marble spoils of the Grecian temple adorn the mouldering edifice, once, perhaps, dedicated to the service of Christ, over which the tower of the Mussulman, the emblem of another triumphant worship, is itself seen to totter, and sink into the surrounding ruins.

The site of Ephesus itself is to be sought for in the way from Aiasaluk, a little to the south of west, to a square tower of white marble which stands on a ridge (probably the hill Solmissus*), projecting northwards from the chain of Corissus, the southern boundary of the plain of the Cayster. This tower, commonly called the Prison of St. Paul, is about two miles and a half from the castle of Aiasaluk: from the point on which it stands, the city-wall built by Lysimachus may be traced along the side of Corissus towards Mount Pion. For about half a mile from the village the route is over a flat, interspersed with thickets of tamarisk, agnus castus, and other shrubs; it then arrives at a low round hill, which extends to the north-east from the high range of Corissus. All the principal part of the ruins are on the side of this hill, and in a flat recess between the west side of it and the high mountains. The hill is Prion, or Pion*, and was once also called Lepre Acte, the name by which it is distinguished in Pockocke. On the slope of it, to the north-west, is a fragment of wall of common stone, and near it, but standing by itself, a large

* Strab. lib. xiv. p. 639.

arch of white marble, built, like the aqueduct at Aiasaluk, from ancient ruins: flat stones, like those of a pavement, occur farther to the south, in a sweep of the hill between the first remains and the eminence which is a little more to the south, and on which there are several bases and broken shafts of columns. On the side of the hill, more towards Corissus, are two arches and other vestiges of a theatre. To the south, also on the side of Mount Prion, and over a narrow valley which separates it from Corissus, are pieces of walls and many broken shafts of columns; and further round the hill, to the east and towards Aiasaluk, are the remains of a large circular wall and two arches, constructed with stones of an immense size. The reader of Chandler will find these remains on and round Mount Prion, described as belonging to a stadium, a theatre, a portico, an odéum, and a gymnasium. The theatre, although robbed of its marble seats, discovers its site by the usual excavation in the hill. The other remains are not so distinctly marked: forty years may have worked some new decay amongst the ruins†.

* *Attollitur monte Pione.*—*Plin. lib. v. cap. xxix.*

† Former travellers were not so decisive. Wheler speaks of the ruins without assigning names to all of them; Tournefort, besides the remains of Aiasaluk, only particularizes the arch on Mount Prion, with the inscription,

ACCENSO
RENSI. ET. ASIÆ.

(which is on a block certainly taken from another structure) Pococke, who thought Aiasaluk included in the site of Ephesus, is more particular than the former, but neither so minute nor clear in his detail as Chandler. To collect every thing from ancient authorities, and insert every observation from local knowledge, would only be doing what has been done so well by that accurate traveller.

In the flat recess to the west and south-west of Mount Prion, which has been laid down by Pococke at half a mile long, and a quarter of a mile broad, are masses of brick-work, partly fallen and partly standing. These are fragments of walls and arches; they have evidently been coated with marble, from the frequent holes which still remain to show how the facing was affixed. In the same quarter are many broken shafts of columns; four of which (three of red and one of grey granite), amongst the rubbish under the largest mass of ruins, are fifteen feet long and of an enormous circumference*.

A whole heap of pillars and other fragments†, lie in a flat spot near the foot of Corissus. In several parts of the plain, and under the structures by the granite pillars, are small brick arches, on which, from the nature of the soil, it was necessary to raise all the buildings at Ephesus, especially those nearest to the river. To the west and north-west, between the Cayster and the ruins, is a morass extending nearly to the sea-shore, from which a small stream runs into the river; to the south and west of this morass, is a lake, the higher Selinusia: the lower and larger Selinusia is that which we passed on the other side of the Cayster. The present morass near the ruins is, with probability, thought to have been once the city-port, which the Cayster has filled with slime, and gained from the sea.

That one of the wonders of the world might not be supposed

* Pococke, p. 52.

† The diameter of the shafts of these pillars is four feet six inches, the length thirty-nine feet two inches; they were each of one stone; belonging, perhaps, to a temple in antis of the Corinthian order; raised by Augustus Caesar to the God Julius.—Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor, p. 122.

to have entirely disappeared, the subterranean arches before mentioned, as well as the brick structure above the granite pillars, has been considered a portion of the Temple of Diana. The pillars, indeed, appear to have belonged to the same building as those which are in the mosck at Aiasaluk, and which, although not similar to those of green jasper in Santa Sophia at Constantinople, the ascertained remains of the great temple, are generally conceived to be the spoils of the Artemesium*. But such evidence is by no means decisive. The columns may have belonged to any other building, and the site of the great temple was without the city at the head of the port.—A Sybilline oracle† foretold, that the earth would tremble and open, and that this glorious edifice would fall headlong into the abyss; and present ap-

* Procopius, *περι κτισμάτων Ιουστιν.* has mentioned the fact of Justinian's removing the columns of the Temple of Diana from Ephesus to support the dome of Santa Sophia at Constantinople. He only relates the rebuilding of the church of St. John at Ephesus by that Emperor, upon a magnificent scale, without stating whence the materials were obtained; and, indeed, the site of the mosck at Aiasaluk, does not answer to that of St. John's church, alluded to by Procopius. The same may be said of the place where the ruins now lie near the marsh, although a late traveller has hinted, it may be the spot where the church was built. *Χωρον τινα προ των Εφεσιων πολεως συνεβαινεν ειναι, ου γηλοφον, ουδε δυνατον αφειναι καρπους, ει τις πειρωτα, αλλα σκληρον τε και τραχυν ὄλως. κ. τ. λ. (Περι κτισμάτων Ιουστιν. Λογος πεμπτος, p. 46, edit. Vind. 1607.)* Aiasaluk, although on a rough barren spot, could not have been said to be *προ πολεως*. It was rather above than before, or in front of, the city; and the neighbourhood of the marsh could not be called *σκληρον* and *τραχυς*.

† *Αρτέμιδος σηκός Εφέσου πηγνυμένος*

Χάσματος καὶ σεισμῶσι ποθ' ἥξεται εἰς ἄλλα δεινὴν

Πρηνὴς. κ. τ. λ.—Syb. Orac. lib. v.

pearances might justify the belief that it was swept from the face of the earth by some overwhelming catastrophe. It is easier to conceive that such an event, although unnoticed, did take place, than that a marble temple, four hundred and twenty feet long and two hundred and twenty feet broad, whose columns (one hundred and twenty-seven in number) were sixty feet high*, should have left no other vestige than two fragments of wall, some brick

* Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. cap. xiv. The manner in which the architect transferred the immense architraves to their proper position in the building, is mentioned in this chapter of Pliny, and confirms a hint before offered, respecting the mechanical powers of the ancients. "Id consecutus est ille peronibus harena plenis, molli pulvino super capita columnarum exaggerato, paulatim exinaniens ab imo, ut sensim totum in cubili sideret," p. 642, edit. Paris, 1532. There is some difficulty in reconciling Strabo's account of the temple with that of Pliny, although (as Tournefort has observed) both authors doubtless alluded to the same building. Ctesiphon, or Chersiphron, was the architect of the temple burnt by Herostratus, but Cheiromocrates of the second Artemesium. Πρῶτος μὲν χερσίφρων ἡρχιτεκτόνησεν, εἴτ' ἄλλος ἐποίησε μείζω, are the words of the geographer, and the ἄλλος seems to allude to Cheiromocrates; yet Pliny talks evidently of the work of Ctesiphon. It is probable, that the first temple was not altogether destroyed, and that, as the original design was followed in the second structure, the naturalist speaks of the first architect, although he describes the fabric as it appeared in his time.—The image, which dropped down from heaven in the time of the Amazons, was either changed for a new one, or was repaired. Some declared it to be ebony, others cedar. Mutianus, Consul in 75, A.D. pronounced it to be vine, moistened with nard.—It was a small many-breasted figure, *hermæan* in the lower extremities, or, with the legs and feet not cut out and separated, but rather traced on a single block, in the manner of the Egyptian statues. It was supported, in a shrine of gold, upon a block of beech or elm, by two iron rods, which were useful props to the old original image, but were preserved as appendages to the new one. The reader may consult "*Constantinople, Ancient and Modern*," for au-

subterranean arches, and four granite pillars*. It is probable, that Christian zeal accelerated the devastations of time; and that the Ephesians, in order to prevent the punishment denounced against the seven churches of Asia, may have been eager to demolish this monument of their glory and their shame. The cedar roofs, the cypress doors, the vine stair-case, the sculptured column of Scopas, the altar adorned by Praxiteles, the paintings of Parrhasius and Apelles†, and the ebony image of the goddess, may have fallen before the enemies of Pagan idolatry; and the piety of the priests may have been more injurious to Diana than the rapacity of Nero and the Goths‡: but neither the cupidity nor the audacity of the reformers, against whom the sophist Libanius, an eye-

thorities on this subject (sect. xiii. p. 213). Chandler (cap. xxxix. Asia Minor) has collected, and arranged in a narrative, every thing relative to the temple. How much Diana was venerated in early times, may be seen by the story from Herodotus, told in Ælian (lib. iii. cap. xxvi. *Περὶ Πινδαρου τῆς Τυραννίδος*, edit. Kuhnii, p. 219) of the stratagem practised by Pindarus, tyrant of Ephesus, to save the city, besieged by Cræsus.

* As little can some fragments of rude masonry on the side of the Cayster, near the ferry, be thought to belong to the great temple; nor will the spot near the ruins, supposed by Pococke and Chandler to be those of the Gymnasium, at all correspond with its site.

† He was paid for his "*Alexander with a thunderbolt*"—thirty talents of gold, above 38,750*l.*

‡ Nero, the great plunderer of temples, robbed that of Diana; and the Goths carried a great booty from Ephesus in the year 262, the period of their third naval expedition. Mr. Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, 4to. vol. i. p. 323) detracts from the magnificence of the temple, by saying, that it was only two-thirds the measure of St. Peter's at Rome.

witness of their progress, so forcibly exclaims*, could have destroyed, although they might deface, the vast fabric of the Artemesium itself.

Every memorial of the worship of Diana has been obliterated with her temple, but the miracles of Christianity are still shown on the spot which was sanctified by the presence of the Apostles and of the mother of Jesus. It is an article of belief, that, after the death of our Saviour, St. John and the Holy Virgin retired to Ephesus; and that the former undertook the care of the infant church after St. Timothy, the first Bishop, had suffered martyrdom in the reign of Domitian. An artificial cut in the mountains of Gallesus†, seen on the higher road to Aiasaluk, is pointed out as performed by the sword of St. Paul, as the watch-tower on the hill is called his prison. A grotto sunk in Mount Prion, is the cave of the Seven Sleepers; a belief in whose long repose is enjoined by the eighteenth chapter of the Koran, and whose change from their right to their left sides, was seen in a waking vision by our Edward the Confessor, and proved by three Englishmen, a soldier, a priest, and a monk, who travelled to Ephesus in the year 1056‡.

* 'Οἱ δὲ καὶ τεμένη καὶ νεῶς κτήματα αὐτῶν ἐποίησαντο, ἔτα μάλα εὐχερώς ἐκρίψαντες τὰ ἔδη, ξύλων ἢ αἰχύρων τοὺς νεῶς ἤπλησαν. Οἱ δὲ αὖ ἀνδρείότεροι, καὶ καθελόντες, οἰκίας ὤκησαν τῶν ἐκεῖθεν λίθων πεποιημένας. Liban. Λογοὶ εἰσικοί. edit. Morell. Paris, 1606, p. 941.

† Horriblement taillées à plomb.—Tournefort.

‡ The story is told by William of Malmesbury (lib. ii. de gestis Reg. Anglor. cap. xiii.) He says, that the King burst into a loud laugh when the vision was first manifested to him. Those who are not of the Greek church, may laugh as much at the King, or at least the historian, as his Majesty did at the restlessness of the Sleepers. See Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 7, edit. 1599.—In

At present, one Greek, the baker of the village, at Aiasaluk, and three or four fishermen who live in sheds near the ferry and on the banks of the river, are the only Christians to be found in the vicinity of Ephesus; and there is not a single habitation, not even a shepherd's hut, on the actual site of that resplendent city*. A village of three hundred houses, called Ker-

the Koran the Seven Sleepers are called "Ashab. Kahaf, or Kehf—The Companions of the Cavern." They had a dog with them, who became rational, and was translated to heaven, to keep company with Balaam's ass, and that on which our Saviour rode: hence the Oriental proverb, applied to a covetous man—"He has not a bone to throw at the dog of the Seven Sleepers." The Greeks say, that the Seven Sleepers were valets-de-chambre of the Emperor Decius.—D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orient.* article Ashab. Kahaf.

* Ephesus was taken by the Mahometans in the reign of Alexius Comnenus, and recovered by John Ducas, who defeated Tangripermes and Maraces their leaders. In 1306 it was pillaged by Roger de Flor, and taken in 1308 by Sultan Saysan, who massacred the greatest part of the inhabitants at Tyræum: Mantakhia, a Turk, conquered it, together with all Caria, in 1313; Homur, or Amir, son of Atin before-mentioned, succeeded Mantakhia: Tamerlane encamped with all his tributary princes in the plain of the Cayster, and sacked the city, in 1402. From that period, if not before, Aiasaluk is the Ephesus of history. Cineis expelled Homur; but his brother, also by name Homur, returning with Mantakhia II. Prince of Caria, and six thousand men, besieged Carasupasi, father of Cineis, in the citadel, which, after a long siege, was surrendered, and Carasupasi made prisoner, and confined in the castle of Mamalus, on the borders of Caria. He contrived, however, to make his escape to his son, and Cineis returned with an army, and drove Homur into the castle. These two princes were reconciled by the marriage of the daughters of Cineis with Homur; and after the death of the latter, the son of Carasupasi became the Sultan of Smyrna and Caria. Sultan Solymán the First marched from Brusa against him with a large army, encamping at Mesaulion, six leagues from his enemy. Cineis having collected his allies, the Princes of

keyali, four miles to the east of Aiasaluk, contains the principal portion of the few Greeks inhabiting the southern part of the once populous Ionia. The plain of the Cayster, where it is not too marshy to bear a crop, is cultivated with cotton and tobacco plants, with sesamus and a little barley. The husbandmen are the peasants of Aiasaluk. I saw one of them, as we returned from Ephesus, ploughing on horseback, and contriving to direct the progress of the share through a light soil by a short rope. This, according to a saying common in some of our northern counties, is one of the lazy child's three wishes, and is perfectly congenial to the idle listless temper of the Turks.

We were only one day on the road returning from Ephesus to Smyrna, but we travelled on that occasion for thirteen hours, and did not arrive at the Consul-General's until eleven o'clock at night. It was our wish, that our Dragoman and servants should proceed at the usual rate with the baggage, whilst we and our Janissary rode on quickly, in order to reach Smyrna at an early hour; but Suliman was not to be persuaded to participate in our impatience; he would not quit his smoking pace (for he had a pipe in his mouth during nearly the whole journey) but replied to all our applications both to him and his horse, by shaking his head, and smiling, and maintained his point with a good-humoured pertinacity and inoffensive disobedience, only to be met with, I

Cotyæium and Iconium, prepared to meet him; but suspecting treachery in his friends, and having commanded his brother to keep the citadel until he should appear, rode off by night to the camp of Solyman, who, early the next day, marching through the passes of Gallesus, crossed the bridge over the Cayster, and entered Aiasaluk without opposition, the confederate Princes retreating across a ford. The Ottoman Sultans have since that time been in possession of the modern Ephesus.

fancy, in a Turkish retainer. Not having slept ten minutes for the last two nights, I determined, after we had crossed the ferry, to ride on, and repose myself a short time, if possible, at the hut near Osenabár, previous to the arrival of our lazy-pacing caravan. Accordingly I galloped forward alone, but had reason to repent of my scheme, for I soon missed my way, and not being able to find the stone causeway crossing the marsh towards Gallesus, wandered about in the muddy plain, sometimes stopped by the winding stream of the Cayster, and at others embarrassed by the overflowings of the lake. I contrived with some difficulty to find my way back to the ferry, and asked a Greek peasant (one of a party who were coming from the fishing huts on the river) to accompany me on my way across the marsh. The man consented, but said, that he must send back for his gun, without which he could not go into the mountains. I showed him my pistols, and said that they would be sufficient defence. To this he replied, "Yes, for you and I to go into the hills; but not for me, when you have joined your party, and I am coming back alone."—Not caring to wait for his gun, I resolved to make another trial by myself, and by good fortune hitting upon the causeway, crossed over to the mountain, where I again lost my way, but being put right by some goat-herds, proceeded at a brisk pace on my journey. A mile from Osenabár I met Suliman, riding slowly and smoking as before. He had been sent to look for me; and on my coming up, stopped, turned his horse, and suffered me to gallop forwards, without accompanying me, to the coffee-hut, where my party were waiting for me, and where we were now obliged to wait for our unconquerable Janissary.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Departure from Smyrna—The Coast of Asia—Cape Baba—Yughlan Bornou—The Vale of Nesrah-Keui—Limun-Tepe—Cape of Troas—Vale of Ghicle—Stamboul Douk—Kœum Bornou—Land in Tenedos—The Port—The Town—The Castle—The Wine—Importance of the Island—Visit to the Ruins of Alexandria Troas—Granite Cannon-Balls—Dilapidation of Troas—The Sepulchre called Sarcophagus—The Baths—Effects of the late Earthquake—Site of the Town—Hot Baths of Lidgah Hammam—Port of Troas—Country near Troas—Conjectures of Travellers.

THE Captain of H. M. S. the *Salsette*, a frigate of thirty-six guns, which was ordered to Constantinople for the purpose of conveying his Excellency Mr. Adair, from that city, having been so good as to offer us a passage, we embarked on the 11th of April, and sailed out of the harbour of Smyrna with a fine breeze from the south. By nine in the evening we were opposite to Cara Bornou, and spoke the *Pylades* returning from a cruise. We had a fair wind during the night, and at half past six the next morning were off the north end of Lesbos, a long low crag, scarcely distinguishable from the main-land, and inclosing, as it

were, the deep gulf of Adramyttium. This island, which formerly took its name from its capital city, has experienced the same fate in modern times, and is now called, from its principal town, Mytelene. The point which we passed, was anciently the Sigrian promontory, and still retains the name of Sigri. Having a strong southerly wind, we were soon opposite to the little town of Baba*, in a nook of the cape of that name, formerly the promontory Lectum.

From this point, the coast to the north began to assume a less barren appearance: the capes were lower, and intersected by pleasant vallies stretching down to the shore. We next passed Yughlan Bornou, the headland north of Baba, and saw that from that extremity the shores fall back to the eastward. The island of Tenedos then was seen before us, at a little distance to the north-west. We observed, that beyond the cape the country had lost all those wild features of mountain scenery, which had distinguished it lower down to the south; and that the shore was no longer a line of abrupt precipices, but rose with a gentle ascent, ending in a spacious plain of cultivated lands. A small river, running near a hamlet called Nesrah-Keui, was seen winding through the sands into the sea. The prospect more inland was terminated by a horizon of white mist, the accompaniment of a south wind at this period of the year, which not only prevented us from seeing the vast range of Mount Ida in the back ground, but precluded the view of the ruins of Alexandria Troas, at other times distinctly seen from this position at sea. Indeed the coun-

* Il-y-a un petit village Turc, ou l'on fabrique d'excellens sabres et couteaux.—Reidesel, Voyage au Levant, p. 298, edit. Paris, 1802.

try seems to be frequently covered with exhalations; for a late traveller observes, that during a month's residence at Mytelene, the landscape from the mountains down to Adramyttium was obscured with a dense and gloomy atmosphere*. A mount, called Liman-Tepe, the first of the many tumuli observed by the navigator on these coasts, was visible at a little distance from the shore. We coasted by another low cape with a house on it, where the country seemed covered for some distance inland with low woods, and by half past twelve came into the channel between Tenedos and the Phrygian shores, which were in this part quite flat and naked.

The country inland presented the view of another plain, cultivated and intersected with low inclosures, and watered by a small stream, which is lost in some salt-marshes near the shore. It is denominated by modern topographers the plain of Ghicle, and the river, in the maps, is the Sudlu-su. A low cape, Koum Bornou, terminated the land prospect to the north, and a very large barrow, Stamboul Douk, was visible in the distance on the coast.

We anchored not far from the principal port in the island, and in the afternoon went on shore in the Captain's boat. The mouth of the harbour is narrow, and is here contracted by a loose stone pier, raised on the foundation of the ancient mole or break-water, which projects from the south side of the entrance. A round fort is seen on the rocks above the pier. The port itself is a small basin, of an uneven circular figure, scooped out of the foot of the hills, which, with the intervention of a strip of flat muddy beach, reach to the edge of the water. There is another smaller harbour, frequented by fishing-boats, directly at the opposite, the

* Topography of Trey, p. 19.

western side of the island. Strabo* mentions the two harbours. There seems no reason why Virgil should call so sheltered a harbour as that of Tenedos,

“ tantum sinus, et statio male fida carinis † : ”

he could hardly have alluded to the channel or road between the island and the main.

The port was full of small craft, which, in their voyage down the Archipelago, had put in to wait for a change of wind; and a crowd of Turks belonging to these vessels, were lounging about on the shore at our landing: but the town itself was in ruins, or rather, there were no habitations, except two or three deal houses fitted up as shops, and a few miserable mud huts; for the former place had been burnt to the ground by a Russian squadron in 1807.—The first objects which struck us were four great guns lying on the pier, marked with the broad arrow: they had lately been weighed up from the wreck of the *Ajax*, which was unfortunately burnt and lost upon the rocks to the north of the port, during our short war with the Turks.

The principal Turk gave us coffee in one of the shops, belonging to a wretched-looking Greek who called himself English Consul, and he paid our nation the merited compliment of observing, “ When the English came here in war-time, they only asked us for a cup of water; but the Muscovites, they burnt our town, and took every thing from us, as you see.”

An old castle on the north side of the harbour, the former fortress of the island, seemed in a very dilapidated state, but had perhaps suffered no other injury than from time and neglect; for

* *Λιμένας δὲ*, lib. xiii. p. 604.

† *Æn.* lib. ii.

there was no appearance of its having been battered, except by a few cannon-balls which lay in the court-yard. The building shows the importance formerly attached to the possession of the island: although commanded from the heights immediately above, it seems to have been constructed with some pains, being surrounded with a deep moat and a strong castellated outwork, defended with towers at the angles. What it was in the days of its strength, may be seen by a plate in Tournefort. It is probable, that most of the stones composing it were taken from the ruins of ancient buildings; perhaps from those of the large magazine* erected by Justinian, to preserve the corn, when detained by the continued contrary winds in its passage from Alexandria to Constantinople. The Sultan Othman seized the place in the year 1302, and made it the rendezvous of the fleet with which he afterwards subdued many islands of the Archipelago, and he may have begun the modern fortifications; but the castle was, it is most likely, completed or built anew by the Venetians, who made themselves masters of the place in 1656, subsequently to the battle of the Dardanelles, but surrendered it, after a four days' siege, in the following year, to the Turks.

The size of Tenedos has been differently stated by different writers. Sandys†, following Strabo, makes it only ten miles in circumference; but, according to Tournefort, it is at least eighteen: I should think it more extensive. Its breadth is about six miles. It appeared to us from the sea to be rocky and barren, but when we walked to the top of a considerable eminence above

* Σιτωνα επιτεχνησατο τῷ παντὶ στολῶ ἀποφορτισσάσαι διαρχῶς ἐχόντα. (Περὶ Κτισμάτων Ἰουστίν. Λόγος Πέμπτος, p. 46, edit. Vind. 1607).

† A Relation of a Journey, &c. edit. London, 1627, lib. i. p. 19.

the town, we saw that it presented a pleasing variety of hill and dale, well cultivated, although scarcely sheltered by a single tree. The highest hill, called the Peak of Tenedos, is seen at some distance from all the positions, both at land and sea, to the north. We put up several pairs of partridges, and we were told that these birds abound in such quantities in the island, that the Frank gentlemen of Constantinople sometimes pay a visit to the place for the sake of the sport. Rabbits are found in great numbers on the sides of the hills. Herds of goats, and of small black cattle, were feeding in the pastures: the whole island looked green, either with the grass-lands, the corn-fields, or with the vineyards (trained on the ground) whose produce is deservedly celebrated throughout the Levant. The Tenedos wine, when new, is of a deep red, and in flavour not unlike strong Burgundy. After being kept for some time, which, contrary to common practice in Turkey, it frequently is, even for a period of more than a dozen years, it becomes of a light yellow, and is then highly prized. The quantity grown in a good year is more than two thousand five hundred hogsheads, and its average price is five paras an oke. Liquids are sold by weight in Turkey; and an oké is equivalent to about a pound and three quarters English. Although we meet with no such encomiums on the wine of Tenedos as were lavished on that of Chios, yet its qualities were appreciated by the ancients, if we may judge by the vine-slip and bunch of grapes lying under the double or Amazonian hatchet which is seen on the reverse of the coins of that island*. It was celebrated for the beauty of its women and of its earthen-ware.

* See a Catalogue of Coins of the Grecian Commonwealths, chiefly out of Goltzius, in Walker on Coins and Medals, p. 43. London, 1692. A good plate

Tenedos partook of the fame attached to every thing connected with the Trojan war, and has to this day preserved its name, in order, as it were, to identify the alledged site of that ancient event. Italian and other Frank navigators have in this, as in many instances, by their ignorance of the language, exaggerated the corruption of the ancient names; for the island is TENEDO, and not DENETHO, according to the modern Greeks, notwithstanding that they pronounce the Δ softly, and call it Tenedtho. It has retained, however, nothing except its name; for no remnant of its ancient capital, Æolica, nor of the Temple of Apollo Smintheus, for which it was once celebrated, and which was plundered by Verres, is now to be seen.

The large granite sarcophagus, with the inscription ΑΤΤΙΚΩ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΑΤΑΙΑ ΣΕΚΟΤΝΑΑ* . . . referring to the father of the Atticus Herodes, so often before mentioned, was not shown to me; indeed, visiting the place accidentally, I had not informed myself of its existence, and not having looked for it, cannot say that it is not to be found.

Tenedos has always derived an importance from its situation†,

of this coin is given, from one in the Emperor of Austria's collection, in Riga's map for the Romæic Anarcharsis, published at Vienna in 1797; and a dissertation on the *Tenedios πελεκύς* may be seen in Tournefort (p. 393, tom. i.) who has extracted the principal fable from Pausanias (Ὁ δὲ πελεκύς Περικλύτης, Phoc. p. 634.)

* See Chandler's *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*, p. 4.

† Tenedos is fifty miles from Mytelene, about five from the opposite Asiatic coast, and twelve and a half from the mouth of the Dardanelles, although in De La Mottraye's Travels, vol. i. fol. it is made twenty miles. In the latter periods of the empire, it was in the hands of pirates, until taken by Othman.

as its possessor may at any time blockade the Straits, and command the northern gulfs of the Archipelago. There were formerly six hundred Turkish families, and half as many Greek, on the island, although there were, besides the capital, only two or three hamlets. It is probable, that it will soon recover from its last great calamity; for, as it is the station of the vessels detained by the winds, both going to and returning from the Dardanelles, it will always support a considerable population.

The morning after our coming to an anchor off Tenedos, a large party of us left the ship in two boats, to visit the ruins of Alexandria Troas. We sailed over to the coast not immediately opposite to our station, but lower down to the south, a distance between six and seven miles, and landed in an open port, where there was a small vessel at anchor. We saw the road from the Dardanelles, running along the coast close to the shore, and a string of loaded camels, on their way to the south, were resting themselves on the sands. Several large cannon-balls, of granite, were lying scattered about on the sides of the path. The ruins of Alexandria have supplied the fortresses of the Dardanelles with balls, ever since the time of the famous Gazi Hassan Pasha, who having a chiflik, or country-house, at Erkissi-Keui, a village in the Troad, was well acquainted with the vast fund of materials to be found in his neighbourhood, and completed the destruction of many columns, some fragments of which, as yet not consumed, are now seen in different parts of this coast. If I mistake not, stone was used for this purpose previously to iron, or at least promiscuously with that metal, on the first invention of cannons, not only by the Turks, but the nations of Christendom.

If our countrymen were not, by experience, unfortunately too well acquainted with the dimensions of these balls, I might hesitate at observing, that the weight of those which are made for the largest guns is between seven and eight hundred pounds*. It is not, however, to be supposed, that the remains of this city have been applied merely to purposes of destruction, or that the Turks were the first who commenced the dilapidation of Alexandria: several edifices in Constantinople owed their ornaments, if not their structure, to the ruins of a city, the treasures of which lay so convenient for transportation, and which, as it was exposed to the ravages of the pirates who infested the seas during the latter ages of the Greek empire, was probably deserted at an early period, and left without an inhabitant to protect its palaces and baths of marble, its spacious theatres and stately porticoes. Indeed, it is likely that the rapine was begun at the foundation of Constantinople, and that it contributed, with Rome, Sicily, Antioch, and Athens, to the splendour of a capital adorned by the denudation of almost every other city---“*pene omnium urbium nuditate*†.” A vast quantity of materials were carried off at once, by command of the Grand Signor, at the earlier part of the last century‡. At present, the Turks and Greeks of the country seldom point at a fragment of granite, or porphyry, an inscribed marble, or carved pillar, inserted in the walls of the moscks and churches in the neighbouring villages, without informing you, that it was brought from Eschy-Stambol, the name given to a col-

* Two of them may be seen over the gate of the entrance to Sir J. T. Duckworth's house, near Plymouth.

† Decline and Fall, vol. ii. 4to. p. 14.

‡ Pococke, p. 110, vol. ii. Descrip. of the East.

lection of huts amongst the ruins of Troas. The traveller, therefore, must not expect to find all those remains of antiquity which are noted by early travellers, and of which plans and written details have been given by Pococke and others.

We had with us a guide from Tencdos, but as we had landed on the coast too much to the north, and he was acquainted only with the usual route, we rambled some time through the woods of vallonea, or low ilex, with which this country is covered, before we arrived at the ruins. We struck down to the south, at first, near the shore, towards the point of land with a house upon it, which we had seen the day before, and then turned up into the country, by the advice of a peasant whom we found working in a small vineyard in the middle of the woods.—As we were pushing through a tangly path, something which I had taken for the root of a tree, slid along by my feet into the bushes. Our Albanian Dervish, who saw me jump back, and had observed the cause of my surprise, hallooed out, a serpent (*φειδι*) and fired his gun, “which he would ne’er forsake,” after the animal at a venture, but of course without effect. Our guide told me, that there were many much larger in the country (although this, to me, had appeared of an unusual magnitude) and that in the hotter summer months they might be very frequently seen basking in the woods, and on the sands near the sea. The thermometer was at seventy on the day of our excursion.

The first vestiges of antiquity which we saw, were two large granite sarcophagi: one of them was in the bushes, and the other by the side of a hedge, surrounding a plot which had been cleared, and turned into a vineyard. The pains taken to excavate these blocks of granite, which are of one piece, and were

covered also by a single slab, must have been considerable, and it is probable, that none but persons of some distinction were buried in such sepulchres. They were, indeed, rather family-vaults than single tombs, as might be conjectured by their size, and as we learn from their inscriptions, which seem also to hint, that they were receptacles either for corpses, or the bones of the dead; for the fine was incurred by putting into them NEKPON. H. OΣTEA.—a dead body, or bones, of any one except the owners. The name itself is sufficient proof that bodies were buried whole in these exposed vaults*. A little beyond the sarcophagi, we found two or three fragments of granite pillars, more massive than any we had yet seen. One of them, inaccurately measured with a handkerchief, was no less than twenty-five in length, and at least five feet in diameter.

We soon came to a flat inclosure (still in the woods, as are all the ruins of Troas) where there were two poor-looking huts, and some goats feeding on a tangly green, half overrun with briars. Getting over the inclosure, which was formed in part of granite pillars, we saw arches, half subterraneous, of brick-work, the foundation probably of some large building. Almost immediately at the back (the east) of this spot, are those magnificent remains,

* It does not appear that the name *Sarcophagus*, however, was in use amongst the Greeks; the word in the inscription at Pasha-Chiffik, or Erkissi-Keui, (a village we visited in the Troad) of which there is a copy given in "Constantinople, Ancient and Modern," p. 331, is Soros—THN ΣΟΡΟΝ. I presume, that all that can be said on the subject of these sepulchres, has been said in Dr. Clarke's Dissertation on the Tomb of Alexander, which I never have had the good fortune to see—*κλῆρος οὗτον ἀνούμεν*. The inscription of Julius Atticus has also the NEKPON. H. OΣTEA.

called by early travellers the Palace of Priam, and, as Pococke mentions, by the peasants "Baluke Serai"—the Palace of Honey; possibly from the appearance of many of the masses, the stones of which are studded with petrifications of cockle-shells, looking like the white cavities of a honeycomb. Mr. Bryant, however, approves of Pococke's suggestion, that the denomination may be derived from Baal, the Eastern name of Apollo. The last opinion of Mr. Le Chevalier, that these ruins are the remains of the public baths, is confirmed by the earthen pipes still visible on the cornices of the building, and also, as that traveller has observed, by the aqueduct of Atticus Herodes, of which there are remains crossing the valley to the north-east of the ruins, and which these Balneæ may have been intended to terminate. Those who are acquainted with the public buildings of the ancients, are aware that the word "bath," in our acceptation of the term, gives but a very inadequate notion of those spacious and splendid edifices so called by the ancients, and designed not merely for the purposes of ablution, but as places of instruction and exercise.—The earthquake of the last winter had thrown down large portions of the remains, and the whole interior of the edifice was choked up with fragments of wall and vast pieces of fallen marbles.

Entering through a gap, and leaping from one mass of fallen fragments to another, we found ourselves in the midst of an ample ruin, inclosed on two sides; to the north and east by stupendous walls raised on arches, and blocked up on the south by a line of irregular fragments of stone-work, some standing, some lying in heaps on the ground. The fallen blocks were of an enormous size, and showed that no cement had been used in the construction of an edifice which was thought sufficiently stable

from the weight of its massive materials. In the middle of the remains, and fronting the west, were three lofty portals or open arches; the principal feature in the ruins, and that part of them, as I suppose, which is seen afar off at sea. Pedestals of monstrous columns, and broken steps, were lying amongst the fragments below. A strip of marble cornice, highly finished, was visible in the front and side, and projecting from the spring, of the middle arch.

Our guide told us, that in this quarter the earthquake had been most destructive; and, indeed, on comparing the description of former travellers with what we saw, I am at a loss for several portions of the stately ruins which have been mentioned by those who preceded us, and must suppose that time and violence have, within the last twenty years, produced a very material change in their appearance. No common observer would, I believe, recognize Pococke's plan in the present appearance of his Gymnasium; an artist, however, would find but little difficulty in restoring the building, as the ground-plan is discernible, and enough of it yet stands to enable him to form a judgment of the entire structure. The angle at the north-east of the inclosure is preserved. The north side presents a view of twelve open arches, for the most part unbroken, and the eastern front has twelve closed arches in the substructure of the wall, which, together with an open space in the middle of them, probably supplied by an arcade of entrance, was, it should seem, the whole length of the building.

From the baths, the distance from the sea has been computed three miles; it is probably not much more than two. To the west and south-west, the ground falls in a gentle declivity down

to the shore, covered with low woods, and partially interspersed with spots of cultivated ground. On this slope the ancient city was built. To the east of the ruins there is a deep valley, separating the site of Troas from the roots of Ida, and widening as it approaches the shore, beyond the village of Neshrah-Keui, into a spacious plain. Through this valley flows a small river, which we had seen from the frigate, and which rises in the hills near a village called Bairam-Keui. On the slope of the eminence, eastward from the ruins, are the hot-baths of Lidgah Hammam. The spring, at a short distance from its source, falls into two stone basins, one of which is covered in under a casupolo, or hut of boughs, and appropriated to the women. Overflowing the basins, the stream, called Aiyah-su, trickles through a pebbly channel into the river in the valley. An English gentleman, who preceded us in our tour, and whom we saw at Smyrna, informed me, that his thermometer had risen to one hundred and forty of Fahrenheit's scale, at the head of the spring. The people of the country resort to Lidgah Hammam for the cure of elephantiasis and other cases of leprosy. Hot springs abound on the western side of Æolia; an author has remarked, that the steam arising from them casts a mist over the whole country at the bottom of the Adramyttian Gulf.

To the north of Troas is a wide flat valley, or rather plain, with a marsh, through which runs the rivulet Sudlu-su.

Part of the walls of Alexandria are to be met with in the woods to the west and north of the Great Baths, and can be traced, although with some difficulty, nearly to the shore. They have been computed to be a mile in length from east to west, and as

much from north to south* ; but they must be considerably more extensive, especially in the latter direction. The remains of the theatre are to the south, below the Baths, in the side of the hill fronting the sea, with the view of Tenedos, Lemnos, and the whole expanse of the Ægean.

We did not return to the shore by the path which we had taken to arrive at the ruins, but went towards the point of land to the south, desiring, by a message, the boatmen to row down the coast, and wait our arrival. We came to the ancient port of Troas, a small circular basin, half choked up and stagnate, communicating with an outer harbour or bay, also very shallow, by a narrow canal. The hollow sides of the hill, down to the basin, were covered with brambles and brushwood, and in parts with crumbled rubbish ; and near the water were many small granite pillars, about the size of sepulchral stelæ, which, it has been thought, were used to make fast the vessels by ropes to the shore†. Yet from the secure position of this basin, one might think it had been like that harbour in the Odyssey‡,

λίμνην εὐορμος, ἣν ἔχρειώ πείσματος ἔστιν.

Walking a little way higher up than the port, we came to a narrow flat valley, looking like a dry canal, or an artificial exca-

* Pococke, p. 110, book ii. Description of the East.

† The Greeks, besides πείσματα, called these ropes πρυμνησια, απογυα, and απογυα ; hence τα απογυα λυσασθαι, in the Hermotimus of Lucian. The Latins gave them the name of ora. Vixdum omnes conscenderunt cum alii resolvunt oras, alii anchoram vellunt.—Liv. Hist. dec. iii. lib. ii. See Car. Stephan. Libell. de re Navali ex Bayfij. Vigili. excerpt. Ludg. 1537.

‡ Lib. i. vers. 136.

vation, which may have once been joined to the harbour, and have served as a dock for the construction or careening of ships. In this direction travellers have met with the site of the stadium, which, however, escaped our observation. Above the valley to the west, was a considerable fragment of the city-wall, and a large pillar of granite broken in half.—Some of our party wandering in the woods in this spot, were assailed by the dogs of two goat-herds, whose charge must stand in need of very powerful protection, as they were guarded by seven of these fierce animals.

In the villages near Troas, ancient remains have been discovered wherever the country has been explored, which it has been only partially. Chemali, three or four miles to the north, has several fragments of marble and granite, with a few inscriptions. It was supposed by Chandler to be the Colonæ of the ancients; but that town was, most probably, nearer to the shore exactly opposite to Tenedos*. Perhaps, as a late traveller has conjectured†, the eminence on which this town was situated, and which gave it the name of "*The Hills*," was the large mount now thought to be artificial, and called Liman-Tepe.

Of the country at the bottom and the north side of the Adramyttian Gulf, anciently called Cilicia, and divided, according to the Homeric geography, between Thebe and Lyrnessus, we have very little actual knowledge. This is the assertion of D'Anville‡, which was repeated many years afterwards, and with

* 'Εν τῇ γῇ τῇ Τρώαδι αἱ κολῶναι κατὰ νῆσον κείμεναι Λέυκοφρον.—Pausan. Phoc. p. 634.

† Topog. of Troy, p. 19.

‡ Géographie Ancienne, abrégée, Paris, 1768, tom. ii. p. 19; Dissertation concerning the War of Troy, 2d edit. London, 1799, p. 144.

justice, by Mr. Bryant; yet Edremit, and (if the maps are not conjectural) Antandro and Asso, point at the site of the towns, the ancient names of which they so very nearly preserve.

Pliny, who proceeds from the south-eastern point of the Troad, begins with Hamaxitus, mentions Cebrenia next, and then comes to Troas itself, called Antigonía, and afterwards Alexandria*. Hence, and especially from his expression “*ipsaque Troas*,” it seems that this city, which was indeed inferior to none of its name, except the Egyptian Alexandria, was the capital of the province, and that it acquired the appellation before attached to the whole district. The citizens were by distinction *Troadenses*, as appears by their medals, and by inscriptions discovered on the spot; and that the city was called Troas without any adjunct, is seen by its being expressly so designated in ancient authors†. It was not, therefore, very surprising, that this Troas should be supposed by the common people of the country, and by those who had not looked narrowly into the ancient geographers, to have some connexion with the city of Homer. Meletius asserts, that in his time it was yet called TROADA‡, as it is by the

* Troadis primus locus Amaxitus, dein Cebrenia; ipsaque Troas, Antigonía dicta, nunc Alexandria, colonia Ro.—Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. xxx.

† The votive tablet to Drusus Cæsar, in the vestibule of the public library at Cambridge, contains the words, COL. AVG. TROADENS; and the coin of the city, with the Silenus on the reverse, has also the legend COL. AVG. TROAD. The TR.A. on the exergue of the medal of Trajan found by Chandler (Travels in Asia Minor, cap. x.) must be a part of the same word, and not, I should think, of TROAS, as he has supposed.

In the Acts of the Apostles, chap. xx., verse 5 and 6, and in the Second Epistle to Timothy, chap. iv. verse 13, the town is called distinctly *Troas*.

‡ Καλεῖται ὁμῶς ἀκόμη Τρωάδα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Τέρκων Ἐσχί-Σταμπόλι.—Melet Geog. Venice, p. 455, article Φρυγία.

Greeks at this day. This general persuasion made Belon take the ruins of Eski-Stamboul for the remains of the city of Priam, and conceive, that the river in the vale of Nesrah-Keui, was the actual Xanthus of the poet. The little stream of Lidgah Hammam may have supplied him with a Simois. That this mistake (if a mistake it is) was not made by every one who saw the country, may, however, be proved, by the account of a Voyage in the Levant, written by an Englishman, so far back as the year 1593; who says, that he came down the Straits, "and so by the Sigean promontory, now called Cape Janissary, at the mouth of Hellespont upon Asia side, *where Troy stood*, where are yet ruins of olde walles to be scene, with two hils rising in a piramidall forme, not unlikely to be the tombs of Achilles and Ajax." Adding, "From thence we sailed along, having Tenedos and Lemnos on the right hand, and the Trojan fields on the left*."

Sandys also, who began his journey in 1610, objected particularly to Belon's account, and asserts, that "*in all likelihood*" he had mistaken the site of ancient Troy†. At the same time, however, it is a little difficult to understand the whole of his narrative, taken together, as it relates to Troas; for his phrase is somewhat at variance with his meaning, and would almost make us suppose that he had adopted the very notion of Belon's which he appeared at first willing to correct.

The error into which Sandys certainly fell, was mistaking the remains at Eski-Stamboul for those of Ilium—the Ilium of Lysimachus. Pococke, who followed the text of Strabo, knew that

* This is from the journal of one Richard Wrag, who accompanied Edward Barton, Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Porte.—Hakluyt, 2d vol. p. 308, edit. London, 1599.

† A Relation of a Journey, &c. lib. i. p. 22, edit. London, 1627.

what he had said of the site of Ilium would not apply to Eski-Stamboul; but Mr. Wood has been accused of that inaccuracy, and of confounding two towns which were sixteen miles apart*: yet I believe he will not be found speaking so decisively, as to make it clear that he committed that considerable mistake†.

It seems to me a much more unaccountable error, to confound Troas with Ilium than with Troy; for Strabo, to mention no other authority, when he described Ilium, described a town which was in a flourishing condition in his day, and so particularized its site, as to identify it with a spot not much more than a mile from the shore of the Hellespont; but he spoke of Troy as of a city of which not a vestige was left, and whose site, as it had ever been a subject of dispute, he was able to fix where he pleased, but without depriving succeeding writers of the same freedom of conjecture. In fact, we see that a late celebrated authority has sent us to look for the city of Priam, even more to the south than Alex-

* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. xi. 4to. p. 8.

† I recollect nothing upon which the charge is grounded, except that, after saying that the present town is not the Troy of Homer, he adds, "that was higher up." Now Strabo having placed the site of Troy above the new Ilium, it must seem that the traveller supposed the ruins of Eski-Stamboul to be those of that second town. He asserts, in the same place, that the situation of the Scamander is likewise changed; and that the hot spring is below the source, and does not communicate with the river, the fountains of which are in the mountains, where no town could have stood," (*Essay on the Original Genius of Homer*, p. 329.) But the Scamander of Mr. Wood flows so many miles to the north-east of Eski-Stamboul, that he could not well allude to the baths of Lidgah Hammam, when he talks of the hot spring of the river. It is true, that a map made, as Chandler supposed, by a Frenchman, in 1726, and belonging to Mr. Wood, did seem to admit the supposition, that Troas was either Troy or Ilium.

andria, between Lectum and Antandros*. Mr. Bryant founded his argument not a little on the position of Tenedos, which he conceived should be in front of Troy; and had he seen that the island is placed too low in the maps, and that beyond Lectum to the south the coast is rocky and precipitous, he might have altered his opinion: but it is not at all improbable, that he would have fixed upon the plain of Ghicle, just to the north of Troas, as the country in which (if in any) the poet meant to lay the scene of his Iliad. He would not, indeed, have found the Sudlu rivulet so large as the Scamander of the Iliad; but, with his general scepticism on the subject, he might not have been disturbed by such a dissimilarity, especially as he would have seen some other requisite points of resemblance to the Trojan plain of Homer, not to that of Strabo, which it would be in vain to look for near the Sigeon promontory, and in the plain watered by the Mendere-sn.

* See from page 133 to page 148, of Mr. Bryant's Dissertation concerning the War of Troy.

LETTER XXXIX.

Frigate anchors off Sigéum—The Troad of Strabo—Ilium—its History—Not Troy—nor on the Site of it—No Vestiges of Troy ever seen—Modern Travellers—No pretended Discovery of the Site until the time of Le Chevalier—Description of the Coast from Stamboul-Douk to Cape Janissary—Yeni-Keui—Beshik-Tepe—Elles-Bournou—Mouth of the Dardanelles—Ancient Geography of the Coast—Amnis Navigabilis of Pliny—Sigean Promontory—Giaur-Keui—Sigean Marbles—Sigéum—Eléus—Elles Baba-Tepe—The Protesilëum—Koum-Kale—Mouth of the Mendere River—The Thymbrek River—In-Tepe Gheulu—Valley of Thymbrek-Dere—Marshes of the Plain—Rivulet of Bournabashi—Udjek-Tepe—Bournabashi—Course of the Mendere—Callifatli Village and Brook—Banks of the Mendere.

EARLY on the morning of the 14th of April, the frigate got under weigh, and going on deck, we found ourselves at anchor, not, as before, in the channel of Tenedos, but at a little more than a mile and a half from Cape Janissary, where we

found H. M. S. the Bustard, brig of war, and an English transport laden with gunpowder for the Turks, which had been there several days waiting for a fitman to pass the castles of the Dardanelles. No ship of war belonging to any foreign power, is now allowed to enter the straits, without such an imperial order directed to the Pashas of the several forts commanding the passage ; and we were detained in expectation of receiving this permission until the 1st of May. Such was the jealous caution of the Porte, that it would not allow two British ships of war to proceed at the same time to Constantinople ; and the Bustard having resigned her charge to the Salsette, departed on the 18th for Malta. Whilst the frigate was at this anchorage, and during nearly another subsequent fortnight, I had an opportunity of surveying the whole of that plain which for 3000 years has attracted the attention of the civilized world, and which the ingenuity of our own age has illustrated by discoveries so singular, that whether fanciful or not, they must increase the interest of visiting these celebrated regions. For some find it most agreeably congenial with all their early prepossessions, to credit the conjectures of those who recognize on this spot every vestige of the poetic landscape ; whilst others experience not a little satisfaction in detecting the futility of former schemes, and in furnishing themselves with arguments in favour either of more probable arrangements, or of a general scepticism respecting the whole Homeric topography.

We may expect to find the account given by Strabo of this part of Asia, equally correct with the other descriptions of that invaluable writer ; and we may at least hope to see his plain of Troy, with the Simois and Scamander, the stations of Achilles and Ajax, the harbour of the Greeks, and many of those

celebrated objects which, on whatever foundation, were identified in very early ages with the scenes of the Iliad. If the country bordering on these famous straits does not correspond with the descriptions of the poet, it may be found, perhaps, to agree with those of the geographer; and with this resemblance a prudent traveller should, according to my humble judgment, be content, without attempting to find those evident vestiges of the Trojan war, which all investigation of the ancients was so utterly unable to discover, that the words of the poet himself were quoted to prove that some of them, as the rampart of the Greeks, had perhaps never existed, and that others, amongst which was reckoned Troy itself, had been destroyed by the event to which they owed their celebrity.

Plutarch informs us, that Alexander the Great performed sacrifices at Ilium*; and Arrian adds, that he carried away from the place some arms which were said to have been used in the Trojan war, and ordered them to be borne before him in his battles†. But this Ilium, which, from a village with a single temple, was converted by his order into a considerable town, is proved by the many arguments adduced in the treatise on the Troad, contained in the thirteenth book of Strabo, to have not

* Ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς Ἴλιον, ἔθυσσε τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ.—In vit. Alex. p. 674, Op. Om. edit. Paris, 1624.

† Ἀνελθόντα δὲ εἰς Ἴλιον τῇ τε Ἀθηνῇ θύσαι τῇ Ἰλιάδι, καὶ τὴν πανοπλίαν τὴν αὐτῆ ἀναθεῖναι εἰς τὸν ναόν, καὶ καθελεῖν ἀντὶ ταύτης τῶν ἱερῶν τίνα ὄπλων ἔτι ἐκ τῆ Τρωικῆ ἔργῃ σωζόμενα. Καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ἔφερον πρὸ αὐτῆ εἰς τὰς μάχας.—Arriani, de Expedit. Alex. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 25, edit. Gronov. 1714. It will be observed, that the annalist uses throughout, the phrase “it is reported.”

been the Ilium of Homer, although the vanity of its inhabitants induced them, long previously to the Macedonian invasion, to call it by that name, and to show their Acropolis to Xerxes as the Pergamus of Priam*.

It is related of the new city, that the old site not being chosen on account of Agamemnon's supposed imprecation, the Astypalæans, who inhabited Rhœtæum, built a little town, called in the Augustan age Polisma, in a marshy spot, which was soon deserted. Ilium was then founded by the Lydians, but did not arrive at any prosperity until a long time afterwards; when Lysimachus, to fulfil a promise made by Alexander, took it under his protection, and surrounded it with a wall of forty stadia in circumference. When, however, the Romans came into Asia, it was more like a village than a town, and at the passage of the Gauls from Europe, it had no walls. It afterwards recovered itself, was created a free city by the Romans when they made peace with Antiochus†, and stood an eleven days siege against the Quæstor Fimbria, the murderer of Valerius Flaccus, by whom it was razed to the ground‡.

Sylla having destroyed Fimbria, favored Ilium, as also did Julius Cæsar in a more especial manner, and it's immunity from

* Ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη ἡμερον ἔχων θεήσασθαι.—Herod. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 43.

† Liv. Hist. lib. xxxviii.; Casaub. Comm. et Castig. p. 224, edit. Xyland.

‡ Caius Fimbria . . . urbem Ilion quæ se potestati Syllæ reservabat, expugnavit ac delevit.—Liv. epit. in lib. lxxxiii. Appian, who gives a detailed account of the cruelties of Fimbria, adds, that this calamity happened CICL years after the taking of Ilium by Agamemnon.—Vide Casaub. Com. et Castig. in Strab. lib. xlii. p. 224, edit. Xyland.

tribute was afterwards confirmed by the Emperors Claudius* and Nero†.

The love of proving an illustrious ancestry, common to the two great nations of antiquity, made the Romans wish to believe the Iliæans the actual descendants of the true Trojans, and to call their town, as they generally did, by the name of Troy, which was one of its Homeric appellations, but was obsolete with the Phrygian Greeks‡.

A proof of this persuasion may be adduced from the story told of Tiberius, who, to reproach the Iliæans for their late condolence for the death of Drusus, informed them, that he also sympathized with them for the loss of Hector§. But the well-known lines of Lucan, inform us with what success Julius Cæsar searched for the vestiges of the Trojan wall||; and that the verses of the

* “Iliensibus quasi Romani generis auctoribus tributa in perpetuum remisit.”—Suet. in vit. Tib. Claud. Cæs. p. 543, edit. qt. Schildii.

† “Impetrat ut Ilienses omni publico munere solverentur.”—Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. 58, p. 88, edit. Glasg. 1753. “Circensibus ludis Trojam constantissime favorabiliterque ludit.”—Sucton. in vit. Neron. Claud. Cæs. cap. 7, p. 578, edit. qu. sup.

‡ Dissertation concerning the war of Troy, edit. 2, p. 39; see also the commentary on verse 817, *Perieg.* Dionys., in which the Latins are censured for calling Ilium Troy, p. 285, edit. Lond. 1679. It seems strange that Mr. Bryant should be the first to remark, that the *Troia* of Homer is sometimes the city as well as the district.—Dissert. Append. p. 132, 2d edit. To prevent the necessity of adding an epithet to Ilium Immune, I shall distinguish the Homeric city by the name of Troy.

§ Suet. in vit. Tib. cap. 52, p. 388. The reader may recollect how happily this story is introduced in one of Dr. Swift's letters to Mr. Pope.

|| Mr. Le Chevalier, in alluding to the lines of Lucan, with a singular disingenuity, and confidence in the ignorance of his readers, only quoted the first

poet were founded on fact, is fully proved by the testimony of Strabo, and the decisive evidence of the author, to whose assistance he had recourse in describing the Hellespontine Phrygia.

We do not know that Strabo had not himself been in the Troad, but we are sure that no person could speak more to the purpose than Demetrius, who was a native of Scepsis, a town not far from Ilium, and who wrote thirty books on sixty lines of Homer's Trojan Catalogue. From this authority we know, that not a vestige was left of the ancient city*.

Neither Julius Cæsar, nor Demetrius, nor Strabo, had any doubt of the former existence of the city of Priam; and the orator Lycurgus, quoted by the latter author, at the same time that he declared the total desolation, and as it were death of Troy, to be known to all the world, spoke of its destruction as of a fact equally notorious†. These authorities therefore are to be acknowledged as

three lines of the description, beginning "*Sigæasque petit famæ mirator æneas,*" as the five following verses were fatal to his hypothesis. The author of the Topography of Troy, is much fairer in his notice of the passage, if he does notice it when he attributes the prevailing error respecting the non-existence of any Trojan remains, to the "*etiam periere ruinæ*" of *Virgil*.

* Οὐδὲν δὲ ἴχνος σώζεται τῆς ἀρχαίας πόλεως.—Strab. lib. xiii. p. 195. These words, and the general tenour of the whole argument, may be quoted as decisive against those places, where the words ἡ παλαιὰ, or ἀρχαῖον κτίσμα, are introduced to signify either Troy, or the supposed site of it, at the Pagus Iliensium.

† See Casaubon. Comm. in Strab. lib. xiii. p. 601. Τὴν Τροίαν τίς ἐκ ἀκήκοεν ὅτι μεγίστη γιγεννημένη τῶν τότε πόλεων, καὶ πάσης ἐπάρχασα τῆς Ασίας, ὡς ἀπαξ ὑπὸ τῶν Ελλήνων κατεσκάφη, ἀπο τὸν αἰῶνα ἀοικητός ἐστίν. Strabo relates, that Thucydides speaks of *Troy* being taken by the Athenians; but on referring to

complete evidence against the remains of Troy having ever been recognized by any credible witnesses amongst the ancients, and are to be received with none of that distrust with which we may hear the arguments of those who have in our times been arrayed, to prove that such a place as Troy did never exist, and that consequently the Trojan war was a mere fiction of poetry. The geography of the Troad cannot be affected by any decisions on this latter question, nor by those disquisitions which have lately increased our doubts on all points relative to Homer, and have made us uncertain not only of the productions and the name, but even of the actual existence, of the poet.

The learned world may decide that the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* were not productions of the same person or period; and Mr. Heyne, annulling the labour and dissolving the union of Pistratus, may disperse the two epics into their primitive rhapsodies. It is enough for the traveller to be aware, that not only not a vestige of Troy was ever seen, but that no ancient author ever pretended to have ascertained with precision its actual site. It may be observed, that in the forgeries of Dictys Cretensis* and Dares Phry-

the historian, we see that he does not mention Troy, but only, τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίσματα—the towns in the interior, or on the main-land, lib. iii. See Casaubon's note to p. 600 of Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 226, edit. Xyland.

* In Dictys Cretensis the Scamander is mentioned only once (p. 99, edit. Amstlea, 1730), the Simois not at all; the river ("flumen, p. 88, and fluvius, p. 99") is noticed but twice; Ilium is once named, p. 108; the tomb of Achilles once, p. 109; Sigéum once, p. 132; and the tomb of Ajax, on the Rhœtœum promontory, also once, p. 137. The author says of Troy, "urbs incendiis complanata"—"the city was burnt to the ground," p. 134; but he makes Antenor, and Æneas and Antenor, inhabit it afterwards. He

gius*, no attempt is made at local description, and that this would hardly have been the case if the site of the Phrygian capital, and consequently the exact scene of the memorable events which they recorded, had been universally known to the Greeks of the age of Constantine.

The uncertainty respecting Troy must necessarily have increased rather than diminished by the progress of time, and I do not find that any judicious person amongst the early travellers, ever thought of discovering the vestiges or the site of the city of Priam. Dr. Pococke did not attempt to find any thing undiscovered by Demetrius and Strabo, and spoke with great hesitation even of conjectures founded on their descriptions. Mr. Wood, in the essay which he wrote “to do justice to Homer,” wisely reserved a “thorough examination of the poet’s geography to a

every where calls the Trojans “Barbarians;” a distinction, as Mr. Wood observed on another occasion, not to be found in Homer, and only once used in Virgil (Essay on the Genius, &c. p. 504): Tzetzes (Chil. 5, Hist. 30, as I find him quoted in some notes on Ælian) averred, that Homer followed this history; but the learned Isaac Vossius thought the book was not the composition of a Greek even so late as the time of Constantine, but that the Latin, now called the translation of Septimius, was the original work.

* Dares Phrygius, who differs from Homer in very many particulars, for which the letter from Cornelius Nepos to Sallust, prefixed to the treatise (p. 154, ibi.), asserts that he was much extolled at Athens, mentions scarcely a single place by name except the Scæan gate, and the tomb of Achilles. The Phrygian Iliad, which was the foundation of this imposture, inferior both in antiquity and elegance to Dictys Cretensis, was said to be in existence in the time of Ælianus; that author, however, does not say that he ever saw it, but only, that he believed it to be yet preserved—Καὶ τὸν Φρύγα Δαρήτα, ὃν Φρυγίαν Ιλιάδα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποσωζόμενον ἵδδα.—Var. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 11.

more enlarged plan of his work ;” and notwithstanding a singular hint, that the country was more like Homer’s landscape in his time than it had been in that of Strabo*, and some general praise of Homer’s accuracy, yet in his description of the Troad, he notices rather the changes that must have taken place in the face of the country, than the resemblance it bears to the picture given of it in the Iliad ; and he does not hazard a single conjecture as to the actual site of the ancient city, except that it stood above Alexandria Troas : an omission caused not by ignorance or carelessness, but, it is probable, by a thorough knowledge of the insurmountable difficulties attending the enquiry.

Chandler, in his account of the Plain, followed Strabo and the geographers ; he attempted no discoveries as to Troy, and although he spoke with more decision respecting other points, he thought proper to make an excuse in his Preface, for hazarding such assertions†. What he might have done in his announced work, relative to the topography of the Troad, cannot be known, as it never was published, or transmitted to the press. But the world has become much wiser than formerly, especially, as Dr. Swift observed, within these ten years. Mr. Le Chevalier determined upon the discovery of Troy, and succeeded. The Pergamus of

* Essay on the Genius and Writings of Homer, p. 76.

“ When we look on the regions of Troas, as represented in my map, it will be found, I believe, to differ from the history of the country as exhibited by Homer,” p. 328.

“ There is no trace in Homer of the progress of the Scamander, from the ruined bridge to Bournabashi ; and yet this is the only part of the channel which is precisely the same as anciently,” p. 329.

† He speaks of the barrows as the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus. His History of Ilium I have not been able to procure.

Priam, ruins of temples, foundations of walls, the Scæan gate, the hot and cold source of the Scamander, the station of the Greeks, the tombs of heroes, were ascertained, laid down, and irrevocably named. The ancients were accused of ignorance, the moderns of diffidence; the former, in the instance of Strabo and Demetrius, for not knowing their own Scamander when they saw it before their eyes; the latter, such as Dr. Pococke, for not finding the ashes of Achilles in the hillocks on the banks of the Menderes. The discovery was hailed with enthusiasm by the Parisian antiquaries, and all the learned bodies in Europe were, as the author predicted would be the case, eager to adopt the improved geography of Phrygia. Even the sober scepticism of English scholars gave way before the torrent of asserted proofs. It was not until five years subsequently to the publication of Mr. Le Chevalier's extraordinary success, that Mr. Bryant, without travelling beyond his library, and rather impeded than assisted by a wretched chart of the disputed country, raised such objections (not all, it must be owned, of equal validity) to the new map of the Troad, as no criticisms, either of the travelled or the learned, have been able to remove. Yet a gentleman who had visited the spot, vindicated Homer and Mr. Le Chevalier: another of our countrymen, who travelled in 1796, acknowledged the recent scheme sufficiently ingenious and plausible*; and the author of the *Topography of Troy*, not only concurred in most points in the invention, but in 1802, found several additional Homeric vestiges to support the happy hypothesis. Another

* "Mr. Chevalier's topography and general idea, after a fair investigation, we acknowledged to be ingenious and plausible."—*Constantinople, Ancient and Modern*, p. 317.

traveller, however, apparently of a totally different complexion*, and who lent an academic faith to the whole superstition, restored us to our ancient uncertainty; and when we travelled, the village of Bournabashi was no longer Troy; the springs of the Scamander and the Simois, had disappeared, and the encampment of the Greeks had again sunk into the nonentity to which it was before reduced, by the trident of Neptune and the streams of seven rivers.

We repeatedly traversed the whole of that part of the Troad, which is usually called the Plain of Troy. The frigate was anchored a little above one of those singular tumuli, four of which are ranged near the shore of the Archipelago. Liman-Tepe, and Stamboul-Douk, have been already noticed. From the flat point Bournou, beyond Alexandria Troas, the coast, for four or five miles, is a sandy flat, and a shrubby plain, divided by a small rivulet, spreads from some inland eminences to the sea. About a mile from the succeeding promontory, called in the maps the Cape of Troy, another stream flows through a narrow but deep channel into the sea. About a mile from its mouth, it is joined by a small rivulet flowing from the south; and to this rivulet that channel of a mile in length formerly belonged, and not to the stream now running from the north-east, which has within the memory of man been let into it through an artificial cut. From this point the shore becomes less level; and the Cape of Troy is a sandy promontory, terminated by a mass of shapeless rocks. Half a mile inland, and to the north of the Cape, is the third large barrow, Beshik-Tepe. The coast above is exceedingly

* See an Essay in the *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1805, No. XII. Franklin and others have also written on the Troad; but the general outline of the progress of the question is given above.

abrupt, composed of high chalky cliffs, and on the flat of the hills not far beyond the barrow, stands the town of Yeni-Keui, containing perhaps two hundred houses, inhabited chiefly by Greeks. Immediately below it is a circular part or basin, to which the communication with the town is by a path winding down a steep precipice. Beyond Yeni-Keui, the coast still continues abrupt and high; but a little before, to the south of the fourth barrow, there is a deep chasm in the coast. The path on each side is made more easy by steps cut in the hill. At the bottom is a stone fountain, and between the hollow, a small stream trickles through the sandy beach, projecting in a thin strip at the foot of the rocks. The fourth barrow rises from the hilly coast, immediately above the chasm. To Cape Janissary, a mile and a half to the north, the coast is a line of steep craggy rocks. Opposite to our anchorage, a steep and difficult path ascends the hill: this was our often-trodden route into the plains, and part of the ship's company were daily employed in watering at two springs near the landing place. From the top of the cliff the path turns northwards near the edge of the precipice, and leading at first down a slope, ascends some gently-rising ground, until it arrives at the flat summit on which stands the town of Yeni-Cher, or Giaur-Keui. From this point the Cape stretches off half a mile beyond, to the north-north-west. On a flat above the town are eight or nine windmills, which when the pilot sees in a line with the tongue of the promontory he makes directly for the mouth of the straits. From the ship we had a distinct view of Elles-Bournou, or Cape Greco, the extremity of the Thracian Chersonese, of Calim-Kalessi, the new fort built by De Tott on the hill, two miles within the Cape, and of Eski-Kalessi, the old castle,

a mile farther in the mouth of the strait: a barrow, called Elles Baba-Tepe, was discernible on the hills above Cahim-Kalessi. From Cape Janissary to Cahim-Kalessi the distance is about three miles and a half; but as the angle formed at that point is very obtuse, the straits seem to commence from Elles-Bornou; and thus having a width of five or six miles, sweep round the high cliffs on either side into the expanded sea, with all the grandeur of an American river.

The usual place of anchorage for the vessels detained in their passage to Constantinople, is under the hills near Cahim-Kalessi, or in a small inlet under Cape Janissary; where, however, they are not always secure from the violence of the Etesian gales. On the 24th of April, many ships of different sizes, bursting from their moorings, and borne down as upon a rapid torrent, shot swiftly by us under bare poles, and were unable to bring up until they got shelter behind Tenedos. The boundless sea prospect from the heights on the Asiatic side of the straits, is broken by Imbros to the west, and to the north of that island by Lemnos, whose high rocks are, as it were, capped by the fainter peaks of Samothrace. Athos itself is said to be sometimes visible in the utmost distance, but it was not discernible during our stay on the spot.

The whole length of the coast from Koum-Bornou to Cape Janissary is about eleven miles, in a direction due north. Its ancient geography has not been determined very precisely. The headlands Koum-Bornou, and the cape of Troy, appear to have received no distinct names. Pococke says, that Achaëum may have been near Yeni-Keui; but Chandler* assigns Nea or Nee

* Travels in Asia Minor, cap. xxii

to this spot, as being more agreeable to the detail of Pliny, and as it seems to preserve its old name in a Turkish translation. He gives a Latin sepulchral inscription, taken from a stone in the village*. The land near the town is bleak and bare, but in the slopes under the hill there are some extensive gardens, in which the fig and mulberry tree are cultivated in luxuriant abundance. Strabo, whose notice of this coast is by no means in detail, says, that Achæum was opposite to Tenedos, and that its district was next to that of Alexandria Troas, not far from Larissa†.

If Yeni-Keui, and the vicinity of the barrow Beshik-Tepe, be near the site of Næe, we should look for the “Scamander Amnis Navigabilis” of Pliny between that spot and Cape Janissary‡. But there is no river between the two points, and the stream nearest to Yeni-Keui is that which flows into the sea, a mile to the south, where the continent, agreeably to the site of Achæum, is opposite to Tenedos, at least to the north end of that island. The stream in question is not noticed by Strabo, but it does, indeed, seem to be the navigable river Scamander of Pliny; and as it is larger than the other rivulets below to the south, it may have been so characterized, to show its comparative importance. It is certainly not the great Trojan Scamander of which the naturalist here speaks, for he mentions that river immediately afterwards, and in the position given to it by every other writer, calling it the Xanthus: I shall leave it, however, to the etymologists to determine, whether a stream, not capable even at its mouth of admitting a

* *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*, p. 4.

† *Lib. xiii. p. 605, 596.*

‡ “*Oppidum Næe, Scamander amnis navigabilis, et in promontorio quodam Sigæum oppidum.*”—*Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 30.*

Thames wherry, and having all the characteristics of a mountain torrent, could have been ever designated by the epithet navigable. Perhaps the ships navigating this Scamander were like those river boats (πλοῖα ποτάμια) which, according to Diodorus, were made by the orders of Stabobrates, King of India, out of a single reed*.

Every ancient mention of the Sigean promontory seems to identify it with Cape Janissary, and the remains discovered in Giaur-Keni, show that the town Sigéum was built on or near the site of the present village. The Sigean decree in honour of Antiochus, was removed in 1708 by Mr. E. W. Montague, and the Boustrophedon, which is called the famous Sigean inscription by Pococke, and has had that epithet attached to it by every succeeding traveller, was removed by Lord Elgin. From the inscriptions, a fac-simile of which is given in Chishull's Asiatic Antiquities, and in Mr. Payne Knight's Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet†, it appears that the method of writing or graving, from left to right, and from right to left, alternately, "as an ox ploughs," continued after the adoption of the long vowels generally supposed to have been invented by Simonides,

* Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῆς καλάμης κατεσκεύασε πλοῖα ποτάμια τετρακισχίλια . . . ἡ γὰρ Ἰνδικὴ παρὰ τε τοὺς ποταμούς καὶ τοὺς ἐλώδεις τόπους φέρει καλάμης πλῆθους οὗ τὸ πάχος οὐκ ἂν ῥαδίως ἄνθρωπος παραλάβοι . . . —Hist. lib. ii. p. 74, edit. H. Steph. 1559. "Ex uno arundinis trunco μονοξυλα," says Wesseling. These boats were manned to resist the invasion of Semiramis; but the streams which they navigated cannot be supposed of the same sort as those on which the expedition of Nearchus sailed, and which Arrian does not call πλοῖμοι, navigable by boats, but ναυσιποροί, navigable by ships.—Hist. Ind. cap. iv. pp. 317, 318, cap. v. p. 318, edit. Gronov.

† Plate II.

but prevalent in Asia, it is probable, prior to the time of that poet. The upper inscription contains the additional characters, although the one below uses only the alphabet of Cadmus and Palamedes. The earlier Sigean inscription was written, it is thought, six hundred years before the Christian era, and the second, which is nearly a copy of the first six lines of the other, seventy-seven years subsequently to the first*. Phanodiceus, the son of Hierocrates of Proconesus, who gave the bowl and cover (ΚΡΥΘΗΡΑ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΟΚΡΗΘΡΗΤΙΟΝ) which are the subjects of the record, to the Sigean Prytaneum, is supposed by Chishull to be the historical writer of that name mentioned by the Scholiast in Apollonius, and the same person who is more than once commended by Laertius as the author of a treatise on the *Tripod of the Sage*, and concerning Thales and Bias†. Yet this biography, which is conjectural, does not fix the precise date of the marble.

The Montagne marble was in the wall of a small church dedicated to St. Demetrius, and the pilaster containing the Boustrophedon was in the same church, and served as a seat. The pedestal, with the piece of sculpture described by Lady M. W. Montague‡, and explained by Dr. Chandler§, was opposite to the pilaster; but whether it is still left, I know not, for the Greeks of the village telling me that the marbles had been removed, I did not enter the church. Several fragments still remain scattered about near that building, which may be on the site of the Athenéum. Such was the opinion of the last-mentioned traveller, who adds also, that the flat on which the

* Analytical Essay, p. 18.

† Inscriptio Sigea, p. 32, see Appendix, Lond. 1728.

‡ Letter XLIV. p. 152, edit. London, 1790.

§ Cap. xii. p. 36, Travels in Asia Minor.

village stands, was the Acropolis, and that the ancient town occupied a slope on the descent towards the mouth of the Straits.

The village of Yeni-Cher or Giaur-Keui, is inhabited by Greeks only, some of whom are of the better sort. They cultivate the cotton grounds and vineyards on the sides of their hills, and are, in part, owners of the flocks of broad-tailed sheep which swarm over the neighbouring plains. We found that several houses contained a stock of wine sufficient to furnish a considerable quantity for the use of our ship's company.

The traveller before quoted out of *Ilakhyt* saw some remains on this spot, as also did *Belon*, who took them for the relics of the structure consecrated to *Achilles*. *Sandys** talks of the Promontory being "crowned with a ruinous city, whose imperfect walls do shew to the sea their antiquity." Some remnants appear to have been seen by *Lady M. W. Montagne*; but they are not noticed, that I am aware, by any subsequent traveller, and at present there is not a vestige of them to be found. Whether they belonged to the unfinished city of *Constantine*, as *Sandys* conjectured, or were relics of *Sigéum*, has not been determined. The remains of *Constantine's* design, were visible on the right hand entering the Straits, but not, in all likelihood, on the Promontory itself; since the gates, which were conspicuously seen by those who sailed along the coast, were in the plain before *Ilium*, near the shore, and above or beyond the tomb of *Ajax*†. The same fatality seemed to attend the attempt at fixing the seat of empire

* Page 19, lib. 1.

† Καταλαβάν δὲ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ Ἰλίου πεδίου παρὰ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἀϊαντος τάφον.—*Zozom. Eccles. Hist. lib. ii. cap. iii. Decline and Fall. vol. ii. cap. 17, p. 9, 4to.*

in the kingdom of Priam, as we are told prevented the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem; and the perseverance of Constantine was of little longer duration than the inauspicious resolves of Julius Caesar and of Augustus. The gates were all that was finished of the intended work, and cannot have left behind them relics sufficient to be called the ruins of a city: yet Kaußler, in his map, has laid down "*Ville de Constantin*," on a site which, it must be confessed, answers better than *Giaur-Keui*, to that of the designed capital.

Sigéum was built by Archæanax of Mitylene, and, as was said, out of the ruins of *Troy*; a report which, although entirely unfounded, was a proof of its extreme antiquity. After a variety of fortunes*, it was destroyed by the people of *Ilium*, who from the age of Antiochus, became masters of the greater part of the *Troad*, as far as *Dardanus*, and retained it when Strabo wrote. It was a ruin in his time, and the walls seen by modern travellers can have no reference to *Sigéum*. They may have been the remnants of some fort or watch-tower built in a much later period.

* We find in Strabo, that the town was taken from the *Mitylenæans* by *Phryno* the Athenian, and that *Pittacus*, endeavouring to recover it, several battles were fought, in one of which the poet *Alcæus* lost his shield. Herodotus (lib. v. cap. 94, 95) relates that it was taken by *Pisistratus*, who left his illegitimate son *Hegesistratus* governor, and that the latter was unable to retain it without repeated contests with the *Mitylenæans* of the neighbouring fortress *Achilléum*. He makes *Alcæus'* loss of his shield occur in one of these battles, and mentions, that the place came into the final possession of the Athenians by the award of *Periander*, the son of *Cypselus*; a circumstance which, in Strabo's account, happened previously to the time of *Pisistratus*. Dr. Chandler (cap. xii. p. 37, *Travels, &c. &c.*), to reconcile the statements, puts the conquest of *Pisistratus* after that of *Phryno* and the other events mentioned by the geographer. *Clarus* the Athenian was governor of the town when Alexander landed in Asia. *Arriani, de Exped. Alex. lib. i. cap. 2, p. 25, edit. Gronov. 1714.*

If any argument were wanting, to shew that Cape Janissary is the Sigean Promontory, its situation opposite to the point of the Thracian Chersonese, might be adduced in proof. Near that point, called formerly Mastusia, was the town Eleus, a little to the north, on a precipice above Eski-Kalessi, and a mean village now occupies its site*. The Protesiléum, or sacred portion of Protesilaus, who was worshipped at Eleus, where he was supposed to be buried, was near the barrow Elles Baba-Tepe, and the barrow itself may have been called the tomb of that hero†. To the Protesiléum there is a history attached: it was laid waste and defiled by Artayctes, the governor of Sestos, to deter the Greeks, as he told Xerxes, from again invading Asia; but the Persian was severely punished for having revenged upon the people of Eleus the crimes of Agamemnon's army; for, being taken alive by Xanthippus the Athenian, he was himself impaled alive‡, whilst his son was stoned to death before his face§. Alexander the Great having left his main army near Sestos, marched to the point of the Chersonese, on purpose to visit the spot, and sacrificed on the tomb to the manes of the warrior who first landed in Asia, and was the first victim of the Trojan war||. The barrow

* Strab. lib. xiii. p. 595.

† Ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιούντι τῆς χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Προτεσίλειον τάφος τε καὶ τεμενος περὶ αὐτὸν, ἔνθα ἔην χρέματα πολλὰ.—Herod. Hist. lib. ix. p. 116.

‡ Ζῶντα πρὸς σάνδα διεπασσάλευσαν.—Herod. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 33.

§ Herod. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 120.

|| Ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Ἐλεῖντα, θύει Προτεσίλαῳ ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τῷ Προτεσίλῳ, ὅτι καὶ Προτεσίλαος πρῶτος ἐδόκει ἐκβῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν ἄμα Ἀγαμέμνονι εἰς Ἴλιον

is no longer sheltered by the elms, whose ephemeral leaves dropped off every morning from the branches looking towards Troy, and presented a mournful type of the premature fate of the youthful hero: but, although nothing but a bare hillock, it is sufficiently remarkable to attract attention, and still retains the venerable name of tomb. Another smaller mount has been lately discovered near Elles Baba-Tepe; but travellers, with a very unusual forbearance, have not as yet assigned it to any ancient hero.

Having determined that the site of the Sigean Promontory coincides with Cape Janissary, a fact which Mr. Bryant thought had been arbitrarily assumed, and being acquainted with the point anciently reputed to be one of those anonymous headlands*, which were boundaries of the line of coast occupied by the Grecian ships, we may expect to receive some help in our future progress, from the detail of the geographers. On the descent from Giaur-Keui to the left of the road leading to the first castle on the Asiatic side of the strait, called Koum-Kale, in less than half a mile from the village, there is a barrow, which is not conspicuous from any quarter, as it is attached to the root of the hill above, and has also a tekeh, or Dervishes' chapel, built against its side. There is a vineyard hedge round the bottom of the mount, and

στρατευσάντων.—Arriani de Exped. Alex. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 24, edit. Gronov. 1714. "Ipse cum reliquis Eleuntem proficiscitur, Protesilao sacrum, cujus ibi sepulchrum adjesto tumulo tegitur," &c. &c.—Suppl. in Q. Curt. lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 99. edit. Lugd. Bat.

* Ἰλιόνος στόμα μακρὸν, ὅσον συνέγγραφον ἄχραι.

II. Ξ. v. 36.

the top; which is used for a cemetery, has on it some broken remnants of modern stone-work. It is very inferior in size to Beshik-Tepe and the other barrows before-mentioned, to which it does not bear so great a proportion as the mount at Marlborough to that at Sidbury. To the east of this barrow, at a little distance, and in the road to Koum-Kale, there is another similar mount, but smaller, although more observable than the first. Immediately below it, the road turns northwards, and leads down a descent into a sandy triangular flat, about a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad, at the extremity of which is the town of Koum-Kale. The approach to it is through gardens and vineyards, separated by low enclosures. On the road we observed some singular constructions for forcing water. The stream from a spring at the foot of the hill of Giaur-Keui is conveyed in an earthen pipe, which is carried over several pieces of wall, perhaps twenty feet high, about three hundred paces from each other, across the flat to the reservoirs and fountains in the town and castle. The source is considerably above the level of Koum-Kale, so that the Turks, by this contrivance, show their perfect ignorance of the first principles of hydraulics, and put it in the power of any enemy to cut off their supply at once, by knocking down one of these walls.

The town of Koum-Kale is exceedingly clean and well-built, with one wide street containing several neat shops and coffee-houses. It has two moscks, whose white minarets are seen at some distance from the inland villages and from the sea. The number of inhabitants may be about six hundred, chiefly the families of the Turks who garrison the fortress. The castle, built by Sultan Solyman in the year 1659, is ill-constructed, being a hollow square of massive walls, with towers at the angles, pro-

tected at the back by a single moat. The battery ranges along the northern and western walls, and the embrasures, with the mouths of their enormous cannons, look like the entrances of small caverns to those sailing through the Straits.

The eastern bank of the neck of land on which Koum-Kale is built, is a bay or marsh, bounded on the other side by another flat sandy projection. It is about half a mile in breadth, and being extremely shallow, is covered in part with high reeds. It may be called the mouth of the Mendere, for into it that river discharges itself under a wooden bridge three hundred feet long, a mile above the town. A yellow tinge, similar to that observable at the mouth of all streams which deposit sand-banks, spreads in a circular line beyond the point, into the waters of the strait. The banks of the river near its mouth are adorned with frequent clumps of garden and forest trees. A little above the bridge there is a low barrow enclosed in a Turkish cemetery, and shaded by poplars and cypresses.

On the east side of the Mendere is an extensive plain, (Pococke calls it two miles broad and four long*), well cultivated in some parts, but in others a black swamp, and, near the shore, a sandy marsh. It is so intersected with dykes, that on passing it on our route to the Dardanelles, we were obliged to have recourse to the assistance of a peasant who was working in the corn fields. A broad ditch stream, which is lost in the marshes, flows from the east, in a line nearly parallel with the strait, at the distance of a mile from the shore. It is called the Thymbrek. Koum-Keui is a village a mile and a half from the bridge between the Mendere and the Thymbrek. The coast is still flat and sandy for two

* Observations on Asia Minor, p. 105.

miles to the east of Koum-Kale, as far as a projecting point of land, where the ground becomes high and rocky. On the slope of this point is a barrow, called In-'Tepe Gheulu, "The barrow of the marsh." A neck of sand divides the coast between In-'Tepe and the mouth of the Mendere, into two bays; the higher one of which, near the barrow, is at the bottom almost choaked with reeds, and is called Karanlik-Lıman, "The shut port." Into this basin there runs a deep brook, Gheulu-Su, "The water of the marsh." A little above In-'Tepe the road to the Dardanelles winds round the foot of some low hills, which project from the east into the great plain of Koum-Keui, having the shore on the north, and on their southern declivity the beautiful valley of 'Thymbrek-Dere, so called from the stream that runs through its whole length. The southern bank of the valley is formed by another root of the mountains, which spread in successive chains from the south-east to the north-west over the whole of the eastern portion of the 'Troad. On this root is the village of 'Tchiblak, and at the extremity of it is a barrow. About four miles in the valley of 'Thymbrek, on the north bank of the river, is the village Hallil-Elly, and two miles higher up another village, 'Thymbrek-Keui.

The course of the Mendere from the bridge, is for two miles in nearly a straight line to the south, through a vale, bleak and uncultivated to the west, under the hill of Giaur-Keni, but divided into green pastures and corn-fields on the side towards the plain of Koum-Keui. The banks are high and sandy, but the depth of water in the channel varies with the season. We crossed at a ford a mile above the bridge resorted to by the peasants of Giaur-Keui, in their way to Koum-Keui and the villages to the south, and, in the month of April, found the stream as high as

the saddle-girts. Two miles from the bridge a small rivulet, running in a channel which has once been supplied with more copious waters, flows into the Menderes from the south. A mount of some dimensions is close to the junction of, and between, the streams, near two piers of a fallen bridge crossing the rivulet. Some carved stones, and two capitals of the Corinthian order, were found on this mount by the author of the 'Topography of Troy. A quarter of a mile farther, the rivulet creeping through sedges, winds round a low long eminence, which being nearly surrounded by a tract of marsh land, is approachable only over a stony ridge stretching towards it from the south. From the great barrow, opposite to which our frigate was anchored, to the marsh, is a walk of half an hour, the whole way on a descent over corn-fields and heathy lands. The marsh runs to the south-south-east, on both sides of the rivulet, for a mile and a half, then turns off to the east, and with a few intervals of meadow land, covers an expanse of flat country seven or eight miles in length, and two or three in breadth, spreading itself over the southern portion of the plain between the Menderes and the rivulet. It is in many parts choked up with tall reeds, the covert of innumerable flocks of wild fowl of every description. From the turn of the marsh to the east, the rivulet may be called its boundary, although there are here and there some tracts of cultivated land between the morass and the banks of the stream. Immediately from that angle commences the new cut, which has diverted some of the water from its former channel, and has served also partially to drain the marsh. It is deep, like a mill-course, but in no part more than fifteen feet broad. It runs in a south-south-westerly direction, and in something more

than three miles, joins the rivulet conjectured to be the Navigable Scamander of Pliny. Beyond this canal to the east, there is a succession of low eminences, and the country is covered with brown heath and stunted bushes, except in some few cultivated spots. On a slope above the commencement of the new channel, is the village of *Erkessi-Keui*, or, as it is more usually called, *Pasha-Chiflik*, from a country-house in that quarter built by the famous *Hassan Capudan Pasha*, who either originally formed, or deepened and widened the artificial cut. A mile to the south of *Pasha-Chiflik*, and, as I found by frequent walks, about six from the barrow opposite to our station, and three from the mouth of the new channel, is the great barrow, called from a neighbouring village, *Udjek-Tepe*, which towers above all the surrounding eminences, and from the summit of which there is a complete view of the whole plain of the *Mendere*, and of that which slopes down to the flat sandy shores in front of the island of *Tenedos*. *Udjek-Tepe* is as large as the barrow at *Sidbury*, but from being placed in the midst and on the summit of some gradually-rising ground, is much more conspicuous than that mount. It is in shape a peaked cone, and has a few bushes on its sides, but is bare on the top. The road to *Alexandria Troas* passes near it on the right.

Bos-Keui is a village on the same line of low hills, three quarters of an hour east-south-east of *Udjek-Tepe*. From the barrow to the sources of the rivulet, near the far-famed *Bournabashi*, is a walk of two hours, over hilly uneven ground, in a direction nearly due east. It may be as well to mention here, although with some anticipation of a future topic, that this line of low hills, whose extremity reaches to the angle formed by the

new and old channel of the Bournabashi rivulet, is the southern boundary of the great plain of the Mendere, and has been thought, as may hereafter appear erroneously, to be that elbow of high land (*αγχων*) which Strabo mentions as stretching from the roots of Mount Ida towards the Sigean Promontory. Were it continued, it would reach rather to Yeni-Keui than to Cape Janissary.

Having traced the course of the Bournabashi rivulet to its spring, let us follow the Mendere upwards, from its junction with that stream. It turns off at first a little to the east. Its southern bank for a mile and a half, is an open flat of green sward, interspersed with a few bushes, and to the north, the land is cultivated, and partly enclosed. Two miles above the junction, a streamlet from the eastward falls into the river, near a village called Callifatli which lies south of Koum-Keui, on the road from the castle to Bournabashi. The vale through which runs the Callifatli rivulet, is the next in succession to that of Thymbrek Dere, from which it is separated by the low eminences of Teli-blak. In the direction from this last village to Callifatli is a barrow, from which there is a line of elevated ground projecting towards the west-south-west into the plain of Koum-Keui. East-south-east, a mile from Callifatli, is another low barrow, and a third chain of low woody hills bounds the valley of Callifatli to the south, approaching near the banks of the river. The succeeding valley is watered by a rivulet, which runs from the hills near the village of Atche-Keui, three miles to the east of the Mendere. Between the village and the river, but nearer the latter, is a large irregularly-shaped mount, and near this a ford crosses the river to Bournabashi, which is a mile distant on an eminence at the head, as it were, of the whole plain of the marsh. The river from this

point to Callifatli flows through a highly cultivated country, forming woody aits, now concealed amidst groves of cornel and wild-almond trees, and now glittering through open tracts of corn-lands, I traced all its windings, startling young broods of wild ducks and flocks of turtle doves out of every brake, from the vicinity of Bournabashi to where the path led me across the plain and the rivulet towards the frigate, and found I had walked for three hours; but the direct road, even to Callifatli, is not, I should think, more than seven miles.

Nothing could be more agreeable than our frequent rambles along the banks of this beautiful stream. The peasants of the numerous villages, whom we frequently encountered ploughing with their buffaloes, or driving their creaking wicker cars, laden with faggots from the mountains, whether Greeks or Turks, showed no inclination to interrupt our pursuits. The whole region was, in a manner, in possession of the Salsette's crew, parties of whom, in their white summer dresses, might be seen scattered over the plain collecting the tortoises which swarm on the sides of the rivulets, and are found under every furze-bush.

LETTER XL.

*Barrows—Short Account of those ancient Mounts—Probably not all of them actual Sepulchres—Barrows of Celtic or Scythian Origin—as well in Phrygia as in Britain—The Phrygian Barrows appropriated by the Greeks—Barrow-Burial adopted by the Greeks, but not prevalent in the later periods of their History—The present Barrows of the Troad—Liman-Tepe, Stamboul-Douk, Beshik-Tepe, Udjek-Tepe, &c. not mentioned in Strabo—Supposed Tomb of Achilles—Account of its Excavation by De Choiseul Gouffier—Absolute uncertainty respecting the real Monument—Arbitrary adoption of Names for the other Barrows—In-Tepe possibly the *Æantéum*—Rhætean Promontory.*

IT must have been observed, that frequent mention has been made of barrows, on the coast and in the plain of Phrygia. The precise origin of these singular mounts has never been determined; for, whilst some have supposed that all of them are specimens of the most ancient kind of sepulchre, there are others who think that they may have been raised on other occasions, and are not to be invariably regarded as memorials of the

dead*. It would, perhaps, be proceeding too far to suppose every artificial heap of earth, even when found in countries where such tombs abound, and although generally considered an ancient tomb, to be an actual sepulchre. Mounts were raised by the Egyptians sometimes to support a sacred building, and sometimes to serve, without any superstructure, as objects of veneration. In this manner hills were accounted holy by the ancient Persians, as they are by the modern Japanese; and amongst the Jews, temples or other places of worship were, from the practice of the idolaters, denominated High Places†. From the hillocks of the Egyptians, Taphos, one of the Greek words signifying a tomb, may be derived‡, which can be accounted for by supposing, that many of these were in truth the tombs of their princes, and perhaps the archetypes of their pyramids, and that the worship of the dead was the origin of the sanctity attached to their supposed sepulchres.

In flat countries a mount was raised, but in other situations, either the foot, or the summit of a natural eminence, was selected for the place of burial. We have the testimony of Homer himself to prove, that hills, the size of which precluded almost the possibility

* Dr. Borlase, in his *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 211, edit. 2d (quoted in Dalzel's *Notes on Le Chevalier*) finds fault with the appellation, which being usually *barrow*, and not, as in Cornwall, *burrow*, gives, as he conceives, too great a latitude to that which should always signify a sepulchre. It is possible, however, that our word is not derived from the Saxon *byrig*, to bury, but *beorg*, or *beorh*, signifying "oppidum," a fortress or little hill, which is pronounced gutturally, like *berch*, and (as *talch* is changed into *tallow*) becomes in English, *barrow*. See note to page 20, of the Introduction to Sir R. Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire*, where both roots seem to be admitted.

† Sir R. Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire*, pp. 80, 81.

‡ Bryant's *Mythology*, vol. i. p. 449. Less curious etymologists may be contented with the derivation from *ταφος*, the aor. sec. indic. of *θάπτω*, *sepelio*.

of their being artificial, were called tombs. This was the case with Baticia, named by the Immortals, or, *in early ages*, the tomb of Myrinna*, where the Trojan army of fifty thousand men was drawn out in battle array, which could not have been effected even if the hill had been equal in size to the tomb of Ninus, the largest barrow in the world†. King Dercemius was buried under a hill‡, and Cinethes, one of the companions of Æneas, on the top of a mountain on the shores of Peloponesus§. The prevalence of the superstition above alluded to, which has been denominated hero worship, although it may militate against Mr. Bryant's general assertion, that all ancient barrows were not sepulchral, and may induce us to think that if they were not really tombs they were at least supposed to be so, may yet serve to convince us that many of these mounts, whether natural or artificial, did not actually contain the ashes of the dead. In proof of this, it is observed by the above author, that the tombs shown in Greece “were some of them those of gods themselves||;” and Dr. Borlase has remarked, that ancient writers use that word for

* H. B. v. 811. See the Scholiast to verse 403, and Camerarius, who give an easier explanation of the double appellations in Homer than either Eustathius or Dr. Clarke. The second names of inanimate objects, it should be observed, are not to be confounded (although the annotators have not remarked the difference) with those of men derived from any exploit, of which Homer gives an example in Astyanax, the agnomen of Hector's son Scamander—

Δῖος γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον Ἐκτωρ.—H. vi. v. 403.

† It was nine stadia (more than a mile) from the bottom to the top, and ten stadia in breadth, and was to be seen in the time of Diodorus, who says of it, Τὸν δὲ Νῖνον ἡ Σεμίραμις ἔθαψεν ἐν ταῖς βασιλείοις καὶ κατεσκεύασεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ χῶμα παμμίγεδες, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἑννέα ἦν σταδίων τὸ δὲ ἔυρος ὥς φήσιν Κτησίως δέκα.—Lib. i. p. 67, edit. Steph. 1714.

‡ Virg. Æn. xi. 850.

§ Dion. Halic. lib. i. cap. 42.

|| Observations on a Treatise, pp. 44, 45.

a temple, which signified properly a sepulchre*. The same may be said of the monumental hillocks in our own country. The barrow on Cotley Hill, and that in Elder Valley, in Wiltshire, on being excavated, discovered no signs of an interment, although there were sufficient proofs to show that they had been devoted to religious purposes; and the black earth generally found on digging into these eminences, which was once thought a decomposition of carcasses, has been pronounced by competent judges to be nothing but vegetable matter†.

It would not, indeed, be saying too much to affirm, that the same judgment which we form of the barrows in our own country, may be applied to those found in the north of Europe, in Tartary, and in whatever part of the world was at any time peopled by the Celtic race of mankind. The Nomades or the Scythians of the early Greeks and Romans, and the Celto-Scythæ of later periods, have been recognized in every region of Europe and Asia, and were discovered under different denominations in Britain, in Germany, and in Gaul‡. Not only the manners, but the name of Scythians, was found, in the age of Pliny, amongst the Sarmatians and Germans§, who supplied the first population of our island; and we need not be surprised at beholding vestiges of the same customs on the downs of Wiltshire and the plains of Troy. The

* *Τύμβος*, Lycoph. Cassand. ver. 613; "tumulum antiquæ Cereris," Virg. *Æn.* ii. 742; Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 222; Descript. of the Plain of Troy, p. 93.

† See Sir R. Hoare's Wiltshire, pp. 71, 82, 92, vol. i.

‡ See the authorities on this head, collected in Sir R. Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, Introd. pp. 8, 9, &c.

§ "Scytharum nomen usquequaque transit in Sarmatas atque Germanos."—Hist. lib. iv. cap. 12, p. 59, edit. Paris, M.DCCXII.

Thracians and Mysians of Homer, as well as the Hippomulgi, Galactophagi, and Abii, may be said to be of Scythian origin, and tribes of that wandering people were mixed with the nations south of the Ister in the time of Augustus*. The Thracians of Herodotus have many points of resemblance with the Scythians of that historian, amongst which may be remarked the practice of barrow-burial. The latter nation constructed earthen sepulchres of an enormous size over their kings†; and the Thracians, after burning or interring their corpses, heaped a mount over them, and performed funeral games‡: it appears also, that they sacrificed victims of all kinds at the funerals of their chief men§. Now the early inhabitants of Phrygia were from Thrace; and Strabo asserts, that many Trojan names were Thracian: they were, therefore, a Scythian people, and may have constructed the barrows on the south side of the Hellespont previously to the Homeric era. It is not getting over a single step to say, that these monuments are Phrygian, and not, as Mr. Bryant asserted, Thracian: since the Phrygians are allowed to have been originally from Thrace.

A gentleman, more practically acquainted with the subject of barrows than any other enquirer, no sooner saw the first description and representation of the tumuli on the plain of Troy, than he pronounced that they were exactly similar to those seen in Great

* Strab. lib. vii. p. 296.

† Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες χούσι πάντες χώμα μέγα, ἀμιλλεόμενοι, καὶ προθυμέομενοι ὡς μέγιστον ποῆσαι.—Herod. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 71, p. 251, edit. Edinb. 1806.

‡ Ἐπειτα δὲ θάπτουσι κατακύσαντες, ἢ ἄλλως γῇ κρύψαντες χώμα δὲ χεῖαντες, ἀγῶνα τιθεῖσι παντοῖον.—Herod. lib. v. cap. 8, &c.

§ Παντοῖα σφάζαντες ἱρήια. Ibid.

Britain ; that they were the tombs of the Celts of Thrace, and of a date prior to that assigned to the Trojan war. He was not at all aware that Mr. Bryant had made a precisely similar remark,* but came to the same conclusion by actual observation, which that learned person had derived from his books*. Repeated experiments have proved, that the English barrows are of the most remote antiquity ; for frequently, after finding a Roman or Saxon burial near the summit of the mount, the excavators have arrived at the original British interment in the cist on the floor of the tomb ; and in the very old British sepulchres, stags' horns, and bones of various animals, have been often found, together with other vestiges of the Celtic practice of sacrificing, before remarked in the Thraco-Scythians †.

The Phrygian barrows were most probably then, as Mr. Bryant has observed, appropriated by the Greeks to people of their own nation, just as fancy directed. It was the common custom for those amongst them, who pretended that their ancestors had received the benefits, or witnessed the exploits, of an hero, to show his tomb as the best memorial to keep alive their gratitude. This remark, by which Dionysius of Halicarnassus ‡ accounted for

* The late Mr. Cunningham, of Heytesbury, Wilts, stated this opinion in presence of B. A. Lambert, Esq. F.R.S. to whom I am indebted for the anecdote.

† Amongst other curious articles (some of which, although ancient British, are very similar to the trinkets found in the tombs in Greece) there was discovered in a barrow in Wiltshire, a piece of woven cloth, the web very coarse, but exactly the same as that for the invention of which a patent has lately been obtained : so that what Horace said of words, in his epistle to the Pisos, may be applied to the arts—

“ Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere ”

‡ Lib. i. cap. 46.

finding several tombs of Æneas, should make us hesitate to decide any ancient facts by the appearance of these tumuli; and it may be observed, that when Virgil described the spots where the trumpeter and the nurse of Æneas had been buried, it was not from the supposition that their bones were actually deposited in Italy, but only to introduce a popular superstition into his poem. Yet why should we not look for the ashes of Capeta and Misemus, as well as for those of Achilles and Ajax? Mr. Bryant's opinion respecting the Thracian, or (as I have ventured to call it) the Scythian origin of the Phrygian barrows, would have been much strengthened, if he had had an opportunity of seeing, with myself, that these artificial hills abound on the European side of the strait, especially in the vicinity of Gallipoli: where, two hundred years ago a superstition prevailed, that they were the sepulchres of Thracian kings*; and his argument may, perhaps, receive some little accession by the remark, that one of the words used by Homer to signify a barrow, appears altogether of Celtic origin; so that the poet, in celebrating the great and supereminent tomb of Achilles†, did not even change the name of that monument, which long before the days of his hero may have been the sepulchre of some Scythian warrior. *Tumba* is the Celtic root; hence the *tombeau* of the French, and the *tomb* of the English‡, whose church-yards still display a specimen of the same humble sepulchre which contented their ancestors.

It is not to be denied indeed, that the Greeks adopted the same method of denoting the site of their primitive under-ground graves (ὀπίγαια). Not to mention the *χυτή γαῖα*, the heaped earth

* Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey, &c.* lib. i. p. 26, edit. Lond. 1627.

† *Μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον.* *Odyss.* Ω. 80.

‡ Introduction to Sir R. Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire*, note ‡, p. 20.

of Homer, their sign (σῆμα), burial-place (τάφος), and monument (μνῆμα), were raised mounds. The sign of Hecuba (κυρὸς σῆμα), is a barrow still seen on the shore of the Thracian Chersonese. The burial-place of the Athenians, was a mound, since that or the similar tomb of some of the heroes who conquered with Miltiades, is at this day visible on the plain of Marathon*; and the monument of Panthea and Abradates † was a hillock, for it was heaped up ‡. The custom, however, of raising a mound only, does not appear to have generally obtained after the early periods of Grecian history. On the Marathonian barrow, and that of Panthea, there were inscribed stekæ; and even in Homer's time, that refinement had begun to prevail, for the horses of Achilles, when they wept for the death of Patroclus, stood fixed to the spot, *like a pillar on a tomb* §. The Scythians raised no other memorials of their dead in the vast plains on which they settled their temporary dwellings ||; but these monuments were too bulky for the

* Τάφος καὶ ἐν τῇ πεδίῳ Ἀθηναίων ἐστίν. Pans. Attic. p. 60.

† Cyrop. lib. vii. cap. 11, τὸ μνῆμα ἐπεμύγεθες ἐχάσθη.

‡ Ορεθὸν χώμ' Ἀχιλλεὺς τάφῳ.

Eurip. Hecub. v. 225.

§ Ὑπερθεῖ ἐπὶ σῆμα χευσθαί.

Apoll. Rhod. Argon. lib. iii. v. 203;

as well as many other passages might be adduced, in proof that the early Greek monument was a heap of earth.

§ Iliad. P. v. 434.

|| It seems likely, that at the time the English barrows were constructed, not only those who died in battle, but every person of distinction, was buried under one of these conspicuous mounds, some of which appear to have been family mausolea, as they contain several skeletons of both sexes ranged in order. The weapons frequently found in the tombs, may not have pointed out that the deceased died in battle, but only have shown what was the profession, or perhaps the sex, of the corpse, at a time when all men wore arms. None of the barrows in England appear to have been raised promiscuously over the soldiers slain in battle; but some of those opened in America, have been found to contain as many as a thousand skeletons.—See Jefferson's State of Virginia, p. 174,

precincts of cities, and with the civilized Greeks, the very large mount was the sepulchre of those only who were slain in battle, and were buried where they fell; or of such as died on a military expedition, as was the case with Demeratus the Corinthian, to whose memory the army of Alexander heaped up an earthen cenotaph eighty cubits high*. Although earthen substructures were used in the time of Demetrius Phalereus†, and probably in much later periods, yet the monuments of which such frequent mention is made in Pausanias, are generally understood to have been of polished stone‡. The old appellation of the Greek sepulchres became almost obsolete; and we may collect from a passage in Cicero, either that its meaning was in his time not distinctly understood, or that there was some difficulty in giving a precise translation of it in the Latin language§. Except at Marathon, and the hillocks near Phalerum, I do not recollect to have seen any barrows in Greece conjectured to be sepulchral.

After this general view of the subject, and of the probable history of any monumental mounts, however ancient, which may be seen in these parts of the world, we may proceed to examine the particular specimens of the supposed tombs which are found on the shore of the plain, and in the plain itself, watered by the

quoted in Dalzel's note to p. 88, Description of the Plain of Troy, and in the Encyclop. Britt. article Barrow.

* Καὶ τάφον ἔχουσεν ὁ στρατὸς ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ περιμέτρῳ μέγαν, ὕψος δὲ πηχῶν ὀγδοήκοντα.—Plut. in vit. Alex. p. 696, Op. Om. edit. Paris, 1624.

† Sepulchris autem novis finivit modum, nam *super terræ tumulum* noluit quid statui nisi columellam, &c.—Cicer. de Legib. lib. ii. cap. 26.

‡ Τύμβος ξίστα λίθινος.—Táφος ξίστος.

§ Pæuaque est, si quis *bustum* (nam id puto appellari τύμβον) aut *monumentum*, inquit, aut *columnam violaverit, dejecerit, fregerit*.—De Legib. lib. ii. cap. 26.

Mendere. It may have been observed, that they still bear the name of tomb, for the Turkish Tepe is reasonably supposed a derivation from the Greek Taphos. The largest of the Tepes already noticed is Stamboul-Douk, the next Laman-Tepe, the third Udjek-Tepe; the fourth and fifth, Beshik-Tepe and the barrow next to Cape Janissary, are of nearly an equal size. The whole of these are of such dimensions, that they might be, by those who are unused to such appearances, considered natural eminences; and the two last are so situated on the summits of rising ground, as to make it doubtful where the artificial mount begins. Dr. Pococke mentions a chain of low hills running south-east from the Sigean Promontory, divided by small vales or rather hollow grounds. On the first he places the town of Giaur-Keni, on the next the first barrow, on the third the town of Yeni-Keni, and on the north-eastern end of the fourth, which he says extends to the south-east, another barrow*. It will be seen he does not notice Beshik-Tepe. The singular appearance of four large barrows ranged along the shore at regular distances, and of the conspicuous Udjek-Tepe, cannot fail of attracting the attention of the most unobservant traveller, although "the succession of these five tumuli" has not, in my humble judgment, the least tendency "to ascertain the Trojan war†." They have been supposed the work of the early Mahometan invaders, and are referred by the present inhabitants to the Sultans, who at every considerable sta-

* Pococke, *Observations on Asia Minor*, page 106.

† "The succession of five tumuli, under the distant horizon, tends more than any other proof to ascertain the Trojan war."—Constant. *Ancient and Modern*, p. 340.

tion raised a mount, on which they erected the standard of Mahomet*, a custom still observed, as an eye-witness informed me, by the Tartar princes whenever they pitch their tents. There is such a similarity of size and form, which is conoidal, in all of these five barrows, that the same opinion must be formed of one as of the other mount; and if Udjek-Tepc is, as late writers have pretended, in reality the tomb of Æsyetes mentioned by Strabo, we cannot but suppose that the other tepes are also Homeric land-marks, or at least were so considered in former times, and we must expect to see some ancient notice of their remarkable appearance. Yet I find not the least allusion to either of these immense tombs on the Phrygian coast, in the long and minute detail of Strabo, nor in any other ancient authority, except we conclude (which no arrangement will, I fear, justify), that the Greek sepulchres, which have always been hitherto put within the mouth of the strait, were in reality on the shore of the open sea.

Whoever should sail towards the Hellespont with the expectation of finding the tomb of Achilles on the jutting promontory (a beacon to the sailor afar off at sea), would fix at once upon the great barrow next to Sigéum, as the monument of that hero, and Beshik-Tepe would supply him with a tomb for Ajax. These, indeed, I take to be "the two hills rising in a piramidall forme, not unlikely to be those of Achilles and Ajax," seen by the traveller in Hakluyt. Dr. Pococke, sailing from Tenedos to Alexandria Troas, and having before made some conjectures respecting the barrows on the other side of Cape Janissary, did think that this barrow, or Beshik-Tepe, "as it was very much exposed to view from the sea," might more

* Observations on Asia Minor, p. 105.

probably be the tomb of Achilles*. Other travellers, without a shadow of support from any authority whatever, have called the barrow near Cape Janissary the tomb of Antilochus, and Beshik-Tepe that of Peneleus. They are so noted in Olivier's map. We have heard also, that "it admits of doubt whether Beshik-Tepe is not the tomb erected by Caracalla over his friend Festus†."

Whether the Achillean tomb of Homer was that next to Sigéum, can never be determined; and those who consider the action of the Iliad as a fiction, will not be affected by the uncertainty; but it must be interesting to know, whether any vestige remains of that barrow round which Alexander ran, and which received the homage of so many succeeding ages.

According to Herodotus, there was a place on the right bank of the river Hypacryis, in the Scythian region Hylœa, called the Course of Achilles‡, near which Anacharsis sacrificed, on his return to his country. This spot is noticed by all the geographers; and Pliny§ adds, that the tomb of Achilles was shown on the opposite island of Leuce or Macaron, about which so many strange stories were related by the ancient navigators of the Black Sea||. There

* Observations on Asia Minor, p. 110. It is difficult to say to which of the two Tepe he alludes.

† Topography of Troy.

‡ Τὸν Ἀχιλλῆϊον καλεομένον Δεξιμόν.—Hist. lib. iv. cap. 76.

§ Lib. iv. cap. xii. p. 59, edit. Paris. In lib. x. cap. x. p. 177, he has these words, more decisive of the supposition: *Perdices non transvolant Bœotix fines in Attica, nec ulla avis in Ponti insulâ, quâ sepultus est Achilles, sacratam ei ædeu.*

|| Pausanias, lib. iii. p. 200, relates, that Leonymus of Crotona found Achilles and the two Ajaxes, together with Antilochus and Patroclus, upon the island, and Achilles married to Helena. They were departed spirits. According to other accounts, Achilles, sailing towards Taurica for the love of Iphige-

was a cenotaph of Achilles at Elis*. Whoever would see the importance attached to every particular relative to this early hero, may look at the discussion in Note A, to the article Achilles, in Mr. Bayle's Dictionary, in which eleven authorities are quoted, to settle whether the son of Peleus was actually fed on lion's marrow; and a perusal of the whole article, which is taken from the learned treatise on Achilles by Drelincourt, may show us, that notwithstanding this attention, the death and burial, as well as the life and exploits of the hero of the Iliad, are not to be settled by a reference to any credible history.

It would be superfluous to quote the Greek poets, to show that a pretended tomb of Achilles near Sigéum, is celebrated in very early periods, but it is as well to mention that a town or fortress was built round it, not, as Timæus reported†, by Periander, nor out of the ruins of Troy, but by the Mitylenæans of Sigéum, who, when expelled by the Athenians from the latter place, retained the town Achilléum‡. The Athenians possessed it after the Mitylenæans. In the time of Strabo it was a small village, and Pliny mentions it as having once existed§. Sigéum and the tomb

nia, stopped at this island, and there died, and was worshipped. He used to wander upon the promontory at the mouth of the Borysthenes, called the Course of Achilles; a name which was, as some have thought, indiscriminately given to many shores with a wide range of beach—"Dionysius Albinus ut refert Apollonii interpretes ιστορεῖ τὰς ἐυρείας ἥτονας λέγεσθαι Ἀχιλλέως δρόμον."—Casanb. Comm. in lib. vii. Strab. p. 140.

* Pans. lib. vi. p. 389.

† Strab. lib. xiii. p. 600.

‡ Herod. Hist. lib. v. cap. 94.

§ *Fuit et Achilléum, oppidum juxta Tumulum Achillis, conditum a Mitylenæis, et mox Atheniensibus, ubi classis ejus steterat in Sigæo.*

are so connected in the mention made of them by Strabo*, as to show their vicinity to each other†; and the expression of Pliny in the passage quoted above, points out that the tomb was near the shore where the fleet of the hero was supposed to have been stationed. There was a circular temple, containing an image of Achilles, upon or near his tomb; and the barrow itself must have been very conspicuous on a headland immediately overlooking the naval station. A fragment of the *Polyxena* of Sophocles, preserved out of Porphyry, in Stobæus, gives three lines of a speech addressed to the Greeks as they were sailing from the harbour, by the spectre of Achilles from the summit of his tomb‡.

But not only were the temple and the tomb of Achilles at the Sigean Promontory, but the sepulchres of Patroclus and Antilochus were seen in the same quarter§; and with these monuments, the three barrows mentioned on the route from Giaur-Keui to Kounu-Kale, have been thought to coincide. Pococke, before whom no one, that I am aware, ever noticed them, said “they might possibly be very extraordinary pieces of antiquity.” Chandler more decisively called the barrow next to Giaur-Keui the tomb of Achilles, and the following one that of Peuceus, but offered an excuse for the assertion in his Preface. Since the visit of the last traveller the first barrow has been opened, but with such myste-

* Lib. v. cap. 30, p. 78, edit. Paris.

† Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ροιτίου μέχρι Σιγείου καὶ Ἀχιλλέως μνήματος.—Lib. xiii. p. 593.

‡ Καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀπόπλου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀχιλλέως προσφαινομένου τοῖς ἀναγομένοις ὑπὲρ τῶ τάφου.—Longin. sect. xiii. Vid. Runkken. not. in Long. sect. xv. p. 255, edit. Toup. 2d edit.

§ Τῶ μὲν οὖν Ἀχιλλέως καὶ ἱερὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ μνήμα, περὶ τῷ Σιγείῳ. Πατρόκλου δὲ καὶ Ἀντιλόχου μνήματα.—Strab. lib. xiii. p. 596.

rious caution, that the world has a right to doubt the account of the persons concerned in the transaction. With what unfairness the researches of the French dilletanti had been conducted previously to Mr. Le Chevalier's tour, may be understood by reverting to the unwarrantable expedient in which the Abbé Fourmont was detected by Mr. Stuart*. The detail of the opening of the supposed tomb of Achilles, may incline us to suspect that the loss of the Abbé Fourmont need not have been regretted in France, whilst a Choiseul Gouffier, or a Le Chevalier, were to be found amongst their living antiquaries. The son of Signor Solomon Ghormezano, French Consul at the Dardanelles, was employed for two months, in the year 1787, in opening the barrow, and worked at it alone, and by night, saying that he was looking for a spring of water, "so necessary to the inhabitants of Giaur-Keni." At length he discovered the place where the relics were deposited. He immediately collected the whole, and communicated his success to his employer, filling a large chest with what he had found. This consisted of pieces of burned bones, pieces of a large broken metal vase, with a small ornament round the rim; some charcoal; a piece of calcined mortar of triangularly shaped metal; pieces of fine pottery, well painted with wreaths of

* It is well known in the learned world, that Fourmont returning from Greece, asserted that he had got an ancient copy of the laws of Solon, and had found amongst the ruins of Amyclæ, written monuments of higher antiquity than any before discovered. Of these he published specimens in the year 1740. The originals have never been shown; and our learned countryman who followed him, learnt that the Abbé had employed many persons in the Peloponnesus, not in finding inscriptions, but in destroying those before discovered, to prevent the detection of his frauds. See Mr. R. P. Knight's Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet, p. 112.

flowers; some bits of large vases; small cups, some of them entire; a fragment of brass a foot and a half long, and in circumference as big as a quart bottle, weighing seven or eight pounds, which “was at first called the hilt of a sword, but afterwards by Mr. Le Choiseul declared to be the statue of a man, with a lion under each foot!!! And lastly, a small transparent piece of tube, a foot long and two inches in diameter, ornamented with chased or embossed branches, in good preservation.

“At the foundation of the barrow was a large slab, extending, as he supposed, over the whole surface, as, wherever he dug, he still found it: in the middle was a hole, twelve feet square, around which was raised a wall three feet high, which was the sepulchre containing the relics; on the outside of this stone was strewed a quantity of lime, and of charcoal, supposed to be the ashes of the funeral pile.”

Now this is extracted from the account of the person who opened the barrow*; but Mr. Le Chevalier says, “towards the centre of the monument, two large stones were found leaning at an angle, the one against the other, and forming a sort of tent, under which was presently discovered a small statue of Minerva, seated in a chariot with four horses, and an urn of metal, filled with ashes, charcoal, and human bones. This urn, which is now in the possession of the Comte de Choiseul, is encircled in sculpture with a vine-branch, from which are suspended branches of grapes, done with exquisite art†.”

Let me request attention to these two statements. The first

* See Constantinople Ancient and Modern, pp. 351, 352.

† Description of the Plain of Troy, p. 149.

is the least singular, and comes in the least questionable shape. Yet why should Signor Ghormezano work by night, when he had deceived the people, by telling them he was looking for a spring of water? The conducting of his operations in such a manner could only have made the Turks suspicious; and how could he be two months discovering the relics, when he confesses that the foundation, that is, the surface of the barrow on a level with the ground, was covered with a slab, which he found wherever he dug, and that in the middle of it was the sepulchre? One would think he might have come to this by digging straight downwards at once. The slab may very likely have been found. A similar artificial floor has been discovered in excavating the English barrows; and the cist, or stone coffin, has always been seen upon or in this floor. The other articles are also such as have been met with in our tumuli, and although the preservation of the metal after so many centuries is extraordinary, it is not impossible; the whole interior relics being, as it were, hermetically sealed by many strata of light dry earth, pressed down by an intermixture of large loose stones. The pottery might have been also found; for every traveller must have seen proofs of the durability and high state of preservation of the terra cotta specimens found in the ancient tombs of Greece. Mr. De Choiseul's *man with two lions* requires no comment. Finally, we have only the word of the Jew for the whole story; if, however, his account is true, the wonders of Mr. Le Chevalier must be fictions. The Minerva has, indeed, been modelled by Mr. Fauvel of Athens, and other specimens have been handed about, which have an appearance of extreme antiquity, but may have been found elsewhere, or have been manufactured at Paris. Both of the details can-

not be correct ; either the Jew is not to be believed, or Mr. Le Chevalier must have ventured at an imposture ; for it is impossible to suppose, that the fragments found by Ghorniezano could have been metamorphosed by the heated imagination even of the most zealous antiquary, into the Minerva and sepulchral urn of Mr. De Choiseul. It is now almost impracticable to collect any information on the subject at the spot ; for the same secrecy is observed respecting the discovery at this time as at the period of the transaction.

Supposing this tumulus to be the tomb alluded to by Strabo, Achilléum, the town, must have been on the spot, or close to it. Dr. Chandler says, he was eight minutes walking to it from Giaur-Keui, and that the town Sigéum was on the slope leading to it. To this slope, in fact, the barrow is attached. But the Mitylenæans of Achilléum, and the Athenians of Sigéum, carried on a long war with each other from these respective places* ; and allowing the first to be only a fortress (oppidum), the two rival armies must have always lived within nearly a stone's-throw of each other. Beshik-'Tepe, or either of the other* tumuli before noticed, is three times as large, and incomparably more conspicuous from every point of view than this barrow ; a circumstance which struck me so forcibly, that I could not forbear, when on the spot, from suggesting to myself, that the site of the Achilléan tomb must have been on the summit of the peaked hill on which Giaur-Keui stands ; and that the town Sigéum was nearer Koum-Kale, on the slope of the hill. Herodotus calls it " Sigéum

* 'Επολέμιον γὰρ ἔκ τε Ἀχιλλείης πόλεος ὀρμεόμενοι καὶ Σιγείης.—Herod. Hist. lib. v. cap. 94.

on the Scamander*." Perhaps it may be thought some slight confirmation of this opinion to observe, that when, in two places, Strabo proceeding southwards, that is, towards Lectum, names Sigéum and the tomb of Achilles, and puts Sigéum before the tomb†, he may mean to identify the relative situations of the two spots; but, at any rate, the region opposite Tenedos does not come immediately after the site of the present tomb; it is at least six miles lower down.

The supposed tomb is not on a promontory, where Homer placed that of Achilles; but under and on the side of a hill; and if it has been always so attached to that hill as it is at present, Alexander would never have been said to run round it. It may be added, that there was evidently some structure upon the ancient tomb; Strabo mentions a temple. That which was anointed and crowned by Alexander, could not be a barrow only‡: Plutarch§ calls it a pillar. How has it happened, that no vestiges of any building, or ancient stone-work of any kind, have been discovered near or on this barrow? The sepulchre was existing

* Μετὰ δὲ ἐξεχώρησαν ἐς Σιγείον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ.—Lib. v. cap. 64, edit. Edinb. p. 150.

† "After the Sigean promontory and the Achilléum, is the region opposite Tenedos," (lib. xiii. p. 601). "From Rhœiéum to Sigéum and the tomb of Achilles," (ibid. p. 515).

‡ Nam Achillem cujus origine gloriabatur, imprimis mirari solitus, etiam circum circum ejus cum amicis nudus decubaret, nocturne coronam imposuit.—Saprl. in Q. Curt. lib. ii. cap. 4, p. 99, edit. Lug. Bat.

§ Τὴν Ἀχιλλέως στήλην ἀλειψάμενος λίπα, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων συναναδραμὼν γυμνός, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστὶν, ἐατεφάνωσαμ.—Plut. in vit. Alexand. p. 672, Op. Om. edit. Paris, 1624.

in the time of Caracalla; for, according to Herodian*, he adorned it with crowns and flowers previously to the funeral of his Patroclus, the freedman Festus; and it is told, that the Emperor Julian long afterwards passed by the sepulchres of Achilles and Ajax, on his way to Dardanus and Abydos†. Now there are remains in the barrow In-Tepe Gheulu, which have been pronounced to be parts of the *Antéum*, and whoever thinks he has discovered the tomb of Achilles, might expect to find remnants of a similar structure—a small shrine, partly inclosed in the hillock.

As to the other two barrows on the path towards Koum-Kale, it is possible Strabo may allude to them, when he talks of the tombs of Antilochus and Patroclus. Notwithstanding Homer precisely said, *that one urn contained the mixed ashes of Achilles and Patroclus, and also, but apart, the ashes of Antilochus, and that the sons of the Greeks raised for them a tomb*; so that there was only one barrow to cover the remains of the three heroes; yet the Greeks showed Alexander the tomb of Patroclus, and it was crowned by his friend Hephæstion‡. The tomb of

* Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντα τὰ τῆς πόλεως λείψονα, ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως τάφον, στεφάνους τε κοσμήσας καὶ αἰθεσι πολυτελῶς πάλιν Αχιλλεῖα ἐμιμῆτο.—Hist. lib. iv. cap. 14.

† Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxii. cap. 8; Const. Auc. Mod. 345.

‡ Ὅτι καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως ἄρα τάφον ἐστεφάνωσεν, Ἡφαιστίωνα δὲ λεγόντι, ὅτι τῷ Πατρόκλῳ τὸν τάφον ἐστεφάνωσε.—Arrian. de Expedit. Alex. lib. i. cap. 12, p. 23, edit. Gronov. 1714.

Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν Ἀχιλλέως τάφον ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ Ἡφαιστίων τὸν τῷ Πατρόκλῳ.—Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 7. p. 561, edit. Lederlin, 1713.

Odys. Ω. v. 74, et seq.

Ἄμφ' αὐτοῖσι δ' ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον
Χεῖραυ

Antilochus is not mentioned by any author except Strabo; yet it is likely that all the tumuli on the plain were known under some heroic title; and, in truth, Diodorus hints as much, by telling us, that Alexander performed ceremonies at the tombs of Achilles, Ajax, and *the other heroes* *.

It would be superfluous to comment at any length upon that arbitrary adoption of names for these barrows, in which late travellers have so wantonly indulged. It has, I trust, been seen, that the authority which enables us to fix the Achilléum on either of them, is but very doubtful; and that there is no ground whatever for giving the preference to one rather than to the other of the mounts. Nothing can explain why Mr. Le Chevalier should call the Tepe next, on the south side, to Gianr-Keni, the tomb of Antilochus, and at the same time suppose another, not

If we suppose, according to the hypothesis of Mr. R. P. Knight, contained in his unpublished treatise, "*Carmina Homérica, &c.*" that the *Odyssey* is the production of an age subsequent to that of the *Iliad*, or following the opinion of the grammarians Aristophanes and Aristarchus, conclude the Homeric *Odyssey* at the two hundred and ninety-sixth verse of the twenty-third book, the authority of these lines is still preferable to that of any following author; and that αὐτοῖσι was not thought to mean Patroclus and Antilochus by the latter Greeks, we may safely assert; for they showed a tomb of each of them. It may be deduced also, from the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*, v. 249, that Achilles and Patroclus were buried under the same barrow; for Achilles desires the Greeks to refrain from raising a large tomb over his friend, since they might afterwards make it broad and lofty when he himself should die.

* Καὶ τοὺς μὲν τάφους τῶν ἡρώων Ἀχιλλέως τε καὶ Ἀϊαντος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐναγίσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πρὸς ἐνδοξίαν ἤκουσιν ἐτίμησιν.—Lib. xvii. cap. i. p. 570, edit. H. Steph. 1559. "Ceteris etiam heroibus quorum iis in terris os-
tenduntur sepulchra parentavit."—Frcinsh. in Q. Curt. lib. ii. Suppl. edit. qu. sup.

one-third as large, to be that of the great Achilles himself. There was, indeed, something like an authority for his presumption, arising out of a curious mistake of his own. The native Greeks call the neighbouring barrows under Giaur-Keui Δυο Τεπε, pronounced Dthio Tepe—*The two Tombs*. This the traveller metamorphosed at once into Dios-Tepe, and to show that a remnant of ancient superstition was still attached to the once hallowed spot, rendered it "*The Divine Tomb*." This is sufficiently strange; but no less singular is it, that the intelligent author of Constantinople Ancient and Modern, who detected this mistake, should have quoted Strabo, as fixing the tomb of Antilochus on Beshik-Tepe, and have found the ashes of Peneleus the Boeotian, in the small barrow next to the supposed Achillean sepulchre*.

There are some circumstances which show the coincidence of In-Tepe Gheulu with the reputed tomb of Ajax. This monument was, as Pliny relates, on the other horn of the Greek naval station opposite to Sigæum†. That author has been accused of putting it on the Sigean promontory, owing, I presume, to a mistake in the punctuation of the text‡. But he, with every

* "Advancing some furlongs over the promontory, we saw the barrow (Beshik-Tepe) called the tomb of Antilochus by Strabo."—Const. Ancient and Modern, p. 350. In the map, however, accompanying the work, Antilochus is again removed to the barrow next to Cape Janissary.

† Fuit et Æantion a Rhodius conditum in altero cornu, Ajax ibi sepulto xxx. stad. intervallo a Sigæo, et ipso in statione classis suæ.—Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 20, p. 78, edit. Paris, 1532.

‡ By Vossius—"The words "in Sigæo," which belong to the former sentence, are usually put with the passage above quoted; so that the text runs—"In Sigæo fuit et Æantion." an evident error. I find that Mr. Bayle, in the

other writer, proves that this famous tomb, where so many miracles were wrought, and of which so many curious tales are related*, was on the Rhœtean promontory. It was also so close to the shore, that the sea broke a passage into the sepulchre†.

In-Tepe is on a headland, which forms the eastern boundary of the bay or marsh Karanlik-Liman, and which appears like a promontory to those who are sailing up the Dardanelles, but not to those coming down the straits. Its exact distance from Cape Janissary, was found by Mr. Le Chevalier to be three thousand fathoms; a measurement very nearly coinciding with the thirty stadia (three R. miles and three quarters) assigned by Pliny to the interval between the two promontories. The tumulus is less conical than those before mentioned, and is of the form called the Bell Barrow, although not so regularly shaped. It is conspicuous from the strait, but is not on high ground, nor of a size to be compared with that of Beshik and Udjek Tepe. Near its summit are the

Achilles, note K, censures Solinus, because in his verses, attached to the emblems of Alciatus, he places the tomb of Achilles on the Rhœtean shore—

“*Æacidis tumulum Rhœteo in littore cernis :*”

but the Rhœtean shore is only a general term, applied not to the station of Ajax only, but to the coast within Sigœum; as that without the promontory is called the Sigean shore. Thus Virgil uses the expression :

“*Tunc egomet tumulum Rhœteo in littore inanem*

“*Constitui.*”

Æn. lib. vi.

and Pliny also has the words “*Rhœtea littora*” (lib. v. cap. 30).

* They are collected in Bayle’s Dictionary, article Ajax.

† Pausan. lib. i. p. 66; Strab. lib. xiii. p. 595.

ruins of a stone arch, and the crumbling fragments of some wall-work. The masonry has been judged to be of a “much more modern date than the death of Ajax*,” an opinion in which, without knowing the precise period of that event, we may safely concur. It may, however, be a part of that shrine called the *Æantéum*, which was despoiled of its statue by Marc Antony, who carried it to Egypt, but which recovered its treasure by the bounty of Augustus Cæsar†. It was under the especial care of the people of Rhœtéum, a town on an eminence above the tomb. The *Æantéum* rivalled in celebrity the tomb of Achilles, and was perhaps, by the Athenian Greeks, regarded with greater veneration. It was not to be expected that Alexander, who sacrificed to Priam, should neglect the hero who, next to his own great prototype, was the best of the Greeks both in form and stature—

ὃς ἄριστος ἔην ἱερός τε δέμας τε
 Τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ’ ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα.
 ΟΔΥΣΣ. Λ. 468. Ω. 17.

Diodorus, although other writers are silent, mentions the *Æantéum* amongst those heroic monuments visited by the Macedonian conqueror. The ancient notices of the sepulchre of Achilles, include also that of Ajax; but it has been the fate of Iu-Tpe to be neglected until very lately, whilst the barrows near Sigéum have for some time attracted the attention of travellers. This may be attributed in some measure to the different accounts in the ancient geographers relative to the site of Rhœtéum, which

* Constantinople Ancient and Modern, p. 338.

† Strab. lib. xiii. p. 595.

Mr. Wood, preferring the measurement of Strabo (sixty stadia) to that of Solinus (forty-five stadia) and of Pliny, has assigned to Cape Berbieri, a point at least eight miles from Cape Janissary. This was certainly a singular notion, for one who believed that the Grecian fleet was actually drawn up on these shores, but, in a matter of this kind, not sufficiently "culpable and unjustifiable*," to call forth such grave censures as those of Mr. Le Chevalier, who has himself fallen into so many inconceivable absurdities.

It seems impossible to touch upon this debated point without committing a mistake; or to correct one error, without being involved in some other misapprehension. Leunclavius, the editor of Xenophon, who had himself sailed through the Dardanelles, fixed Rhœtéum at Pefkia, a place four miles from Cape Janissary, and near In-Tepe, but at the same time placed the Æantéum on the Sigean Promontory, and called Alexandria Troas, Troy†.

Pococke saw some broken pieces of marble about the barrow, and thought Rhœtéum to have been in this quarter, but spoke very indecisively about its identity with the Æantéum‡. The French tourist so often mentioned, expostulated with this

* Description of the Plain of Troy, p. 100.

† Heic Rhœtéum promontorium Troadis, et Sigéum, monumentis Achillis et Ajacis nobile. Pefkia distat a capo Jenitzari, hoc est, a Sigéo, miliaribus quatuor; unde colligi videtur, Pefkiam esse Rhœtéum A capo Jenitzari ad Tenedum milliarum sunt xii. a Tenedo ad Trojæ ruinas, milliarum x. note B, to the first book of the Hellenics, p. 1062, of Leunclavius's edition of Xenophon. Frankfort, A.D. 1596

‡ "But whether this was the tomb of Ajax, would be difficult to determine." —Observations on Asia Minor, p. 105.

traveller for his diffidence, but gives him some credit, which his learned editor seems willing to abridge. He had no doubt whatever that In-Tepe was the tumulus of the *Æantéum*, and accounted for not finding the ashes of the hero, by supposing they had been carried away, together with the statue, into Egypt*. Of all that gentleman's conjectures, perhaps that respecting this barrow is one of the least objectionable; and those who, on visiting the *Troad*, are determined not to be disappointed of their due share of enthusiasm, should select the summit of In-Tepe, as the spot on which their local emotions may most legitimately be indulged. The sober visitor, without believing in *Ajax*, may be delighted in thinking he has found the *Æantéum*; but the man of warmer fancies, as, undisturbed with doubt, he surveys the swift-flowing *Hellespont*, the station of *Agamemnon* and his heroes, and the plain impressed with the footsteps of the immortals themselves, will feel a thousand lively sensations, and at every glance of the imposing prospect, experience an increase of his satisfaction and a confirmation of his faith.

* He adds, "by *Pompey the Great*." Mr. Dalzel, in his note, informs us, that for "*Pompey the Great*," we should in this passage, and in page 48, read "*Marc Antony*," as if the other reading had been an error of the press.

LETTER XLII.

The supposed Port of Agamemnon's Fleet—The Naval Station of the Greeks—The Mouth of the Scamander—The Site of Ilium—The Confluence of the Simois and Scamander not precisely known—Streams falling into the Mendere—The Thymbrek—The Water of Callifatli and Atche-Keui, and the Bournabashi Rivulet—Mr. Le Chevalier's Pseudo-Xanthus—The Identity of the Mendere and the Scamander of Strabo—The ancient Confluence of the Thymbrus and Scamander—The Thymbrek not corresponding with the former, but answering better to the Simois—Uncertainty respecting that River—Palaio-Callifatli, possibly the Position of Ilium—Site of the Iliëan Village—Not at Hallil-Elly, but perhaps at or near Tchiblak—Remains on a neighbouring Mount—The Calli-Colone of Strabo—The Vale and Brook of Atche-Keui—The latter conjectured to be the River Thymbrus—The Erincus, the Tomb of Æsyetes, Baticia, the Tomb of Ilus not now to be discovered—Udjek-Tepe not the Tomb of Æsyetes, as described by Strabo—Note on the Homeric Thrôsmos—Bournabashi—Tepid Sources of the Bournabashi Rivulet—Errors respecting them—Balli-Dahi—The Pergamus of Mr.

Le Chevalier—Unfounded Conjectures respecting the Tomb of Hector, and the Remains on Balli-Dahi.

ALL ancient accounts agree in placing the mouth of the Scamander, and the port of the Greeks, that is, the supposed station of Agamemnon's fleet, between the Sigean and Rhœtean promontories. The river is described by Strabo and Pliny, as forming near its mouth a marsh, called by the first Stoma-Limne, and by the latter author Palæ-Scamander. Present appearances coincide very exactly with this description; for from the Mendere to In-Tepe, immediately within the sandy projections, there is a line of reedy swamps, to which most probably the Greek geographer alludes, when he says, that the "Simois and Scamander joining in the plain, and carrying down with them much slime, create a new line of coast, and form a blind mouth with salt lakes and marshes*." This accretion of sandy soil, which may have been augmented since the days of Augustus, most probably has worked some change in the appearance of the bay, which was called the Port of the Achæans. It may be collected from several passages of the above author, that next to Sigéum was the mouth of the Scamander†, twenty stadia, two R. miles and a half from Ilium‡; that what was called the Naval Station, that is, where the Grecian fleet was drawn up on land, was near the mouth of the river; and that the port of the Achæans followed, at a dis-

* Συμπεσόντες γὰρ ὁ τε Σιμόεις καὶ ὁ Σκάμάνδρος ἐν τῇ πεδίῳ, πολλὴν καταφέροντες ἰλὺν, προσχουσι τὴν παραλίαν, καὶ τυφλὸν στόμα τε καὶ λιμνοθαλάττης καὶ ἔλη ποιῶσι.—Lib. xiii. p. 595.

† Lib. xiii. p. 597.

‡ Ibid. p. 598.

tance of only twelve stadia of flat plain from Hium*. By this order, it should seem that the port of the Achæans was not the whole circular bay between the two promontories Rhœtéum and Sigéum, but an interior inlet on the Rhœtean side of the river. Yet Pliny mentions, that the Scamander flowed into the port, and favours the contrary opinion†. It is probable, however, that anciently some recess may have been pointed out, which is now choked up or covered with marshes, at the site of Karanlik-Liman, or the inlet nearer to the mouth of the Mendere‡. Some alteration may have been effected in the appearance of the coast, even in latter times, although not so much as we might think from looking at the account of Sandys, who says that the mouth of the Simois, meaning, it appears, the Mendere, is nearer to Rhœtéum than Sigéum§; a manifest error, as it was not so when Strabo wrote. In saying the river Simois was nearer Rhœtéum, Sandys followed Strabo; but in asserting that it discharged itself into the Hellespont, nearer to Rhœtéum than Sigéum, he could have consulted neither the authority of Strabo

* Lib. xiii. p. 598.

† Dein portus Achæorum in quem influxit Xanthus Simoenti junctus stagnumque prius faciens Palæ-Scamander.—Lib. v. cap. xxx. p. 78, influxit. leg. influit.

‡ An error has prevailed respecting the Port and the Naval Station, which have been considered the same, notwithstanding the express words of Strabo, p. 598. That *Λιμὴν* and *ναύσταθμον* are not to be confounded, will be seen very clearly from the following passage of the same author, who, talking of Adramyttium, says it is an Athenian colony, having a port and naval station: *ἔχουσα λιμένα καὶ ναύσταθμον*.—Lib. xiii. p. 606.

§ "Nearer Sigéum was the station of the Grecian navy; but nearer Rhœtéum, the river Simois (now called Simores) dischargeth itself into the Hellespont."—Relation of a Journey, &c.

nor of his own journal. There may have been some addition of new land since the beginning of the Christian æra ; but it is impossible to say how great, for it is allowed, that the torrent of the Straits will prevent any future accretion, and we cannot tell how long the coast may have assumed its present form. The mouth of the Menderes has been shifted more than once in modern maps ; but there is every reason to think that it is not far from the ancient outlet, for Herodotus, in the place before quoted, describing the site of Sigéum, says it was above the Scamander. This may assist us in our search after the site of the Ilium of Lysimachus, with the attempted discovery of which, being warned by former examples not to look for the Troy of Homer in explaining the Troad of Strabo, we may rest satisfied and content.


Ilium was twenty stadia, two R. miles and a half, from the mouth of the Scamander, and twelve from the port of the Achæans ; consequently, it was on the eastern side of the river, and not on the western, where it is placed by Mr. Le Chevalier ; for had it been on the western or Sigeian side, it would have been nearer to the mouth of the Scamander than to the port of the Achæans. It was on the slope of a hill, so that there was no free course round it, and its citadel was on a considerable eminence* ; and it was between the extremities of these two roots or elbows of Mount Ida, one of which pointed towards Sigéum, and the other in the direction of Rhætéum. Besides these circumstances, the high

* Strab. lib. xiii. p. 599. I beg leave to notice a mistake in Mr. Bryant, who, in order to show that a general misconception had prevailed relative to the flight of Hector *round* the walls of Troy, quotes these words from Strabo—*οὐδ' ἡ τὰς Ἐκτορος δὲ περίδρομος ἢ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔχει τὸ ἐνλογον*, and translates them thus : “ Nor is the flight of Hector attended with the least show of probability.” *Observat.* p. 35.—But the geographer is only arguing against the claims of Ilium Iamne ; and amongst other reasons why it could not be on

ground on which stood its citadel, stretched like a neck of land, through the plain to the point whence the elbows of Ida branched off, so as to form a Greek Upsilon, or, as may be thought from putting together this description, a figure like our representation of the sign Arics*. Lastly, Ilium was a little above the confluence of the Simois and Scamander. The discovery of this confluence would be of the utmost importance to the enquiry.

Four streams fall into the Menderes in its course below Bournabashi. The Thymbrek mingles with it, or at least with the marshes at its mouth, near the wooden bridge; the water of Califatli runs into it near the village of that name; the stream from Atche-Keni, a mile and a half below Bournabashi; and the rivulet from Bournabashi, as has been seen, about two miles from its

the site of Troy, says, “if it were, Hector never could have fled round Troy”—*ὁὐ γὰρ ἔχει περιδρομὸν ἢ νῦν διὰ τὴν συνεχῆ ῥαχιν . . . ἢ δὲ παλαιὰ ἔχει περιδρομὸν*—“for there is no course round the present city, on account of the attached root of the hill; *but the old site has such a course.*” It is curious to observe, that in the only instance in which Mr. Bryant acquiesced in the interpretations of Le Chevalier, namely, that Hector did not run, and was not dragged *round* the walls, and that *περὶ* in this place does not mean *round*, but *at* or *near*, he seems to have fallen into an error; for, not to consult the grammarians, Strabo in the above passage, evidently shows that he thought the *περὶ* did mean *round about*. Virgil was the first who drew Hector thrice round the walls of Troy; but no less than fourteen authorities mention the circuit, without the number of turns: their names are given in note II to Bayle’s “Achilles:” Sophocles, Euripides, Ovid, Seneca, Statius, Dictys, Plato, Cicero, Hyginus, Philostratus, Libanius, Servius, Tzetzes, and Eustathius.

* Strab. lib. xiii. p. 597. It does seem that this description answers better to the shape of a barb  than of a T. Perhaps Strabo does not speak of the figure formed by the elbows and the neck of land conjointly, but only by the latter, which, as it approached the mountains, branched off on both sides.

month. It was at the sight of this last streamlet that Mr. Le Chevalier exclaimed, like La Fontaine's Callirhoe, "Ah! voilà le fleuve Scamandre*!" But the question has been completely decided against this pleasant discovery, and the Menderé restored to the title which it possessed as far back as the time of Xerxes, who found it, as he would at this day, the first river to be met with in the road from Sardis to the Iliac plain†.

A writer and traveller (Castaldi) is quoted by Mons. Morin, to prove that the Scamander in latter ages was called the Simois; but Ortelius, in his geographical Thesaurus, adduces the same authority, to show its modern name to be Simores‡. The Menderé is so called by Lady M. W. Montague§, and, as it appears, by Sandys||; but none of the inhabitants of the country at this time, are acquainted with such an appellation. The topographical picture given by the last-named traveller shows two distinct rivers, but both, in this and every other respect, is a fancy piece. The Simois, in Dr. Chandler's map, corresponds with the rivulet of Bournabashi. Pococke¶ mentions Udjek-Tepe as being above the conflux of the rivers, and talks of the Simois as if it were decidedly known, but I have not been able to discover whether or not he alluded to the same stream. The Simois is noted in Homer amongst the rivers running from Ida, and is more than once called the Iliac

* One may apply the beginning of the next line, and of that next but two, to the progress of this disclosure—"On s'étonne on en rit." *Contes de la Fontaine, Le Fleuve Scamandre.*

† Herod. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 42, p. 224, vol. v. edit. Edinb.

‡ Bayle's Dict. article Scamander.

§ Letter XLIV.

|| Lib. i. p. 21, Relation of a Journey, 1627.

¶ Observations on Asia Minor, p. 107.

Simois by the poetical geographer Dionysius*; it could not, therefore, be the stream which rises under the village of Bonrnabashi.

The Thymbrek bears so great an affinity to the Thymbrius in name, that little doubt has been entertained of their identity. Hesychius, on what authority I know not, says, that Thymbra, or the river so called, where there is a temple of the Thymbrean Apollo, was ten stadia from the ancient city of Troy†. I confess myself, however, entirely at a loss in reconciling what Strabo says of the Thymbrius with the present state of this stream. It is lost in the marshes near the mouth of the Mendere; for we crossed it near those marshes in our way towards In-Tepe and the Dardanelles. Its actual point of confluence cannot be discerned, or rather, it has none. One thing, however, is quite clear, that the ruins on the side of the hill at Hallil-Elly, four miles above the valley of Thymbrek-Dere, are not, as they are laid down in Kauffer and every other map, those of the Temple of Apollo Thymbrius; for Strabo says precisely, that that temple was near the confluence of the streams‡. The confluence of Thymbrius and Scamander was also fifty stadia from Ilium§, if I understand the

* Ξάνθῳ ἐπ' εὐρὺ ῥεοντι καὶ Ἰδαίῳ Σιμοέντι. V. 819.

And in another place,

Τούς ποτ' ἀπὸ Ξάνθοιο καὶ Ἰδαίῳ Σιμοέντος. V. 683.

† Θύμβρα τόπος τῆς Ἰλίου, περὶ τὸν Θύμβρον λεγόμενον ποταμὸν, οὕτως ὀνομασθέντα, τῆς ἀρχαίας πολέως ἀπέχοντα σταδίους δέκα, ὅπουγε καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Θυμβραίου.—Hesych. in v. Thymbra, p. 1742, edit. Albert. 1766. Vide Schol. in Homer, Il. x. line 430.

‡ Κατὰ τὸ Θυμβραίῳ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν—most *audaciously* translated by Le Chevalier as if it were τὸ Θυμβραίῳ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἔστι κάτω, or rather κάτω.

§ Τῷ δὲ νῦν Ἰλίῳ, καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους διέχει. Lib. xiii. p. 598.

author correctly; of which, although assisted in this translation by Mr. Bryant*, I am by no means sure†. The confluence could not, then, have been between Ilium and the mouth of the Scamander; for the mouth was only twenty stadia from the city, and the confluence was fifty. It must, therefore, have been above Ilium towards the mountains, and not below it towards the shore.

The Thymbrek corresponds rather with the Simois, and Ptolemy seems to put that river near the coast, by placing it, in his notice of Phrygia, between Dardanum and Scamander‡. It is larger than the other streams which fall into the Mendere; and no one accustomed to see the small torrents which acquired notoriety by being attached to the exploits of the Greeks, will be surprised at beholding the diminutiveness of this Simois, if the Thymbrek may be so called. We learn§, that the Simois approached, or had a direction towards, the Rhœtean promontory, before its confluence with the Scamander; and I did certainly find by experience, that this stream, running from the valley of Thymbrek, turns a little to the north towards In-Tepe, before it resumes its western course and is lost in the marsh. When Strabo|| says, that the Astypalœans inhabiting Rhœtœum built a small town, called in his time Polisma, near the Simois, in a place which was not

* P. 19, Observations.

† Mr. Le Chevalier says in this place—"The opening into the valley of Thymbra is betwixt new and old Troy; and whatever it be that Strabo is pleased to say of it (for it is again difficult to discover his real meaning), it was nearer the former than the latter of those cities."—*Descrip. of the Plain of Troy*, p. 66.

‡ Lampsacus, Abydus, Dardanum, Simoeis, Scamander, Sigœum.—*Geog.* p. 137. Bryant, p. 31, Observat.

§ Strab. lib. xiii. p. 597.

|| Page 601.

sufficiently firm, the marshes near the 'Thymbrek seem to be alluded to, rather than any spot farther up the country.

The water of Callifatli, which is less than either the 'Thymbrek or the Bournabashi rivulet, and might very easily be overlooked, has no direction towards Rhœtéum that I could discover, but falls with a course due west into the Menderc, four miles from the shore, at a distance too considerable to have been the confluence of the two Trojan rivers, which being a little before Ilium, could not have been farther than that city from the port, namely, twelve stadia, one Roman mile and a half.—Whether the 'Thymbrek or the Callifatli be the Simois, Ilium must have been somewhere between these two brooks; but in the first supposition, the little before (μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν) must mean a little to the north; and in the other case, a little to the west. Some ruins of massive foundation-stones have been dug from an eminence near the termination of a suite of hills, corresponding sufficiently with the description of Strabo, to answer to the neck of land (ἀνχών) which stretched from Ilium towards the mountains. They are noted in Kauffler's map, as the ruins of the town begun by Constantine; and it is not impossible that the walls and towers erected by command of that Emperor, may have been built near the site, and perhaps from the stones of Ilium. The spot is called Palaio-Callifatli; and as the walls of Ilium were forty stadia in circumference, that city, if on this hill, was near enough to the confluence either of the 'Thymbrek or the Callifatli water, to agree with what Strabo mentions respecting the vicinity of the town to the junction of the Simois and Scamander.

In the same line of hilly ground which separates the vale of the 'Thymbrek from that of the Callifatli water, is the village of

Tchiblak, an hour distant. Supposing Palaio-Callifathi to be Ilium, the view on every side towards the rivers, answers to the description of Strabo's plain of Troy, properly so called*, composed of the Simoisian plain towards the Thymbrek and the Scamandrian towards the Mendere, which was broader than that higher up, and in which the battles of the Iliad were supposed to have been fought. The plain country of the Troad, which I so call, to distinguish it from the "Trojan Plain," reached from the line of shore between Sigéum and Achéum, for many stadia to the east, as far as Mount Ida, bounded to the south by the district of Scepsis, and to the north by the Lycian territory and Zeleia†.

Ilium is the best centre whence the topographer may direct his enquiries on every side; and hence, to strain the words of Pliny a little beyond their meaning, there is an opportunity of illustrating many other celebrated objects—*unde omnis rerum claritas*‡.—As the progress of Strabo's description seems to proceed from east to west, from the mountains to the plain, we may guess where to look for the Pagus Iliensium, which, although he no where speaks decisively, and expressly asserts that no remains were to be seen, he considered as having much better pretensions to be on the site of Troy than the new city, and does in more than one place distinguish it as the old Iliéan town§. The ruins near Hallil-Elly are very considerable, and from them was taken the inscribed marble recording a Phrontistes of Drusus Cæsar, the son of Germanicus, now in the vestibule of the Public Library at Cambridge||. It cannot be supposed that there were any large buildings or temples at this

* Ἰδίως Τρωϊκὸν.—Lib. xiii. p. 597.

† Strab. lib. xiii. p. 596.

‡ Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 30, p. 78, edit. Paris, 1532.

§ Ἀρχαῖον κρίσιμα, p. 598; ἡ παλαιὰ, p. 599, lib. xiii.

|| P. 43, n. 21, Clarke's Greek Marbles.

village of the Iliéans, sufficient to account for these remains, which may rather be referred to one of the many cities of the Troad which are mentioned by geographers, but not in such an order as to enable us to discover their respective sites. There are a few fragments of carved marble at Thymbrek-Keui and above Tchiblak, besides many remains of pillars on a hill near the latter village; nor are we to be surprised at these vestiges in a country, every region of which was regarded with peculiar sanctity. The Iliéan village was but little more than a mile (most probably westward) from the eminence, five stadia in circumference, called Callicolone, "*The Beautiful Hill*," under which flowed the Simois*. Tchiblak might be considered nearly on the site of the village, and the hill where are the ruins thought to be the Callicolone. Hesychius calls it a place remarkable for its sanctity, and the ruins on the mount above Tchiblak may be the remains of its temples†. The distance between Tchiblak and Palaio-Callifatli, will pretty well correspond with the three Roman miles and three quarters which were between Ilium and the village; and the town and the hill are near enough to the Thymbrek or the Callifatli water (whichever of these streams was the Simois) to have been spoken of as being in the Simoisian plain, where the Pagus Iliensium and the Callicolone are placed by the geographer. The hills close behind Tchiblak to the east, may likewise be the commencement of those two elbows of Mount Ida (ἀγκῶνες) so often before mentioned, which were in the vicinity of the village‡.

* Ὅπερ δὲ τῆς Ιλίων κώμης, δέκα σταδίου ἐστὶν ἡ Καλὴ Κολώνη, λόφοις τις, πὰρ ὃν ὁ Σιμόεις ῥεῖ, πεντεστάδιον ἔχων.—Strab. lib. xiii. p. 597.

† Καλλι-Κολώνη—χωρίον ἱεροπρεπές.—P. 125, tom. ii. edit. Albert.

‡ Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ μεταξὺ τῆς τελευτῆς τῶν λεχθέντων ἀγκῶνων εἶναι, τὸ

The country in the direction immediately eastward above Tchi-blak, has many inequalities of surface, and is rough and hilly; but on the south side of the chain of eminences on which it is placed is a fine undulating plain. In this stands Atche-Keui, and from near that village a brook runs into the Mendere, a mile to the north-east of Bournabashi. There is no end of conjecturing on these subjects; but the distance between Palaio-Callifatli and this stream agrees with that between Ilium and the confluence of the Thymbrius and Scamander*; and as the valley of Atche-Keui runs up to the spot near which the Pagus Iliensium may be fairly supposed to have been placed, it may be the plain of Thymbra, which was in the vicinity of that village†.

In the wide plain properly called the Trojan, some of those objects were shown which are mentioned in the Iliad: the wild fig-tree, or hill of wild fig-trees; the tomb of Æsycetes, Baticia (or the tomb of Myrinna); and the tomb of Ilus‡. The Erineus was some rugged ground, shaded with fig-trees, under the Iliæan

δὲ παλαιὸν κτίσμα μεταξὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς.—Lib. xiii. 597. Whether the παλαιὸν κτίσμα here means the village of the Iliæans or the actual Troy, the point is the same, for Strabo thought there was a correspondence in the site of the two.

* Fifty stadia, six R. miles and a quarter.

† Πλησίον γὰρ ἔστι τὸ πεδίον ἢ Θύμβρα.—Strab. lib. xiii. p. 598.

‡ Πλατύτερον γὰρ ἔστι, καὶ τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους τόπους ἐνταῦθα δεικνύμενους οὐρῶμεν, τὸν Εἰρινεὺν, τὸν τῇ Ἀισυήτῃ τάφον, τὴν Βατίειαν, τὸ τῷ Ἴλῳ σήμα. “For here it is more extensive (the plain, πεδίον Τρωϊκόν), and we see those places pointed out which are recorded by the poet—The Fig-tree Hill, the tomb of Æsycetes, Baticia, and the tomb of Ilus” Strab. lib. xiii. p. 597.

village*. I need not say that I was unable to fix upon the Eri-neus; it will be as well, indeed, to avow that I made no effort to find either that or the beech-tree mentioned by Achilles, which the geographer informs us was a little below†. The tomb shown for that of Æsyetes was five stadia (something more than half a mile) from Ilium, and not so high as the Acropolis of that city‡. If the meaning of the text in Strabo is at all understood, Udjek-Tepe cannot be the tomb of Æsyetes; for that barrow is at least seven miles in a straight line from the supposed site of Ilium, and in order to get to it, you have to cross two, if not three rivers, the latter part of the way through a morass, and over hilly ground. Besides, Polites, in running to Udjek-Tepe, would be going from, not towards, the Grecian camp, and had, therefore, no cause of fear; he would, indeed, have had a much better view than from the Acropolis (if we have found it) of Ilium; but this is the very advantage which Strabo says he would not have had. There is only one point of resemblance between the barrow and the tomb: Udjek-Tepe is near the road to Alexandria Troas; but, allowing the present path to be in the line of the ancient road, as that road

* Ὁ τε Εἰρινεὺς τραχὺς τίς τόπος, καὶ ἐρινεώδης, τὸ μὲν ἀρχαίῳ κτίσ-
ματι ὑποπέπτακεν.—Strab. lib. xiii. p. 598.

† Καὶ ὁ Φηγὸς δὲ μικρὸν κατωτέρω ἔστι τῷ ἐρινεοῦ, ἐφ' ᾧ Φησιν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς.
—Ibid.

‡ “And (if Ilium were Troy) Polites also, ‘who being a spy from Troy, trusting to his speed, sat on the very summit of the tomb of the ancient Æsyetes,’ he must have been improvident even if he did sit on the very summit; for he might have had a much higher look-out from the citadel, and at much the same distance: nor could he at all want his speed; for that which is now shown for the tomb of Æsyetes, is five stadia distant towards the road to Alexandria.”—Strab. lib. xiii. p. 599.

ran all across the plain, and probably from Ilium, it is very likely indeed, that there might be another barrow near it. Wherever Ilium was, the tomb of Æsyetes was not more than two miles from the port of the Greeks; probably it was less, but Udjek-Tepe is more than nine from the shore of the strait. This lofty tumulus may be the Homeric tomb of Æsyetes. Of this we can know nothing, but it is not that of Strabo. There are two or three barrows which answer better to that tomb, and especially one between the village of Koum-Keui and Callifatli, noticed in Mr. Gell's map, not as a barrow but as a mount. It is in the plain near the Mendere, and about half a mile from the projecting eminence of Palaio-Callifatli, to the west. Two other barrows have been noticed in this quarter; one is on a plot of rising ground, which projects south-westward from the chain of eminences between Palaio-Callifatli and Tchiblak, but is rather to the south of the first place, and about two miles and a half from the last; the other is at the western extremity of the hills which form the northern boundary of the plain of Atche-Keui, and two miles on the left of the road to that place from the village of Callifatli. Under Atche-Keui, and nearly opposite to Bournabashi, is a low natural hillock, called in Mr. Gell's map Batieia.

As Strabo gives us no assistance whatever in identifying either of these barrows with his tomb of Ilus, or the Batieia, but only mentions those objects as being in the plain of Troy properly so called, and that only in the one passage above quoted, it would be useless for one who is not perfectly persuaded that the scene of the Iliad can be fixed upon with precision, and has been actually discovered, to make any essay towards an arrangement of these ancient monuments on a modern map. As presumptuous might it

be thought to fix upon any hill, or natural eminence, the name of the Homeric Thrôsmos, on which the army of the Trojans was stationed, more particularly as we cannot be sure that the Thrôsmos was a hill*.

* The grammarians have supposed this word, which, as Mr. Bryant mentions, (Observations, p. 10) occurs only three times in Homer and twice in Apollonius Rhodius, to signify a *high place*.

Θρωσμός—ύψηλὸς τόπος Βουνοειδής, ἀφ' οὗ καταβαίνοντα Θροεῖν ἐστὶ.

Hesych. in v. p. 1738, Albert. edit. 1766.

Θρομβός—ύψηλὸς τόπος idem quod Θρωσμός.

Is. Vossii, not. in v. Θρομβοί, Hesych. p. 1736, ib.

Ἐπὶ Θρωσμῷ πεδίοιο—Ὅδ' πεδὶς μὴ ἐπιδρόμῳ.

Ibid. p. 1355.

The Scholiast on Homer, Il. K. ver. 160, and Il. A. ver. 56, Suidas, and the Etymologicum Magnum in voc. Θρωσμός, make it to be near the Callicolone—"Erat autem Callicolone locus excelsus in campo Trojano, ab isto non longe remotus qui Homero Θρωσμός dicitur," note I, p. 1707, Hesych. ibid. which can not be collected either from Homer or Strabo. The first places the Callicolone near the Simois (Iliad. T. ver. 53), and the latter ten stadia above his site of Troy; but the Θρωσμός was near the ships of the Greeks, and separated from them but by a very small interval—

Οὐκ αἶψ' ὥς τεῶας ἐπὶ Θρωσμῷ πεδίοιο

Εἶται ἄγχι νεῶν, ὀλίγος δ' ἐστὶ χῶρος ἐρύκει.

Il. K. l. 160.

Mr. Le Chevalier, with just as little reason, fancied that, "like Batieia and the tomb of the nimble Myrinna, the Throsnios and the tomb of Ilus were the same. Descrip. p. 112.—The only difference between the two cases is, that Homer says the first was the same, but gives no such hint as to the latter. We may see from the poet, that they were not the same, although perhaps not

We are now arrived at Bournabashi, the Troy of Mr. Le Chevalier. It is a Turkish village, situated on some rising ground, at the head of the great marsh. All travellers have with justice

far from each other; for Hector, and the other chiefs, retired from the camp to the Thrōsmos, to the tomb of Ilus, to hold a council—

Θείου παρὰ σήματι Ἴλου
Νόσθον ἀπὸ Χολοίσις·

Il. K. ver. 415.

Mr. Bryant (Dissert. p. 57) makes Batieia and Filicollone the same, but without giving any reason for such a conjecture. The probable vicinity of the tomb of Ilus to the Throsmos, may help to shew us that Homer never meant a hill or mound by the latter word, for he makes Agamemnon pursue the Trojans from the neighbourhood of the ships, to which they had advanced, by the tomb of Ilus, through the middle of the plain,

Οἱ δὲ παρ' Ἴλου σῆμα παλαιῶι Δαυδανίῳ
Μέσσον καππεδῖον παρ' ἐξινεὸν ἐσσεύοντο
Ἰεμενοὶ πόλεως.

Il. A. ver. 166.

and not over any hill, which must have been the case if the Thrōsmos had been high ground, as the Trojan station was between the place of action and the city. In the two places of Apollonius, *Θεωσμός* does not seem to mean an eminence. Jason and his companions conceal themselves, and hold a council under cover of the high reeds and shrubs in the bed of a river in Cholcis, and then quit their concealment for a place in the plain above, named Circæum, which the poet calls the Thrōsmos of that plain.

Ἄσχαρ ὅανδ' ὑπὲρ ὀνόμας τε καὶ ὕδωρ
Χέρσινδ' ἐξαπέσκησαν ἐπὶ θεωσμῷ πεδίοισιν.
Κιρκάιον τόδε περ κικλήσκεται, ἔνθα δὲ πολλοὶ
Ἐξείης περίμαλόν τ' ἐστὶν ἔκπεφύκται.

Apollon. lib. iii. ver. 199.

lavished their encomiums on the beauty of its situation, which commands an extensive prospect of the whole plain, both to the

We see that on this Thrôsmos there were willows growing (although some, instead of *πρόμαδοι*, have read, without assigning any reason, *προμάλοι*, a sort of wild oak)—trees not so likely to flourish on a hill as on the meadowy banks of rivers. The Scholiast commenting on the passage, calls this Thrôsmos a place overhanging the river—*Τῷ ὑπερκειμένου τῷ ποταμῷ τόπου, ὅπου ἐστὶ θορεῖν καὶ πηδῆσαι ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς*, p. 276, edit. Shaw; and the translator has it “in editiorem locum campi.” The Argonauts, when they proceed from this Thrôsmos of Circaë (ver. 215) are only said to go *from the plain*, ἐκ πεδίου, not from any height.

The other passage in which the disputed word occurs, does not convey the notion of a Thrôsmos being any thing else than a spot with an open space, where there was room to move about. It is not here the Thrôsmos of the plain, but the Thrôsmoi of the river—

Αὐτὰρ ὃν ἰλυόεντες ἀνὰ θρωσμοῖς ποταμοῖο.

Argon. lib. ii. ver. 825.

“Per limosi salebras fluvii,” are the words of the translator; and the Scholiast interprets it, *ἀντὶ τῆς, κατὰ τὰς ἀναβολὰς καὶ ἀναβάσεις, καὶ καθύδους*, p. 219, edit. Shaw.—Supposing the word to be derived from *θρωσκεῖν*, or *θορεῖν*, to leap, there seems no necessity for having the ἀφ’ οὗ καταβαίνοντα *θορεῖν ἐστί*, the “descending leap” of Hesychius: a level spot is more fit for leaping or exercise than any high ground. When Homer mentions Batieia, on, or at, which the Trojans were drawn out in array, he describes it as a hill, and if the *θρωσμος*, where the Trojans were also stationed, had been a hill, it is likely he would have likewise described it as such. We may be inclined, then, to submit to Mr. Bryant’s opinion, that the *θρωσμοῖς* of Homer should be rendered *saltus campestris* and not the mound of the plain. The preposition *up* (ἀνὰ), with which it is connected in the passages above quoted, may perhaps persuade us that a gentle ascent is expressed, unless it only conveys the meaning of our phrase *up the country, up to town*.

shores of the strait and to the open sea, and gives a nearer view to the north of low undulating hills, whose slopes are adorned with frequent villages, and backed with a dark line of forest scenery. To the right, at about half a mile distance, the Menderes flows through a green flat, winding from behind a rocky hill, called Balli-Dali, or the Honey Mountain, which rises at the back (the south-east) of the eminence of Bournabashi, and is separated from it only by a narrow woody dell.—Immediately below the village is the path which crosses the country from the north to the south towards Alexandria Troas, and on the other side of this path is a slope of hard rugged ground, covered with Turkish tombstones, chiefly granite, and having the appearance of being taken from some ancient structure. Below this to the south, less than a quarter of a mile from the houses, is one of those beautiful springs from which the village takes its name of the Fountain-Head. The principal basin is ornamented by a rectangular margin of white marble slabs and the fragments of two granite pilasters; and the water gushing copiously from below, slides over the smooth brink, and moistens a flat plot of green sward, which is shaded by a line of weeping willows rising from a shrubbery of evergreens.

The temperature of this spring has been found to be sixty-four of Fahrenheit's scale, and we learnt that in the winter a steam arises from it, which altogether conceals the source and the surrounding grove. It felt tepid in April, but was not so warm as to be unpleasant to the taste. The head of the marsh, obscured by tall reeds, commences a little to the west of the fountain. Walking for three minutes to the south, and keeping by the side of some pools of water, interspersed with brushwood, you come to a

strong spring, bubbling up from beneath a rocky hillock, and flowing off, dispersed in several pebbly channels, into the marsh and through a line of gardens belonging to the Turks of Bournabashli. The Aga, a considerable person in this part of the country, has a kiosk in one of them between the two springs, which is surrounded by an orangery, and sheltered by a grove of ashes and poplars and other tall trees. On one of my visits to the spot, our party, who had been on a shooting excursion in the marshes, and were somewhat fatigued after a hot walk of five hours, took some refreshment under a spreading walnut-tree, on the brink of a rivulet running round the Aga's garden, which supplied us with water-cresses.

As we were rising to depart, a tall fair complexioned Turk, half wrapped in a tattered garment, having every mark of extreme poverty, but with an easy graceful mien, walked over the little plank laid across the brook from the garden, and accosted me first in Italian, and afterwards, seeing my surprise at hearing any thing but Turkish from a Turk, in Latin, enquiring if I understood that language—" *Domine scis linguam Latinam?*" He added a few sentences, in a manner which shewed he had once been accustomed to converse. He was asked where he had learnt his Latin. He said at home. Had he ever received any public instruction? "*Vidi etiam academiam sed non frequentavi,*" was his reply. He had seen the English at Alexandria. When questioned as to the place of his birth, and his country, he answered, "*Sum civis mundi*"—"I am a citizen of the world;" and smiling, put an end to our interrogatories, by asking me if I wished to see the garden belonging to his master: "*Visne videre hunc hortum, mei magistri est.*" At this instant a Turk richly dressed came up, and

accosting him with great kindness and familiarity by the name of Selim, they both walked away to the village.

The singularity of meeting a Turk talking Latin in a solitary garden in the Troad, although not so agreeable an adventure as that which befell the friend of Æschines, and (as Mr. Le Chevalier thought) on this very spot*, engaged our thoughts for some time, and we could only conclude him to be one of the many prisoners or deserters from the French Egyptian army who embraced Islamism, some, as it was reported in France at the time, from inclination, others to save their lives.

The springs and the pools of water unite their streams, which are partly lost in the marsh, and partly flow into the channel of the Bournabashi rivulet, and the whole fountain is called Saranda Ochia—the Forty Eyes. The last mentioned source is thought by the people of the place to be cold, but is in fact of the same temperature as the tepid fountain, although, as it does not rise and settle in a basin, but flows off into the pools, its warmth is not so easily perceived as that of the other springs. To the taste they appeared to me exactly the same, and only not chill; a fact, which, considering the number of warm sources in this part of the country, it would not be worth while to mention, if Mr. Le Cheva-

* Mr. Le Chevalier commenting seriously on the accident of Callirhoe, calls it “a circumstance ever to be regretted, as it prevented Æschines from entering into a minute examination of the plain of Troy, and from giving the result of his enquiries to the world.” La Fontaine thought otherwise, and made somewhat better use of Cimon’s adventure than Mr. Le C., who really believed that Æschines came to Troas to write such a piece of topography as his own. One circumstance has as usual escaped or been unnoticed by him, although his editor has been more explicit: the letters of Æschines are thought to be spurious.

lier and his disciples had not positively pronounced them to be the two fountains of the Scamander, the *Δοιαί πηγαί* of Homer, one of which was enveloped in smoke, as of a burning fire, whilst the other in the summer rushed forth cold as the hail, the chill snow, and the ice†.

My last visit was paid to these springs on the last day of April, which was more sultry than an English midsummer, and might therefore have shown the freezing faculty of the cold spring to advantage. I repeat, however, that no difference was perceptible between the temperature of the fountains. Yet Mr. Le Chevalier, comparing it with the other, says it is "always cold*;" when, however, he could see the broad, the angry Scamander in a rivulet, in spite of all ancient authority, whether of poetry or prose, it is not surprising that he should reject the evidence of his senses, and find the warm and freezing sources of that river in the tepid fountains of Bournabashi. Demetrius of Scepsis confessed that the Scamander rose in the hill Cotylus from one source; and Strabo endeavoured to explain away the difficulty, by suggesting that the hot spring may have failed, or that the two sources may have been those of some tributary stream, which might therefore be fairly called springs of the Scamander. This must be allowed, and was so by Mr. Bryant, to be a very reasonable account; and those believers in the *Iliad* who can reconcile one hot and one icy fountain with many tepid springs, may be willing to adopt the latter suggestion, and suppose the sources at Bournabashi to be those to which Hector was pursued by Achilles. It must, however, be observed, that the explanation

* *Iliad*, X. v. 147.

† 127 *Descript. Plain of Troy*.

can hardly be applied to springs supplying a rivulet which does not fall into the main river till within a mile and a half of its mouth ; and, moreover, that if Demetrios or Strabo had thought these Bournabashi fountains to have been the *Διαὶ πηγαί*, or if they had been commonly so called and noticed amongst the other Homeric objects, it is next to an impossibility, that after having made the remark and particularly discussed the difficulty, the author should not have mentioned their existence in the Trojan plain. Let me add, that those who believe in the fountains, may as well believe Bournabashi to be Troy ; for if Achilles and Hector fought on this spot, the great difficulty of the distance of the city from the sea is removed ; indeed they are almost bound to believe it, since the Scamandrian springs were in sight of, and not far from, the city.

There are at Bournabashi several traces of some ancient town having stood in the vicinity, and the situation of the village is such, as I have observed the Greeks generally choose for their cities ; blocks of carved marble and granite, one or two containing inscriptions which throw no light on the subject, are to be found in the houses, and particularly in the Aga's court-yard : vestiges of a paved way are also discernible. But it is on the hill Balli-Dahi, a quarter of a mile to the south-south-east, that the citadel of Priam and the tombs of his sons have been at last discovered. Above the first rugged flat there is a second eminence, the highest summit of the hill ; on this are three barrows, not so large as those on the shore of the strait, but similar to them in every respect, except that one, like the cairns of Scotland, is chiefly composed of stones thrown loosely together. It is possible that the covering of turf may have been worn away by expo-

sure to the wind and rain. Mr. Le Chevalier chose to call it the tomb of Hector, and found a wonderful similarity between its position and that of the imitative sepulchre which Andromache raised to the memory of her hero on the shores of Epirus*. The cenotaph however was before the city, in a grove, on the banks of the feigned Simois.

“ Ante urbem, in luco, falsi Simoentis ad undam ”

Æn. iii. v. 500.

This barrow is in Mr. Le Chevalier's city, and no more on the banks of the Simois, than Blaize Castle near Bristol is on the banks of the Avon. It stands near the brink of a steep precipice, very high above the Mendero. If Virgil had any particular spot in view, we may find something full as likely to have been the prototype of his description, for we see in Strabo†, that at a place called Ophrynum, they showed the *grove of Hector*; but this was on the banks of the strait, twenty-five miles at the least from Bournabashi. We do not know, in fact, that the sepulchre was in that grove, or on any other spot; for an oracle preserved amongst the Thebans, related that the ashes of Hector had been conveyed from Troy to their city, and his tomb was shown at the fountain of Œdipus‡. If any inference is to be drawn from the lines in the Pharsalia, in which the Phrygian tells Cæsar not to tread on the ashes of Hector, it is, that no such barrow as is

* “ Virgil takes a very ingenious method of pointing out the true situation of Hector's tomb.”—*Descript. of Plain of Troy*, p. 123.

† Lib. xiii. p. 595.

‡ Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἐκτορος Θηβαίοις τάφος τῷ Πριάμῃ πρὸς Ὀνιποδίῳ καλεμένη κρήνῃ.—Paus. lib. ix. 569, edit. Hanov.

now seen on Balli-Dahi, was ever called the tomb of that warrior*.

Another of the tumuli is the tomb of Paris, but which of them has not been as yet determined; Strabo, however, relates that his monument was at Cebrene†. On the surface of the summit of Balli-Dahi are some flat stones regularly disposed, the vestiges of two pits or cisterns, and near the edge of the precipice above the river where it is four hundred feet high, the foundation stones of massive uncemented walls.

A most correct view of these relics is given in the thirty-seventh plate of the *Topography of Troy*, the author of which, has never called his pencil to the aid of his pen; but with a candour and ingenuity very rarely to be met with in a theorist, has, in the fidelity of his representations, furnished us with competent means of disproving his system. Those who look at the vestiges on Balli-Dahi in his plate, may be assured that such are the actual appearances on that hill; but enough may have been already said

* “ —————Scurus in alto
Gramine ponbat gressus, Phryx incola manes
Hectoreos calcare vetat.”

Pharsal. ix. v. 975.

Thus rendered by Mr. Le C. “*Cæsar, in traversing the plain of Troy, was walking inadvertently over a heap of stones and of turf, which no longer retained the shape of a tomb:*” “*Stop, Cæsar,*” cried his guide, “*you are treading upon the ashes of Hector,*” p. 122. Let me ask whether the original, or even this strange translation, gives a picture of any one climbing on a rugged precipice, amongst ruins, and over the summits of actual tombs? For either Mr. Le C. must believe that *Luca* really alludes to the barrow on Balli-Dahi, or the reference is altogether inapplicable and futile; but the poet could never have said that there were no ruins on this hill.

† Lib. xiii. p. 596.

to convince them, that some scope has been given to the imagination, in calling two or three lines of single flat stones the ruins of the *palace of Priam, the palace of Hector, the palace of Alexander, the temple of Apollo, the temple of Minerva, and the temple of Jupiter.*

The same author of course is not deterred by the ancient authorities who mention that no vestige was left of Troy, but quotes Babylon as an instance, that ruins long thought to have perished may be at last discovered. He might have added Baalbek, the finding of whose remains by Mr. Wood was ridiculed as a chimerical invention; but was Babylon at any time sought after as was Troy? were its ruins in the midst of the most polite and learned people in the world, who for a succession of ages desired and tried in vain to discover its site? I see no parity whatever in the two cases, and I must add, that it is not to be credited that Demetrius of Scepsis, and other enquirers living on the spot, would overlook any part of the Trojan plain on the banks of the Scamander containing the ruins of palaces and temples, which must necessarily have been twenty times more considerable in those days than they are at present.

The real Trojan palaces, if they ever existed, must have been erected in the very infancy of architecture, and what excellence could have been attained in this art, when letters had not been invented, when commerce was a change of commodities, arithmetic counting on the fingers, and when carpenters built ships with a brazen hatchet*? The greater part of the houses of the royal

* Wood's Essay on Homer, pp. 268, 274. That such must have been the state of society when even Homer wrote, may be deduced from his poems. Mr. W. observes, that the poet does not talk of sculpture with admiration.

city of Sardis, when it was destroyed by the Ionians, were either of reeds, or brick thatched with reeds, and of this material we may suppose the temple of Cybele to have been made, which was burnt with the other buildings*. The walls of the citadel were of course more durably constructed, but the interior buildings could hardly have answered to any thing like our notion of a palace, nor can we think that the Pergamus of Priam was composed of edifices so constructed as to leave remains discernible after a period of three thousand years.

The oldest statues of the gods were blocks of wood scarcely cut; the temples, the *κλυτὰ δώματα* of those ages may, however mean and simple, have been decent enough for such divinities. The poet, when describing the celestial habitations, says nothing of their size or construction, but confines himself to the costliness of their materials. Agamemnon's palace, or the treasury of Atreus, lately discovered at Mycenæ, is, it is true, a durable fabric, as also is the treasury of Myneus at Orchomeno; but we cannot be sure that those buildings did exist in the times alledged; we can only know that they were very ancient, and had those particular denominations amongst the Greeks of after ages.

* Ἦσαν ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι οἰκίαι, αἱ μὲν πλεῦνες, καλάμιναι. Ὅσαι δὲ αὐτέων καὶ πλίνθιναι ἦσαν, καλάμου εἶχον τὰς ὀροφάς.—Herod. Hist. lib. v. cap. 101, p. 242, edit. Edinb. 1806.

LETTER XLII.

The District of the Troad—Ene—Eski-Scupthu—Bairam-itche—Kas-daghy, the Cotylus of Ida—Argument against the identity of that Summit with the Homeric Gargarus—and against that of Rhætéum and Sigéum with the Promontories bounding the Grecian Camp, mentioned in the Iliad—The Authority of Virgil quoted—The Homeric Troy in front of Tenedos—The Geographical Plain of Troy probably not that of the Iliad—The Homeric Landmarks invented by the Greeks after the Age of the Poet—No inference to be drawn from casual Resemblances between the Descriptions of them, and the actual Landscape near the Banks of the Menderé—The endeavours of Writers to adjust the Poetical to the present Positions entirely unsuccessful—Mr. Pope's Map, and the unaccountable Remarks upon it by Mr. Le Chevalier—Conclusion of Observations on the Troad, with an Enquiry into the limits of the ancient Hellespont.

THE remains on Balli-Dahi have been referred to a very late period, but when we know that the Troad was full of towns, of which Strabo enumerates twenty, we shall not be at

a loss to account for antiquities, either on this spot, or in any other portion of the same region. At Erkissi-Keui and Bos-Keui, villages on the ridge stretching south-westward from Bournabashi, on which stands Udjek-Tepe, there are also many fragments of marble and granite ruins: part of these were thought by Dr. Pococke to belong to Ilium.

The expectation that the frigate would sail immediately up the straits, prevented us from proceeding above Bournabashi along the banks of the Mendere, to the summit of the highest hill of the Idaean chain, Kas-daghy. But as no one ever thought of searching for Troy above the point to which we confined our researches, we were the less anxious to prosecute our journey in that quarter. Travelling in the Troad is at present not only safe, but perfectly agreeable, for Englishmen especially, owing to the good disposition of the governors of the district. The whole Idaean territory, nearly that of the lesser Phrygia, is under the power of Hadoum Oglou, or Hadgi Osman Bey; but the more immediate jurisdiction of the Troad is in the hands of his son, Hadoum Zade, or Hadji Achmet Bey. The latter of these resides at Ene, a town on the banks of a rivulet which falls into the Mendere about twelve miles above Bournabashi, and which is named in the maps the Andrius, a river flowing from the country called anciently Carasena.

It has been thought probable, that Ene may be on the site of the town *Ænéa*, which the ancient inhabitants alledged was the royal seat of *Æneas*. The account of the tradition is from Strabo, but he says nothing of a large barrow which there is near the modern town called Sovran-Tepe—the *Sovereign's Tomb*, or Ene-Tepe—the *Tomb of Ene*, and which, if it stood in ancient times, was perhaps, as were many other similar monuments in diffe-

rent parts of the world, shown as the tomb of Æneas. Whatever weight is derived from the similarity of the ancient and modern names will be lessened by observing that there is another Ene on the shore of the Adramyttian gulf above Bairam, the ancient Assos. A village to the south is called Eski-Scupthu, which, as it corresponds in its site, and partly in its name, with Palæ-Scepsis, fifty stadia from Ænéa, may be on the position of that ancient town. It would be hopeless to enquire, by what good fortune Ænéa, and Palæ-Scepsis, which was a decayed place in Strabo's time, should alone (if we except the doubtful Thymbrek), of all the spots in the Troad, have preserved nearly their ancient names. The case of the last may be thought more remarkable, when the latter city of Scepsis, sixty stadia below the old site, has been entirely lost*.

* Eski in Turkish is equivalent to the *παλαι* in Greek.—Palæ-Scepsis was fifty stadia from Ænéa. Strab. lib. xiii. p. 603. It was near the highest part of Ida, *κατὰ τὸ μετεωρότατον τῆς Ἰδῆς*, Strab. *ibid.* p. 607. It will be as well to look at Kauffer's map, and see how the site of Eski-Scupthu will answer to this description: if Eski-Scupthu is Palæ-Scepsis, Strabo could not say it was near Cotylus, where the Scamander rises, or in other words, his Ida Proper could not be Cotylus. Again, Palæ-Scepsis was above Cebrene, *ἐπάνω Κεβρήνης*, and sixty stadia above New Scepsis—*ὑστερον δὲ κατωτέρω σταδίοις ἐξήκοντα εἰς τὴν νῦν Σκῆψιν μετακίσθησαν*—but the Scamander flowed between the territory of Scepsis and Cebrene—*τὴν δὲ Κεβρηνίαν διήκειν μέχρι τῆς Σκηψίας*. *Ὅριον δὲ εἶναι τὸν Σκάμανδρον μέσον αὐτῶν ῥέοντα*, *ibid.* p. 597. According to this account, Scepsis should be on the north bank of the Scamander; yet how will this answer with what Strabo says in another place, that the plain country of the Troad, in the narrow part towards the mountains, stretched as far to the south as the neighbourhood of Scepsis, *ibid.* p. 506. The confusion of confusions is seen in Mr. Barbiè du Boccage's map of Troas, attached to Anacharsis, and may convince any one of the extreme difficulty of restoring the ancient geography of this celebrated region.

Hadoum Oglou lives at the large town of Bairam-itché, which gives its name to a long plain, extending on the banks of the Mendere, between twelve and thirteen miles towards the roots of Kasdaghy : it is nine or ten from Enc. From the neighbourhood of Bairam-itché, were brought two of the marbles in the vestibule of the Public Library at Cambridge*. The whole district of Ida was held in much veneration, and it is probable that an inquisitive traveller would find remnants of the ancient superstition which sanctified this poetic region, in the most remote solitudes, in the deep recesses of the forests and the summits of the highest hills.

The source of the Mendere, a cataract, commonly called the falls of Megara, is at the foot of Kasdaghy, about six hours above Bairam-itché, and not only the written narrations of travellers, but the account of a friend who visited the spot whilst we were in Turkey, make me lament that any incident should have occurred to prevent our enjoying a spectacle more magnificent, as I understand, than the brightest conception can anticipate. The ascent to the top of Kasdaghy is an object which I must also regret that we omitted to accomplish. If however we had gained the eminence, it would not have been, on my part, with the persuasion that we were scaling the terrestrial heaven of the Idæan Jove.

There appears to me no way of getting over Mr. Bryant's arguments in favour of Troy, as described by the poet, being under the most southern parts of Ida, and near those mountains of Troas, called Lectum and Gargarus†; and I shall observe, that what

* No. XVI. No. XXVI. Clarke's Greek Marbles.

† See Dissertation, p. 134, and p. 136, to the end.

Mr. Wood calls the machinery*, and may be denominated the celestial topography of Homer, can be adduced as a proof of this supposition.

That which the ancient geographers called Ida, is a chain of hills extending north-north-east from Baba, or Lectum, and divided into several ridges, two summits of which (exactly given in the fifteenth plate of the 'Topography of Troy) overlook the whole sloping country towards Tenedos. The highest point of these ranges, once called Cotylus, now Kas-daghy, will be seen by looking at Kauffer's map, to be at a vast distance, both from Lectum and Sigëum, and to be near the sea on no side, except that of the Adramyttian gulf, where the Grecian fleet could not have been stationed, or it would not have been visible from the top of Samothrace, as in the thirteenth book of the Iliad it is said to have been. The plain of the Menderc towards Cape Janissary, is distant from Mount Cotylus, or Kas-daghy, thirty-five miles at the least, and separated from it by a ridge of low brown hills, and a large tract of plain country. But Gargarus and Lectum were immediately above the scene of action in the Iliad, not figuratively, but actually. The king of gods and men might have remained in the Thessalian Olympus† to have seen the ships of the Greeks,

* Essay on Homer, p. 133.

† This mountain Mr. Bryant calls the heavenly Olympus, and does not imagine it to be a hill upon earth (Dissertation, &c. p. 143). His chief reason is adduced from the circumstance, that Jupiter, in going thence from Ida, is said to fly "*between the earth and the starry sky*" (Il. ☉. ver. 46); but it appears that Juno is standing on this same Olympus in the fourteenth book, and in that place it is evidently the Thessalian Olympus, for her route is traced from the mountain over Æmathea, or the plain of Thessaly, thence over the hills of Thrace to Athos, Lemnos, and Lectum (Il. ☿. ver. 225 to 285). This seat of the gods,

and the city of 'Troy, unless he had wished to be near the plain : nor would he have poured a cloud round his horses and chariot, to render them invisible*, if the combatants, and the whole scene of action, had been thirty miles distant from his station. When the gods held a council to favour the Trojans, it was on a mount in the plain ; and when Jupiter quitted the heavens to watch over their interests, the summits whence he launched his lightnings against the Greeks were not, it is probable, divided from 'Troy by intervening hills and plains. In the thirteenth book of the Iliad, it is said, that from the position of Neptune on the woody Samothrace, *the whole of Ida appeared, and the city of Priam, and the ships of the Greeks*; and the vicinity of the objects may perhaps be collected by their being mentioned together †.

although described by the poet as in the heavens, at an immeasurable height above the rest of the earth, was still on the actual summit of the many-headed Olympus—

Ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδείραδος Ὀλύμπου—

in order to scale which, the giants heaped Ossa on Pelion, two mountains also in Thessaly. Even the celestial properties of Olympus were those of a mountain, not of any region in the sky detached from the earth. "It was never shaken by the wind, nor hidden by the tempest, nor approached by the snow, but was in a cloudless atmosphere, encircled with a pure splendour." I find the variety in the Homeric descriptions of Olympus, noticed by Mr. R. P. Knight in his *Carmina HomERICA*, p. 26, not after Mr. Bryant's manner, but as a proof that in the inventive parts of poetry congruity is not to be expected.

* Κατὰ δ' ἤερα πολὺν ἔχουσιν—II. Θ. 1. 46, 52.

† I see that in the Observations on Mr. Le Chevalier's Treatise (p. 22), this passage is adduced in proof of the same point. The sentence does not, how-

The part of Ida called Lectum, stretched down to the sea, for there Juno and Somnus, on their passage from Lemnos, first left the waves.

Ἴδην δ' ἰκέσθην πολυπύδακα, μητέρα Θηρῶν
Λεκτόν· Ὅθι, πρῶτον λιπέτην ἄλλα.

II. E. 283.

But not only the promontory, but part of the hill towards the summits of the mountain was so called; since *the woods of Lectum trembled under the feet of the deities as they ascended*; and these woods were not far beneath Gargarus, for in them Somnus concealed himself on a pine-tree, to assist the machinations of the goddess, who advanced swifly to the seat of Jupiter.

Ἥρη δὲ κραίπνῳς προσεβήσατο Γάργαρον ἄκρον
Ἴδης ὑψηλῆς.

II. E. 292.

Somnus may be supposed to have been at hand, and not far from the top of Ida.

Now would Juno have gone from Imbros to Lectum, in order to arrive at the seat of Jupiter, who was looking down upon the plain of Troy, if that plain had been near Sigéum, which is almost as far from the promontory Lectum, as it is from the mountain which is the summit of the Idæan range? Strabo indeed calls Gargarus the top of Ida*, notwithstanding he gives the name of Cotylus to the hill where the Scamander, together with the Granicus and Æsc-

ever, admit solely of such an interpretation: it may imply, that the god could see the whole range of Ida, *and could see also the city of Priam and the ships of the Greeks.*

* Lib. xiii. p. 583.

pus*, has its source, which is found by actual observation to be the highest point of the whole Idæan chain, and about seven hundred and seventy-five toises above the level of the sea. The town Gargara was on a high promontory, twenty-seven Roman miles from Lectum, and at the mouth of the Adramyttian gulf, properly so called. The summit Gargarus may have been above it, on the ridges either to the north-north-east in the direction of Cotylus, or to the north-west towards Lectum. Antandros, the town, was not far from Gargara, for it was only thirty-five Roman miles from Alexandria Troas; but a mountain called Cilleum was between the height Gargarus and Antandros†; so that Cilleum most probably may have been the ridge in the northern direction from Gargara, and Gargarus the north-western summits.

On the whole, there seems no positive authority for supposing Cotylus and Gargarus to be the same mountain‡, notwithstanding the decisions of Hesychius, Vibius Sequester, and Macrobius, and the dreams of the grammarians, who, to strengthen their hypothesis, had recourse to the last resource of criticism, an absurd etymological conjecture§.

* Lib. xiii. p. 602.

† Lib. xiii. p. 612.

‡ Pococke says, that "Gargarum was *another* summit of Mount Ida, probably more to the south than Cotylus."—*Observations in Asia Minor*, p. 107.

§ Vid. not. Phil. Jac. Mausacci. in *Plutarchi Fluv.* p. 76, vol. ii. *Plut. Op. Om.* edit. Paris, 1624. "Γαργαρον, ita dictum quasi Καρκρον caput capitis ut somniant grammatici."

Another passage of the same annotator, quotes Vibius Sequester, the author of the *Treatise de Montibus*, mentioned above, as saying that the Xanthus or Scamander flows into the Propontis (Xanthus Troiæ, Ilío proximus, ex Ida

Again—Jupiter seated on Ida, turns his eyes from the scene of action towards the land of the Thracians and Mysians. By which, as Strabo in his seventh book observes*, Homer must be understood to mean the *Thracians separated from the Troad by the Hellespont, and the European Mysians.*

'Αυτὸς δὲ πάλιν τρέπεν ὅσσε φαεινῷ
Νόσφιν ἐφ' ἱπποπόδων Θρηκῶν καθορώμενος ἄϊαν
Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων Il. N. ver. 3.

Under correction from better judgments, I venture, however, to hint, that when the geographer explained πάλιν, *back*, by ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν Τρώων) *behind, or at the back of the Trojans*, it was in conformity with his notion of the site of Troy, but that the more apparent interpretation of the passage is, that Jupiter looked *back, behind him*, or at least in a direction entirely different from that of his usual object. The expression τρέπεν ὅσσε, "*he turned his eyes*," the word πάλιν, "*back*," and νόσφιν, in the Latin version *seorsum*†, and in our translation "*apart*," will be hardly thought to signify that he "*lifted his eyes and looked over and beyond the Trojan plain*;" which must have been the case if the scene of action was on the shore of the straits. But

monte defluens Simoenti junctus in Propontidem funditur—not: ad Scamandrum, *ibid.*); by which a judgment may be formed of the reliance to be placed on his decisions in any topographical nicety. He may possibly mean what is called the Propontic Hellespont, above Abydos, but is wrong even in that case.

* Page 295.

† "Se versum."—See Dr. Clarke's note to verse 349, Il. A.

supposing the god to be looking towards Lectum, he must then have turned his eyes *back*, and *apart* from Troy, in order to take a view of Thrace and Mysia. This consideration, if it had been suggested by any better authority than my own, I should regard as decisive of the conclusion that Homer's plain of Troy cannot have been farther north than the country near Alexandria Troas, and that it lay a little to the south of west from Cotylus, beneath Gargarus, a height of Ida, the roots of which formed the promontory Lectum.

Let me add that, whatever was commonly thought respecting the pretensions of the Rhœtean shores, we find a trace of the main Grecian army having been near Lectum; for an altar to the twelve gods, raised by Agamemnon, was shown on that promontory*; and as the king of kings remained stationary before Troy, and did not undertake any expeditions against the tributary cities†, it is not likely that his altar should be at Lectum if his troops were at Sigéum. It may be asked, if the Scamander of Strabo is not the Scamander of Homer, why should his Lectum be the promontory of that name in the Iliad? I do not see how this question is to be answered; but the conclusion cannot establish any thing in favour of the river, although it may destroy the pretensions of the mountain. The arrangements of the Hellenian Greeks, in fixing the scenes of the Homeric poems, were extremely fanciful: for example, Æge, where was the palace of

* Strab. lib. xiii. p. 605.

† “For the chief expeditions made to other places were under Achilles, which are mentioned Iliad, I. 326, Odyss. T. 105; and at these times we are told in express terms, that Agamemnon, and consequently the main army, remained before Troy.”—Bryant, Observations, p. 6.

Neptune, and from which some thought the Ægean took its name, according to them was in Eubœa, at the place afterwards called Carystus*; so that the god of the sea, when he took four strides from Samothrace to Æge†, went fifty leagues out of his way to mount his chariot, since he might have reached the deep cave between Imbros and Tenedos, where he left his horses, in one-fourth of that distance, and by going in a direct line from his station on the mountain towards Troy.

Notwithstanding the objections which have been made to the citation of Virgil by Mr. Bryant‡, as an evidence in this inves-

* Strab. lib. viii. p. 386.

† Iliad, N. ver. 15—35.

‡ It does not seem a necessary consequence, as that learned person thought, that Virgil's city was immediately under Antandros, because Æneas built his ships in that situation—

sub ipsa

Antandro et Phrygiæ . . . montibus Idæ.

If it had been any where in the district of Antandros (for I do not find there was, as Mr. Bryant asserts, a mountain of that name*), it would have been to the south-east of Lectum; nor could it be in face of Tenedos, nor burnish the Sigean straits with its flames. Virgil expressly informs us, that at the destruction of the city the Trojans were dispersed; and that a number of fugitives collected under Anchises, who, when the fleet was ready, set sail at the beginning of summer. That Æneas and his Trojans did not depart from Troy, but from a post which they occupied on one of the summits of Ida, is part of the story which Dionysius of Halicarnassus thought most probable, and which the ancient writer Hellanicus followed in his history of the Trojans†; and there is no incongruity in supposing that, flying from the burning city, he went towards a region in a different quarter from that which was the station of the Grecian fleet

* See Strab. lib. xiii. p. 606.

† Dion. Halicar. lib. i. cap. 40.

tigation, from the supposition that he was never on the spot, I cannot but consider the authority of the Latin poet as deriving the more weight from the very circumstance, on account of which it has been so much disregarded. Had he ever visited the shores of the Hellespont, it is probable that he would have followed the commonly-received opinion of the Greeks of Phrygia, and that, besides Sigéum and Rhœtéum, he would have introduced their positions and notorious objects. As it is, we must conclude that he supposed himself following his great prototype, in placing his 'Troy and Trojan plain opposite to Tenedos; and we may fairly think it of some importance to be supported by so great a name, in preferring the country about Alexandria Troas to that near Ilium, for the site of the Homeric city and the scene of the war.

and army, and embarked at some distance from Troy. In the interpretation of the words of Æneas, "I leave the port and the fields where Troy stood"—

Portusque relinquo

Et campos nbi Troja fuit ;"

we may reduce them to the language of prose, and understand the hero simply to say, "I set sail, and quit my country." There is by no means any necessity for connecting the "port" with "the fields where Troy stood." How Æneas came to raise a large tomb for Deiphobus on the Rhœtean shore, unless that shore was near his Troy, is indeed a question not easily to be answered; nor can it be very well accounted for, why the spot chosen for this monument was the very station of the Greeks, who might be supposed to interrupt the pious labours of the hero. According, however, to the compact between the Greeks and the Trojans under Æneas, the conquerors were to facilitate the evacuation of the country by the latter*, and might not have forbidden the funeral rites: or Virgil may have used the epithet Rhœtean, to signify the shores of the Trojan plain.

* Dion. Halicar. lib. i. cap. 39.

A very general persuasion in favour of this position obtained amongst the learned of modern times. Casaubon, in his commentary on Strabo, evidently shows that he thought the shores of the identical Trojan plain to be the land on the continent nearest to Tenedos; for he remarks, that Strabo gives a shorter distance between the main land and the island than Pliny, which, as the latter is talking of Sigéum, is perfectly reconcileable with fact, and would not have been noticed by any one who did not conceive Sigéum in front of Tenedos*. Indeed, the Sigean shore, although not Sigéum, is said by Pliny to be opposite to Tenedos†; and the spot occupied afterwards by Alexandria Troas was named, so we learn from Strabo, Sigia‡. A town, or district, between the Sigean and the Alexandrian territory, and in face of Tenedos, was called Achæum§; and Dr. Pococke conceived the port of the Greeks to be in that quarter: Mr. Bryant does indeed affirm, that it was so denominated from being the supposed station of the Grecian ships, and the place of the encampment, quoting Strabo as his authority||. Here, however, it does not appear that he is held out by the geographer; at least I have not been able to fix upon any thing in the three places where it is mentioned in his thirteenth book, conveying such a meaning. Strabo does seem to make it the boundary of the plain country of the Troad to the

* 'Ου πλείους τῶν τετταράκοντα σταδίων διέχουσα τῆς ἡπείρου. Plinius ait abesse Tenedum a Sigeo XII. M et D pass: quæ stadia sunt aliquanto plura." —P. 226, Comment. et Castig.

† "Adversa Sigeo littori adjacet Tenedus."—Lib. v. cap. 30.

‡ Σιγία.—Lib. xiii. 604.

§ Αχαιοιν.—Sic leg. Casanb. Com. et Castig. in lib. xiii. pp. 596, 604.

|| Observations on a Treatise, p. 24.

south* ; but having placed the port of the Greeks before the Sigean promontory, expressly puts Achæum after that headland†.

It has been shown, I believe, that the ancient topographers looked for the scene of the *Iliad* on the shores of the straits ; and that the present face of the country corresponds sufficiently with their accounts, to enable us not only to understand, but to form a judgment on the accuracy of, their conclusions respecting the city of Priam and the plain of Troy. Whether the fable of the poet was founded on fact, or was altogether fiction (a point which it has been my wish entirely to leave out of this enquiry), I see no necessity for allowing, with Mr. Blackwell‡, that Homer, although he may have been acquainted with Phrygia, had a personal knowledge of the precise site of his war, or had fixed upon any distinct spot for the scene of his action. It is true, indeed, that an inimitable air of truth is to be found in his description ; that he is simple, distinct, and every where consistent with himself ; but this is a portion of his art, this is the characteristic of his genius : it is an excellence less likely perhaps to be found in a painter of real scenery, than in one who trusts altogether to his invention and is not encumbered with an adjustment of actual localities ; and the poet is equally minute, particular, and, it may be almost said, credible in his detail, when he conducts his delighted guests into the coral caves of the ocean, or the silver palaces of Olympus. It is hardly necessary to add, that he cannot be affected by any of the difficulties attendant upon the examination of the question, and that there is no confusion in the

* Lib. xiii. p. 596.

† Ibid. pp. 603, 604.

‡ An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, Sect. xii. p. 209

descriptions of the *Iliad*, except when they are compared with the topography of the *Troad*.

This confusion began to arise the moment a question was instituted on the actual identity of the plain before Ilium with the plain of *Troy*. The first enquirers were the first to start objections. The conjectures of all were combated, and if Demetrius of Scepsis attacked the claims of Ilium, doubtless some critic of that town showed those of his Village of the *Iliæans* to be equally unfounded.

The author of the *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, talking of Demetrius's commentary, says, "there he ascertained the real places of Homer's descriptions, and pointed out the scenes of the remarkable actions. He showed where the Greeks had drawn up their ships; where Achilles encamped with his *Myrmidons*; where Hector drew up the *Trojans*; and from what country came the auxiliaries*." It is astonishing with what boldness these things are said, and with what facility they are admitted. If any judgment is to be formed of Demetrius's whole work from the allusions to, and extracts from, it in *Strabo*, he destroyed rather than established the received opinions on this subject, and as for the particular points above mentioned, excepting the last, we have no hint that he touched upon them at all, but may rather conclude that he did not, since they are not noticed by the geographer as being topics of controversy. The last seems to have been the sole object of his thirty books, although it is here put at the end of, and as a secondary adjunct to, the other parts of the detail.

* Sect. xii. p. 295.

Those who have seen the plains near Cape Janissary, or even have looked at the map of the country, may, with Homer before them, be able to find objections to the supposed site of the war which have escaped Mr. Bryant and other enquirers, but they may perhaps be inclined to think, that if the Greeks of Phrygia were wrong in their conjectures, no such discovery will be ever made of the true positions as shall be allowed on all hands to be unobjectionable. The present plain of the Mendere towards Cape Janissary, is certainly the plain of Troy of those Greeks; but the only resemblance which a three weeks residence on the spot, with the poet in my hand, enabled me to find out between that plain and Homer's scene, was that which in the eyes of Fluellen, made the native country of Alexander so like the birth-place of Henry the Fifth—"There is a river in Macedon, and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth.*." Yet the river, whose doubtful fountain makes us hesitate before we follow its course, after appearing to guide us in its progress, runs us into a labyrinth just as we come to the end of the clue: for the same description of its mouth which shows that the Mendere is the Scamander of Strabo, convinces us that the Scamander of Strabo was not the Xanthus of Homer, or that the Rhœtean promontory was not the station of Ajax†. But notwithstanding this insuperable discrepancy, the Greeks, as we have seen, pointed out not only the port of Agamemnon's army, but their naval station and the place:

* Henry V. act iv. scene vii.

† "Homer intimates very clearly and repeatedly, that it (the river) was to the left, and served as a barrier to the north." "Whoever, therefore, places Achilles upon the Scamander, and Ajax and his troops at a distance from it, is greatly mistaken."—Bryant's Dissertation, pp. 148, 149, 150.

of their encampment*; the last of which at least was a landmark that one might have thought would have disappeared, when the seven rivers overwhelmed the Grecian intrenchment. These objects were created by the same enthusiasm which believed that the *beech-tree* near the tomb of Ilus was still to be seen more than a thousand years after the Trojan war; and there is no reason why we should join with the Phrygian Greeks in their belief in the one instance rather than in the other. Throughout the whole of this region, there was not, as Lucan tells us, a rock without a name.

. Nullum est sine nomine Saxum. Plarsal. Lib. ix.

Whatever could bear the least resemblance to any object of the Homeric landscape, became at once a distinguished feature in the future delineations of the Troad: and thus there was given a locality to all the transactions of that grand event, in the establishment of which the Greeks of every succeeding age were so much interested, that almost the last of their countrymen, when recording the real victories of Salamis and Plataea, still persevered in calling it the most glorious and the greatest deed of Greece—*κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔργον*†. These resemblances might be found in almost any part of the Hellespontine Phrygia, and no conclusion can be drawn from any such accidental coincidences.

When Mr. Horace Walpole had finished the story of his famous romance, he looked into the map of the kingdom of Na-

* Ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ναϊσαῖον, καὶ ὁ Ἀχαιῶν λιμὴν, καὶ τὸ Ἀχαιῶν στρατόπεδον.
Lib. xiii. p. 595.

† Plutarch. See *Censura*, &c. *Observations on the Author*, prefixed to *Dictys Cretensis de Bello Trojano*.

ples for a well-sounding name, whence it should take its title, and fixed upon Otranto. Some time after the appearance of the book, a lady who had travelled in Italy, sent him a picture of the castle at Otranto, in which there were two small windows one over the other and looking into the country that suited exactly to the snail chambers from one of which his heroine Matilda heard the young peasant singing beneath her. Now Mr. Walpole had not been aware that there was any castle at Otranto*.

A little ingenuity and a good deal of enthusiasm would find the wished-for objects in any spot where there was a wide plain, extending to the shore backed by high mountains, and watered by two streams. In the present case, points of resemblance are triumphantly noticed and insisted upon, whilst irreconcilable diversities are easily explained away, and referred to the change caused by the revolution of ages. The modern supporters of the hypothesis make the sea feel their power, and roll obedient rivers through new channels, with greater facility than Cyrus or the soldiers of Alaric. Mr. Wood finding none of the scenes of the *Iliad* below Bournabashi, adds nearly twelve miles of solid land to Phrygia †; and a late author marks out the bed in which the Menderes once flowed, being pushed by the rivulet of Bournabashi towards the Khoetean promontory, and not as it now does, and did in Strabo's time, near the Sigeian side of the plain ‡.

Not less liberty has been taken with the human frame than

* Lord Orford's Works, Miscellaneous Letters, No. 15, to Lady Craven vol. v. p. 663.

† Great part of the plain below Bournabashi must have been created since Homer's time.—Description of the Troad, p. 310.

‡ Topography of Troy, pp. 42, 43.

with the land and sea; and the modern topographers appear to feel the same as the artist Bouchardon, who told Count Caylus, that after reading Homer men seemed to him to be fifteen feet high, and all nature enlarged*. Lycophron confined the stature of the hero of the Iliad to nine cubits, and in Quintus Calaber†, Achilles was the only giant of the Greeks. yet not only this warrior, but the whole of the army have, like the spectre which appeared to Apollonius‡, grown upon the moderns, and become capable of fighting over a distance of at least forty miles in a day: an astonishing faculty in our eyes—*οἱ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσὶν ἐπιχθόνιοι*—but only in proportion with the other physical powers of those who could make their exhortations heard distinctly one mile off, and could distinguish a man's voice at three §.

* Tableaux tirés de l'Iliade, et de l'Odyssée d'Homère, p. 227. Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, vol. i. sect. vi. p. 365.

† Ὅμιος ὑπερφίαλος Τιτυὸς πέσεν.—Lib. iii. ver. 391.

‡ Philostratus, in his Life of Apollonius (lib. iv. cap. 5) relates, that the spectre of Achilles appeared to that sophist, and was at first five, but grew to twelve cubits high.—See Bayle, article Achilles, note N.

§ These difficulties were first started by Mr. Bryant, and have been since unrelentingly followed up by the author of an essay in the Edinburgh Review, No. xii. July 1803, p. 237, Vol. 6. In the day on which Patroclus was killed, the Greeks passed four times over the space between Troy and their camp.—(Observat. on a Treatise, pp. 2, 3, 4.) Mr. Le Chevalier's Bournabashi or Troy, is at least twelve miles from his naval station,—multiply that distance by four, and we have forty-eight miles—deduct the eight, “not to overrate the distance, and the Greek and Trojan armies fought over a space of forty miles in one day.” Now it is not saying too much to aver, that no whole army of one hundred thousand men ever actually fought over half of that distance in a day; and it is needless to add another word against the pretensions

It has been remarked as a singular fact, that the map which Mr. Pope composed, merely from the perusal of the *Iliad*, is no

of Bourmahashi.—Pausanias indeed relates (lib. i. p. 66), that when the sea broke into the tomb of Ajax, the knee-pan of that hero was found to be as big as a quait or discus, yet these Greeks were nothing to those with whom Nestor fought. Every thing has been undergoing a continued degeneracy since the creation, and well did Gil Blas' master, Don Pacheco, observe—*Les pêches du tems d'Adam devoient être d'une grosseur merveilleuse*. Attempts have been made to render the account of Agamemnon's voice being heard from the centre to the two extremities of the camp, and of Achilles distinguishing Hector's voice at his station of Ajax (Il. Θ . v. 222, and Π . v. 127), somewhat probable by contracting the breadth of the supposed place of encampment; but wherever the ships of Ulysses were, we are told that the reputed station of Ajax was at Rhœtœum (stad. xxx. intervallo a Sigæo, et ipso in statione classis suæ, Plin. cap. xxx. l. 5), and that of Achilles at Sigœum (*ubi classis ejus steterat in Sigæo*, Plin. *ibid.*) and no contraction of the Port of the Greeks will affect the distance between the stations of the two heroes on the promontories, which, it is allowed, have not altered their positions since Pliny wrote. If any accretion of soil has been caused by the river, the distance from the middle of the bay to the two extremities was, as the essay in the above-mentioned Review observes (p. 261), of course greater formerly than now; and the power of Agamemnon's voice more extraordinary than even present appearances would suggest. After every possible shuffling of the positions, the Scamander will flow into the port of the Greeks, making first a marsh (*Dein Portus Achivorum*, in quem influit Xanthus Simœonti junctus Stagnum prius faciens, Plin. *ibid.*) between the two promontories, and consequently through some part of the station of the Greek army, which can never be reconciled with any thing said by Homer of that river. It is with no less dismay than astonishment, that I find in the *Carmina Homerica* (p. 52) a direct eulogy of Le Chevalier, Morritt, and Gell, somewhat at the expence of the ancient geographers, and to the utter discomfiture of those "*hawkers of trifles*" (*ugarum venditatoribus*) Bryant and Richardson. For noticing this opinion of Mr. R. P. Knight's, I should perhaps be coupled with "*the fairest of critics*," did I not hint

bad representation of the plain of the Menderes. It would be singular if it was a fact, but it is not. The author of the Topography of Troy* says he has not "*erred much*" in placing his Callicolone near Tchiblak; but Mr. Pope's map has no modern names; and if he did not make any considerable mistake, why do we find the Callicolone of Mr. Gell at Atche-Keui, four miles from Tchiblak by his own map? The fact is, that Mr. Pope's picture (for it is not a map) bears not the least resemblance to the spot in question. Mr. Wood thought the change of position between Sigéum and Rhortéum, must have been caused by the inversion of the engraver's plate; but there is no necessity for adopting such a notion. Our great poet was not sensible of the difficulty or objection, which, as there was a consistency of error in his plan, was of so little importance, that he explained his own descriptions to the perfect satisfaction of himself, and also of his readers until the discovery made by Mr. Wood.

This is a sufficient proof, in my mind, of the facility with which these plausible arrangements may be made, and is an argument against the ready adoption of any theories applied to the spot in question, however ingenious, and at first sight satisfactory. If Mr. Pope's chart answers to the descriptive part of the Iliad, without having the least likeness to the Trojan plain of Strabo and the moderns, the consequent inference must be more fa-

at the same time, that were my conclusions drawn solely from an investigation of the subject in a library, and not from an actual survey of the disputed country, I should not of course presume to set them in contrast with the decision of that distinguished critic.

* P. 55.

vourable to the ingenuity of our poet than to the conjectures of the topographers. The praise and the blame bestowed upon him by Mr. Le Chevalier, who has devoted a chapter to the examination of his map, are equally futile and unfounded. He censures him for not having given a good representation of the plain of the Mendere, when Mr. Pope had only endeavoured to follow Homer. He praises him, by saying "his notion is perfectly right respecting the situation of the Grecian camp between the two promontories, the confluence of the two rivers at no great distance from the ships, the general shape of the plain; the course of the Simois of greater extent than that of the Scamander, the distance of the city from the sea, and the two sources of the Scamander in the neighbourhood of the city*."

Now it is really laughable to observe, that in the map the camp is not between the two promontories; that there is in the actual plain no confluence of two such rivers as are traced by Mr. Pope; that the general shape of the plain is nothing like that in the plate; that in making the course of the Simois of greater extent than that of the Scamander he was entirely wrong; that as to the distance of the city from the sea, the translator's plan gives no scale, but represents it not far from the shore; and Mr. Le Chevalier could know as little about its actual site as Mr. Pope; and lastly, that the poet, as well as the traveller, having, if the plain of the Mendere is the plain of Troy, mistaken the comparative length of the Simois and Scamander, was consequently quite erroneous in his delineation of the sources of the latter river.

* Description of the Plain of Troy, p. 170.

It may fairly move our spleen to behold the author of the English Iliad, the model of severe taste and just criticism, enlisted by a French enthusiast, to fight under the banners of ignorance and presumption.

Lady M. W. Montague declared, that, viewing from Sigéun the celebrated plains and rivers, she admired “the exact geography of Homer, whom she had in her hand;” she found “almost every epithet he gives to a mountain, or a plain, still just for it*,” and “passed several hours in as agreeable cogitations as ever Don Quixote had on Mount Montesinos.” We may by this passage form an estimate of this pleasing writer’s actual knowledge of Homer, and appreciate the real value of her testimony in favour of these famous plains. Had, however, every subsequent traveller contented himself with such cogitations, and launched into these elegant and indefinite encomiums on the poet, without endeavouring by researches and surveys, to illustrate, and, if I may use the expression, authenticate the Iliad, the doubts of the learned had never been awakened; Bryant had never written.

Trojaque nunc stares, Priamique arx alta maneres.

Having ventured upon debateable ground, I beg leave to conclude these remarks by touching upon a question so much connected with the subject in hand, that a satisfactory decision of it would be of the utmost importance, in arranging a chart of the ancient Troad. Much of the whole question relative to Homer’s Hellespont, (which has been as grievous and bitter a river to the topographers, as it was to Xerxes—*δολερὸς καὶ ἀλμυρὸς*

* Letter XLIV

ποταμὸς) must be necessarily affected by, and indeed depend upon, the spot which we may suppose he chose for his plait of Troy. If the stations of Ajax and Achilles were intended by him to be on the promontories afterwards called Κινετόειν and Σιγέειν, the “broad,” the “boundless,” the “rushing” Hellespont, was the embouchure of the straits of the Dardanelles, and the view of the expanse of waters from the station of Achilles, might justify all the above epithets. However we may attempt to dispose of the word ΠΛΑΤΥΣ, “broad,” which has been considered the great difficulty, ΑΠΕΙΡΩΝ, “boundless,” will still remain, and it is worth while to observe, that Virgil saw no reason for altering the common signification of the first word, which he appears to have translated when he calls the very sea in question the “*broad Sigean straits*”—

. Sigea igni freta lata relucet. Æn. lib. ii.

Mr. Bryant asserts, that “in none of the instances (quoted by him) in which the word Hellespont is used in Homer, did the poet allude to the canal of Abydus*.” Perhaps he did not allude to the strait between Abydus and Sestos; but when, in a passage not referred to by that author†, he calls “*the rushing Hellespont the boundary of the Thracians whom Arcamas and Peirós led to Troy*,” the canal does seem to be referred to; for that is the only portion of the sea which, with a reference to Asia, can

* Dissertation, p. 134.

† 'Αυτὰρ Θρήϊκας ἦγ' Ἀχάμας καὶ Πείρους ἔρωσ
"Οσσοὺς Ἑλλήσποντος ἀγάρροος ἐντὸς ἕρπει.

Il. B. ver. 845.

be properly said to *confine* Thrace; and in this sense it is understood by Strabo, in his seventh book*, who uses the very epithet so much canvassed, in the following sentence: "*The Mysians (the Asiatic)—being in the quarter of the Troad—and separated from Thrace by the "broad" Hellespont†.*" This seems to show that the canal of Abydus was the Hellespont, and that it was thought worthy of the appellation given to it by the poet, but it does not fix the termination of that canal, or sea, at Sigéum. It does appear that in latter times, the strait beginning from Sestos and Abydus, and extending towards the Propontis as far as Callipolis on one hand, and Lampsacus on the other, was called the Hellespont, and in this sense it is always taken by Pliny‡.

According to this arrangement, the Ægean sea would come up as high as Abydus. Herodotus gives a length of four hundred stadia to the Hellespont, and appears to allude to the canal only§; but although in one place he talks of that one of Xerxes' bridges *which was towards the Ægean*||, yet he does not say that the strait did not reach below Abydus; nor do I find that Thucydides un-

* Page 295.

† Μυσῶν . . . ἡμόρων τῇ Τρωάδι . . . διερχομένων δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Θράκης πλατῆι Ἑλλησπόντω.

‡ Primas angustias Hellespontum vocant. Hac Xerxes Persarum rex, constrato in navibus ponte, duxit exercitum.—Lib. iv. cap. xii. p. 58. Et Hellespontum, septem ut diximus stadiis Europam ab Asia dividens, quatuor illic inter se contrarias urbes habet. In Europâ Callipolim et Seston, in Asia Lamp-sacum et Abydon.—Lib. iv. cap. 11, p. 55; see also lib. vi. cap. 32, p. 80.

§ Lib. iv. cap. 85; lib. vii. cap. 35, 36.

|| Κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Ἀιγαῖον.—Hist. lib. vii. cap. 55.

derstood that city to be at the mouth of the *Ægean*, and consequently the south-western boundary of the strait*.

From several places in the first book of *Xenophon's Hellenics*, and particularly in the opening of it, the mouth of the *Hellespont* seems to have been at least as low down as *Rhœtæum*†; for after *Doricus* had entered the *Hellespont*, the battle between him and the *Athenian Triremes* was fought in sight of *Mindarus*, who was at *Ilium*.

The naval actions mentioned in this book, which took place after the twenty-first year of the *Peloponesian war*, are generally allowed to have been fought in the *Hellespont*; and in one of them, when *Thrasyllus* and *Thrasybulus* beat *Mindarus*, the *Athenian fleet* manœuvred along the shore from *Eleus* to *Sestos*, and the *Lacedæmonian* from *Sigæum* to *Abydus*.

A later author, *Diodorus Siculus*, although he calls the strait where the armies of *Xerxes* and *Alexander* crossed, the *Hellespont*‡,

* Ἀβυδος ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἀφίσταται πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν καὶ Φαρνάβαζον.—*Thucyd. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 62, p. 94, vol. v. Bipont. edit.*

Σηστὸν πύλιν τῆς Χερσονήσου καθίστατο φρούριον καὶ φυλακὴν τῷ παντὶ Ἑλλησπόντου.—*Ibid. p. 95.*

Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ξύμμαχοι.—*Lib. i. cap. 89, p. 124, vol. i.*

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο (taking *Sestos*) ἀπεπλευσαν ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου.—*Lib. i. cap. 9, p. 16, vol. i.*

† *Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. i. p. 428, et seq. edit. Lennæav.*

‡ Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον διεβίβατε τὴν δύναμιν.—*Lib. xviii. cap. i. p. 570.*

Χέρξες δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ἐξεῦγχθαι and just afterwards, ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου τὴν πορείαν ποιησάμενος.—*Lib. ii. p. 243.*

does not determine any thing as to the length or boundaries of the canal. Arrian's Hellespont was near Arisbe*.

The authorities here quoted do perhaps appear to confine the extremity of the Hellespont to the Sigeon canal; but a good deal may be said to show, that it was the part of the Ægean sea which washed the shores of Phrygia Minor, beginning from Abydus and ending at Lectum. We cannot suppose with Mr. Wood, that Homer thought the Hellespont to be actually a river, any more than Xerxes who called it so.

In the account of Æneas, copied from Hellanicus, a very ancient historian, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus†, that hero is said to sail from the Trojan shores *over the Hellespont* to the peninsula of Pallene in Thrace. In after times he would have been said to sail over the Ægean sea, or the gulf Melas. Some of the Mysians were called Hellespontine‡. Mysia was not near the canal of Abydus, but to the south-east of the Troad; so that when any of its people were called Hellespontine, it was, probably, because they lived towards the shore of that sea afterwards named the Ægean. The passage quoted below from Pliny, may have been the reason why Macrobius, in a sentence given by Mr. Bryant§, calls Mysia a province of the Hellespont. “Gargara sunt in Mysia, quæ est Hellespontii Provincia||.”

Let us appeal to Strabo. I am surprised to find Mr. Bryant

* Έξ Ἰλίου δὲ εἰς Ἀρίσβην ἤκει, ἧ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῷ διαβειβηκῦια τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ἐστρατοπεδεύκει.—Lib. i. cap. 12, p. 27.

† Lib. i. cap. 39

‡ “In Mysia Abretini et Hellespontii appellati.”—Plin. lib. v. cap. 78.

§ Dissert. p. 134.

|| L. v. c. xx. p. 362.

allowing, that this geographer favoured the opinion of the Hellespont being the canal from Abydus to Lampsacus*; for it will appear by the following passages that he, on the contrary, makes Abydus the boundary towards the Propontis, and not towards the Ægean. “*It lies (Abydus) on the mouth of the Propontis and the Hellespont†.*”

“*It is that part of the coast of the Propontis from the straits of Abydus to the Æscopus‡.*”

“*In this quarter (the Thracian Chersonese) is the strait of seven stadia at Sestos and Abydus, through which the Ægean and the Hellespont empty themselves to the north into another sea called the Propontis§.*”

It will be seen also from these passages, that the Hellespont is not solely the Abydean strait, but that it is a sea which has one of its outlets through that strait. This notion is further supported by the following places in the same author. Talking of an opinion of Strato, the geographer says that naturalist thought that the Euxine had burst its way through an isthmus to Byzantium||, “*and had thence fallen into the Propontis and*

* Dissert. p. 133.

† Ἐπικείται δὲ τῷ στόματι τῆς Προποντίδος καὶ τῇ Ἑλλησπόντου.—Lib. xiii. p. 594.

‡ Ἔστι δὲ αὕτη (subaud. παραλία) μὲν τῆς Προποντίδος ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀβυδὸν στενῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀἰσῆπον.—Lib. xiii. p. 583. See also lib. xiii. pp. 581, 584, where the same coast is decisively called the coast of the Propontis.

§ Κατὰ ταύτην ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπτασάδιον τὸ κατὰ Σηστόν καὶ Ἀβυδὸν, δι’ ὃ τὸ Ἀιγαῖον καὶ ὁ Ἑλλησπόντος ἐκδίδωσι πρὸς ἄρκτον εἰς ἄλλο πελάγος, ὃ καλεῖται Προποντίδα.—Lib. ii. p. 124.

|| Ἔειπ’ ἐκπεσεῖν τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν Προποντίδα, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον.—Lib. i. p. 49.

Hellespont." If the Hellespont had been the strait or canal, it would probably have been said, "into the Propontis, and *through*, or *by* the Hellespont into the *Ægean*." In his second book, p. 124, enumerating the seas, he has these words: "*The next is the Ægean, with the gulf Melas and the Hellespont*.*" By a passage in page 92 of the same book we learn, that the gulf Melas was that northern end of the sea loosely called the *Ægean*, included by a line drawn from the Sunian promontory to Cape Mastusia, the point of the Thracian Chersonese, which did not consequently take in any of the sea that washed the shores of Phrygia Minor. The division of the sea Melas from the sea Hellespont, may be collected also from the excerpts of the seventh book: "*The Thracian Chersonese makes (or is bounded by) three seas, the Propontis to the north-east, the Hellespont to the east, and the gulf Melas to the south-west†.*" Now that the canal of Abydos is not here alluded to, will be seen by looking at the map, for that canal is in the same line with the Propontis, and would not therefore be put in a different quarter of the compass. We may add also, that the Hellespont of Strabo was the western limit, or, as has been said above, the sea that washed the shores of the lesser Phrygia, which was on that account called the Hellespontine. Mentioning the boundaries of Troas, he says, "*But the sea to the west is the Hellespont, in which quarter is also the Ægean‡.*" It is clear that no one could call the canal of Aby-

* Τὸ δὲ συνεχὲς τὸ Ἀιγαῖον ἐστὶν ἤδη σὺν τῷ Μέλανι κόλπῳ, καὶ τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ.

† Ἡ ἐν Θράκῃ χερρόνησος τρεῖς ποιεῖ θαλάσσας, Προποντίδα ἐκ βορρᾶς, Ἑλλησπόντον ἐξ ἀνατολῶν, καὶ τὸν Μέλαντα κόλπον ἐκ νότου.

‡ Ἡ δὲ ἰσπερία θάλαττα, ὃ τε Ἑλλησποντος ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ Ἀιγαῖον πέλαγος.—Lib. xiii. p. 583.

duſ the ſea to the weſt of Phrygia. In another place he is enumerating the diſtricts of Aſia within the Halys, which he ſays contain towards the Pontus and the Propontis, the Paphlagonians, Bythinians, and Myſians; “*and Phrygia, called Phrygia on the Hellespont, in which is the Troad; and Æolia and Ionia, upon the Ægean and the following ſea**.” By which it appears, that the Hellespont is brought as low down as Lectum, the northern boundary of Æolia; and (unleſs any contradictory paſſage has been overlooked) that the whole line of coaſt to this point from Abyduſ, was conſidered by Strabo as being the ſhores of the Hellespont, not of the Ægean: which was what was undertaken to be proved.

Dionyſius Periegetes ſupports this notion: he puts the mouths of the ſtrait or Hellespont between Imbros and Tenedos†; and he conveys the ſame meaning in verſes 536, 537, 538, and expreſſly in verſes 820, 821, and calls the Hellespont *great*‡. The ancients ſeem to have overlooked the angle of Phrygia at the Sigæan promontory; for Strabo § talks of the ſhore from Abyduſ to Lectum, as if it had been from one end to the other entirely in the ſame direction. This will, in ſome meaſure, account for the uncertainty reſpecting the ſouthern limits of the Hellespont.

* Τὴν ἐφ’ Ἑλλάſποντον λεγομένην Φρυγίαν, ἥς ἐſτὶ καὶ ἡ Τροάς: πρὸς δὲ τὰ Ἀιγαίω καὶ τῇ ἐφεξῆς θαλάτῃ τὴν τε Ἀιολίδαν καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν.—
Lib. ii. p. 129.

† Οὐδρον δ’ ἐς Τένεδον τεκμαίρεται ἐſχατόωσαν
Ἰμβρον ἔχων ἐτέρωθεν ὅθεν ſτενὸς ἔργεται ἀλῶν.

Ver. 138, p. 8, edit. Hillam, Lond. 1679.

‡ Τὴν δὲ μέτ’ Αἰολίδος παραπέπταται ἡδεα γαίης
Ἀιγαίη παρὰ χεῖλος ὑπὲρ μέγαν Ἑλλάſποντον.

§ Lib. xiii. p. 581.

LETTER XLIII.

The Frigate leaves Cape Janissary—Sails into the Mouth of the Straits—The Port of Eleus—Cape Berbieri—An English Country-House in the Chersonese—Attempt to pass the Dardanelles—Anchor in the Bay below Chouk-Kalessi—The old Castles of Roumelia and Nafolia—The Town of the Dardanelles—A remarkable Superstition—Nagara-Bornou—The Bridge of Arcades—Abydos and Sestos—Swimming across the Hellespont—The Current—The Frigate passes the Dardanelles—The Passage of the English Fleet in 1807—Ak-Bashi Liman—Zemeic—The Præcius and Percotas—Egos-Potamos—Note on the Meteoric Stone—Lampsacus—Callipoli—The Island of Marmora—Approach to Constantinople—Anchor under the Walls.

OUR Firman arrived from Constantinople on the 50th of April, on which day the frigate, by the advice of two Greek pilots who were on board, changed her anchorage to a mile further from the shore to the north-west. At ten o'clock on the 1st of May, we weighed anchor, and, after beating up near the island of Imbros, in order to take the best advantage of the wind, which was northerly, passed close under the castle

on the European side of the strait. We saw the entrance of a little circular port, scooped out as it were from the foot of the hill, which was probably the ancient harbour of Eleus, and which, although now admitting only the small *caïques* or trading boats of the islands, received the Athenian fleet of one hundred and eighty sail, six days before the battle of *Ægos-Potamos* *. As we advanced, the bleak white cliffs of the Chersonese diminished in height, and presented a succession of hanging woods and hedge-row fields cultivated to the water's edge.

On the Asiatic side, the banks beyond the barrow *In-Tepe* appeared more high and abrupt, but occasionally interspersed with retreating bays of flat sandy soil. About nine miles from *Koum-Kale*, the shore became again flat, and swelled forward into the strait, forming a large circular projection, called by the Turks *Kepos-Bornou*, and by the Frank navigators *Cape Berbieri*.

The road from *Koum-Kale* to the *Dardanelles*, which we once traversed, after winding amongst woody precipices for two hours beyond *In-Tepe*, leads along the base of this flat promontory. There are no villages on the route, except a small hamlet near the point of the Cape; yet the country where it is cleared is divided into corn fields, cotton lands, and green pastures abounding in flocks. A stream issuing from the roots of the great *Idian* cirrus which project towards the strait, and in some places border upon the shore, runs through the flat, and falls into the sea near the village on the Cape. A small farm-house further inland towards the *Dardanelles*, was pointed out to me as the place where the preliminaries of the late peace between Great Britain and the

* *Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. ii. p. 435, edit. Leunclav.*

Grand Signior were signed by his Excellency Mr. Adair and the Minister of the Porte. The Mahometan Plenipotentiary was not, we may suspect, aware that Sylla and Mithridates had concluded a similar treaty on the same spot* ; for he could not have known that Berbieri is the ancient Dardanian promontory. A little before we approached the Cape, we passed some marshes which, in all probability, are those formerly called Pteleos, near the town Ophrynum, and the grove of Hector†. The strait at Berbieri has the appearance of being narrower than at the Dardanelles.

At three o'clock the breeze failed us, and we were obliged to anchor in a bay, off a narrow valley in Thrace, about eight miles from the Dardanelles. We remained there the whole of the night, and part of the next day, during which time we took the opportunity of going on shore. We proceeded up the valley on a beaten path by the side of a brook, through a grove of thickset trees, the hills impending on each side, and with their woody summits almost closing over our heads. After a short walk, we came in sight of a *chiflik* or country-house, surrounded by a small pleasure-ground and gardens, laid out in the Frank taste and adorned with clumps of trees evidently not the natives of the soil. On approaching the spot, our surprise was increased by the sight of a neat building, with attached offices and a court-yard, fitted up with many of the implements and appurtenances of an English farm ; and we were at a loss to account for so many exotic elegancies, until we learnt that the place had been made by Mr. Richard Willis, an English gentleman, who, having chosen this valley for his retreat, purchased the land, and at the expence of

* Strabon. lib. xiii. p. 595.

† Strabon. *ibid.*

transporting some fruit and garden trees from England, and of employing an English gardener, created on the shores of the Hellespont, a country seat not to be rivalled by any villa on the banks of the Thames. We were farther informed, that neither his attachment to the spot, nor the pains bestowed upon its embellishment, prevented the Turks, who did not choose to have a Frank landholder amongst them, from obliging Mr. Willis to part with his purchase ; and some signs of approaching waste and desolation were sufficient to show us that it had reverted to a Mahometan master.

At two o'clock we weighed, hoping that a slight breeze which blew from the high lands of Thrace, would be strong enough to carry us through the strait of the Dardanelles. We were obliged, however, to drop anchor about a mile below the European fort, but made another effort at five in the evening, which was not more successful than the first, as it only drifted us over to the other side. We were not the only persons disappointed on the occasion, for the shores were lined with spectators ; the Pasha of the Dardanelles, accompanied by his chief officers, was seated on the wooden projection of the battlements, and the guns of the battery were primed and manned to salute us as we passed. Every strip of canvas was set, and the breeze brought us more than once to the very lips of the strait. The stern of the frigate was already in a line with the castles, and our first gun was on the point of being fired, when the sails began to flap ; the spectators on the walls diminished to our view, the castle and the town seemed gradually to recede, and we shortly found that we were dropping down towards Berbieri point. Having our hopes renewed by some faint rippling on the surface of the water, which

seemed to agitate every spot except where we were struggling with the current, and to die away just as it reached the ship, we anchored at last within the sweep of a wide sandy bay, about a mile below the Asiatic castle and town.

During our unavailing effort, a large Turkish frigate passed us under crouded sail, in her passage down the strait, and our sailors were not a little amused to observe, that for the sake of showing the good trim of the vessel, and the smartness of the crew, the flag-staff of the maintop gallant-mast-head was manned by a Turk, whose sole occupation it was to keep the pendant clear.

The castles Chanàk-Kalessi or Sultanie-Kalessi, on the Asiatic side, and Chelit-Bawri or Kelidir-Bahar, "*The Lock of the Sea*," on the European shore, are called by the Turks Bogaz-Hessarleri*, and by the Franks, the old castles of Narolia and Roumelia. The town of Chanàk-Kalessi is the place properly called the Dardanelles, which name has been extended to the strait itself. Chelit-Bawri is but a small town, inconveniently built on the side of a jutting hill, nor is the castle considered of such importance as that of Chanàk-Kalessi, although the cannon of its batteries are as numerous, and of the same enormous bore. The barrow of Hecuba is a hillock not very distinguishable, in the high ground above the town, but within the walls. Chanàk-Kalessi castle is on a flat point, immediately opposite to the European fort; so that the two batteries, as the guns are immovable, and are laid on each side at right angles with the strait, must, in the time of action, bombard each other, and I was indeed shown in the streets of the Asiatic town, and in the neighbouring fields, sev-

* Bibliothèque Orientale, Artie. Bogaz.

ral of the granite masses which had been discharged from Chelitz-Bawri during the passage of the English fleet. The interior castle was built by the Greeks. Above the fortress there is a battery of German field-pieces, behind a redoubt of earth and fortifications erected by French engineers. These guns are used in saluting, and would be more serviceable than the monsters of the castle.

We landed several times at the Dardanelles, and were hospitably received by Signor Parragona, a Jew, whose family have for a century been in possession of the English Consulate. The language spoken in his family and familiar to all those of his nation in this part of the country, which was a mixed Spanish, informed us that he was descended from one of the families who settled in Turkey after the impolitic expulsion of their nation from Spain. The principal inhabitants of the place are also Jews, trading chiefly in wine supplied by the neighbouring vineyards, which are in much repute.

Übanak-Kales-i has been thought to have about two thousand houses, and is a very miserable town; but a large pottery which is on the east of the suburbs, supplies not only Constantinople but Alexandria with earthen-ware. We were led through the various sheds (for such they are) appropriated to the different branches of the preparation; and when we saw the warehousc of the finished jars and other vessels, I cannot say that we discovered them, with Dr. Chaudier*, to retain the old shape, or that they were formed on ancient models.—A river, a considerable stream, which, from its situation between the Dardanian pro-

* Travels in Asia Minor, cap. 4.

montory and Abydus, has been thought to be the ancient Rhodius, washes the western suburbs of Chanak-Kalessi, and near its mouth, not far from the castle, is crossed by a long wooden bridge.

At the back of the town there are many cemeteries belonging to the Turks, Jews, and Christians; and further inland there is a tract of enclosed country extending to the Idæan mountains, in a high state of cultivation. In a pleasant shady green near the burying-ground, I remember to have remarked a low stunted tree, enclosed within a wall, the boughs of which were hung round with little shreds or bags of cloth and cotton, enclosing each a single para. On enquiry, it appeared that the tree was considered sacred to some demon, the inflictor of diseases; that the appendages were either votive offerings, or charms by which the malady was transferred from the patient to the shrub; and that Turks, Jews, Armenians, and Greeks, alike resorted to this magical remedy. Another instance of this union of religions has been before mentioned.—It may appear at first singular, that sects, whose separate faiths constitute their chief national distinctions, should ever amalgamate, and be united in any belief or practice; but the coincidence is by no means strange; nor need we be surprised that, having sprung from the same source, they should revert to their common principle, and combine in doing homage to Fear, the cause and origin of every superstition.

To the north-east of the town is a long retreating bay, taking a sweep of three or four miles, and terminated on the other horn by Nagara-Bornou, or Pesquies Point, a promontory of low land, which Sir George Wheler, rectifying the mistake of Sandys, and those who had called the castle of Natolia, Abydus, supposed

to be the site of that celebrated city*. Near this spot he saw some considerable ruins, as also did Mr. Tournefort†, but some way within the Cape on the road to Chanäk-Kalessi, and even at this day there are a few scattered vestiges of an ancient town. A fort has been raised near the point of land.—Mr. Le Chevalier, who seems to have measured the distance between Cape Berbicri and Nagara-Bornou, pronounces it to be seventy stadia; precisely that assigned by Strabo between Dardanus and Abydus‡.

The Thracian side of the strait, immediately opposite to Nagara, is a strip of stony shore projecting from between two high cliffs§; and to this spot, it seems, the European extremity of Xerxes' bridges must have been applied; for the height of the neighbouring cliffs would have prevented the Persian monarch from adjusting them to any other position. There is certainly some ground to believe this to have been the exact point of the shore called from that circumstance *Apobathra*||; since there is, within any probable distance, no other flat land on the Thracian side except at the bottom of deep bays, the choice of which would have doubled the width of the passage. Here the strait appeared to us to be narrower than in any other part, although to those on board our frigate, who might be supposed skilled in judging of distances, it nowhere seemed to be less than a mile across: the ancient measure-

* A Voyage, &c. book i. p. 74.

† Voyage au Levant, lettre xi. p. 456, edit. Paris, 1717.

‡ Voyage de la Propontide et du Pont Euxin, chap. iii. p. 16, vol. i.

§ Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σηστῇ τε πόλιν μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ τραχέα ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα, Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον.—Herod. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 33.

|| Strab. lib. xiii. p. 591.

ments, however, give only seven stadia, or eight hundred and seventy-five paces.—Sestos was not opposite to the Asiatic town, nor was the Hellespont in this place called the straits of Sestos and Abydus, but the straits of Abydus. Sestos was so much nearer the Propontis than the other town, that the ports of the two places were thirty stadia, more than three miles and a half, from each other*. The bridges were on the Propontic side of Abydus, but on the opposite quarter of Sestos; that is to say, they were on the coasts between the two cities, but nearer to the first than to the last; and supposing the few ruins before-mentioned about a mile from Nagara to belong to Abydus, that point answers sufficiently to the spot on the Asiatic coast to which the pontoons were affixed.

The passage of Xerxes is not more suggested to the traveller who sails through these straits, than the enterprise of Leander. It was the custom for those who would cross from Abydus to Sestos to incline a mile out of the direct line, and those making the contrary voyage were obliged to have recourse to a similar plan, in order to take advantage of the current. The lover, therefore, had a perilous adventure to perform, who swam at least four miles to meet his mistress, and returned the same distance in the same night; and Mr. Tournefort had good reason to allude to the story with some little levity. His countryman Le Chevalier, asserts that the exploit is looked upon by the inhabitants of the Dardanelles as nothing extraordinary†; but the young Jew, whom he mentions as having traversed the strait to obtain the

* Strab. lib. xiii. p. 591.

† Voyage du Levant, lettre xi. p. 455; Voyage de la Propontide, &c. chap. iii. p. 18.

hand of his mistress, is already forgotten. We could hear nothing of him in the year 1810; and, on the contrary, we were told that no such deed had ever been done. It is very possible, however, to swim across the Hellespont without being the rival, or having the motive, of Leander. My fellow-traveller was determined to attempt the passage, and the ride from Kouun-Kale to the Dardanelles on the 16th of April, before alluded to, was undertaken for that purpose.

Having crossed from the castle of Chanak-Kalessi in a boat manned by four Turks, and accompanied by the Secretary of the Signor Tarragona, we landed at five o'clock in the evening, half a mile above the castle of Chelit-Bawri, and my friend, together with an officer of the frigate, depositing their clothes in the boat, began their passage. We kept near them, and the boatmen gave them such instruction from time to time as appeared necessary for them in taking advantage of the current. For the first half hour they swam obliquely upwards, rather towards Nagara point than the Dardanelles, and, notwithstanding all their skill and efforts, made but little progress. Finding it useless to struggle with the current, they then went rather with the stream, but still attempting to cross. We lay upon our oars, and in a few minutes were between the castles. The swimmers were close to us. We were not then half over the passage, and were every moment falling into a wider part of the channel, but notwithstanding the exclamations of our Turks the effort was still continued, and it was not until the swimmers had been an hour in the water and found themselves in the middle of the strait, about a mile and a half below the castles, that they consented to be taken into the boat.

Although the excessive chilliness of the water had so benumbed

all their limbs, that they were at first unable to stand, and were otherwise much exhausted, yet they were determined to make another attempt in warmer weather, and accordingly on the third of May following, at a little past ten in the morning, having left the frigate at her anchorage below the Asiatic castle, they got into the water nearly a mile and a half above Cheht-Bawri, at a point of land forming the western bank of the deep bay or inlet in which stands the town of Maito, on the site of the ancient Madytus. I did not accompany them in the boat, but watched their progress from the frigate. They swam upwards as before, but not for so long a time, and in less than half an hour came floating down the current close to the ship. They then swam strongly to get within the bay behind the castle, and soon succeeding, reached the still water, and landed about a mile and a half below our anchorage. Lord Byron was one hour and ten minutes in the water, his companion, Mr. Ekenhead, five minutes less.

I see by a note in my journal, in my Friend's hand-writing, "that they found the current very strong, and the water cold; that some large fish passed them in the middle of the channel; that they were not fatigued although a little chilled, and performed the feat with little difficulty."

My fellow-traveller had before made a more perilous, but less celebrated passage, for I recollect that when we were in Portugal, he swam from Old Lisbon to Belem Castle, and having to contend with a tide and counter current, the wind blowing freshly, was but little less than two hours in crossing the river.

The strait between the castles is computed to be about a mile and a quarter in breadth, yet our four boatmen were twenty-five

minutes in pulling us across from point to point. Pietro Della Valle, surnamed *The Illustrious Traveller* *, asserted that the current in the Hellespont flowed both ways, for which he is corrected by Wheler ; who observes, what is the fact, that “ the current is indeed stronger when the north wind blows, than when the south, or when it is calm ; but still it cometh out of the Black Sea by the Bosphorus, into the Mare Marmora, and thence into the Archipelago †”. It is true that the stream, setting as in other straits in a direct line from point to point, and not following the waving line of the passage, is not perceived in every part of the channel, nor always in the same part of it. At the Dardanelles, where it runs in mid-channel obliquely towards Berbieri Point, it forms what is technically called a back-water on the Thracian side below Chelit-Bawri, which, when aided by a south wind, has itself the appearance, and somewhat the power of a current. The same effect is produced in other parts of the strait ; and the boatmen of the Hellespont, by taking advantage of this circumstance, contrive to cross it at almost every season of the year.

The north-east wind blows down the strait for nearly eight out of the twelve months, and in the summer lasts sometimes nine or ten weeks without intermission. We thought we had arrived at that period, and began to despair of reaching Constantinople in the frigate. On the third of May the wind was foul ; on the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, it was still from the north-east : on the eighth there was a calm ; on the next day the Etesians again blew, and we had a gale of wind. The current rushed round the

* His book is entitled “ *Les fameux Voyages de Pietro Della Valle Gentilhomme Romain, surnommé l'illustre Voyageur.*” Paris, 1670.

† A Journey into Greece, &c. book i. pp. 74, 75.

stem of the frigate with the rapidity of the stream at London-bridge, and the foaming spray was scattered by the hurricane on either shore of Asia and of Thrace. The fruit-boats from the Dardanelles, which plied round our sides on other days, did not dare to approach us; for we were riding in so rough a sea, that we should have dashed them to pieces. Expecting that the ship would drive from her moorings, we lengthened our cables, and let go another anchor.

The next day the stormy weather was much abated, but it still blew very freshly from the same quarter. We went on shore in one of the ship's boats, and in returning, as our coxswain would not haul down our sail until we were nearly alongside of the frigate, we had so much weigh, both from the current and the breeze, that in attempting to grapple we lost our boat-hook, carried away our bowsprit, and breaking through some fruit-boats, were borne off in an instant so far astern, that we were an hour rowing up to the frigate, which we should not have gained so soon, had not a towing line been floated down to us from on board. This may show the actual rapidity of the torrent. The south winds also blow very violently up the straits, and the English fleet passed the castles at the rate of eleven knots within the hour.

We had nearly given up all hope of proceeding through the straits, when, on the evening of our accident, it began to rain, and our pilots predicted a change of weather. We had heavy showers all night, and in the morning a drizzling mist. The wind blew gently from the south. We weighed anchor, and at ten o'clock sailed at last slowly between the castles, which we saluted with seventeen guns, and had the compliment returned to us by the battery at Chanàk-Kalessi, where the red standard of

Turkey was unfurled to receive our homage. We stood over to the coast of Thrace, and passed by the mouth of the bay of Maito, and afterwards in view of another deeper inlet called Koilia, which is most probably the Cælos of the ancients. We sailed close under the cliffs, and came opposite to Nagara-Bornou.

In the bay within the point, we were shown a large wreck a little above water. This was the remains of a Turkish sixty-four destroyed by the *Repulse*, and the boats of the *Pompée*, during the passage of the Dardanelles on the 19th of February, 1807. Sir S. Smith in the *Pompée*, with the *Thunderer*, *Standard*, and *Active*, brought up in the bay within Chanàk-Kalessi, where the sixty-four, four frigates, four corvettes, one brig, and three gun-boats were at anchor, and in four hours destroyed or captured the whole squadron. The sixty-four ran on shore on Pesquies Point, and a frigate drifted over towards the Thracian coast, where she was blown up by Captain Mowbray in the *Active*. A battery of thirty guns, and a redoubt on the Point, were carried and destroyed by the marines of the *Standard*.

One other vestige of this memorable expedition was pointed out to us; this was a cannon shot-hole in the front of the house at the Dardanelles belonging to the French Consul, who, during the second passage of the fleet, hoisted the tri-coloured flag, and received that attention from our gunners, which he had, it seemed, intended to attract.

Even when we travelled, the events of the two actions were fresh in the memory, and were still in the mouths of the inhabitants of the Dardanelles. The Turks, notwithstanding the warning which the Captain Pasha had received six days before from His Majesty's Ambassador, Mr. Arbuthnot, that the at-

tempt would certainly be made, could not at first believe their senses, when they saw the approach of the fleet round Berbieri Point; and when the van ship, the *Canopus*, passed between the castles, were altogether stupified, and looked upon the adventure as the fatal breaking of a charm which had hitherto bound them in security, and protected the holy city from the insults of the infidels. The burning of the *flouilla* filled them with consternation and rage. A person attached to our Consulate at the Dardanelles was concealed in an outer room of a house at Chanàk-Kalessi, which was entered by an officer of a Turkish frigate, who had just lost his ship. He informed me, that the Turk raved for an hour at the English dogs. The woman of the house did not let slip a word of her guest in the next room, who lay concealed under some rubbish, and although a jackass tied up in the shed, trod and kept his foot for some time on his finger, did not, like the citizen of Perugia* under similar circumstances, cry out and discover his retreat†.

No considerable opposition was made to the advance of the

* Boccac. Decamer. Giornata Quinta. Novella Decima.

† Lest such a forbearance in a suffering by no means trifling though ridiculous, should appear improbable, I beg leave to insert a most extraordinary instance, in another inhabitant of Turkey, of patience under acute pain. A *Capidgy* or porter belonging to the seraglio, opening hastily the small iron grating of a door-way through which the Sultan was to pass, caught his hand in the hinges between the wicket and the wall. The Bostandgys and other attendants immediately formed a line with their backs against the grating, and during the passage of the Sultan and of all his suite, the *Capidgy* suffered not a murmur or a sigh to escape him, but fainted immediately afterwards, when on closing the door-way, his four fingers dropped to the ground.—Notice sur la cour du Grand Seigneur, &c. Paris, 1809, page 67.

fleet*, nor to the destruction of the flotilla. The material injury sustained by the English, was, as is well known, received on their retreat, when the batteries, some of which had been repaired, and others been recently constructed at every turn of the straits, were superintended by French officers belonging to General Sebastiani's suite. Yet even at that time the Turks at the castles were thrown into the utmost terror and confusion; and an inhabitant of Charak-Kalessi informed me, that when one of our three-deckers, instead of passing through at once, hauled up a little, and bringing her whole broadside full on the fort of Asia, opened all her batteries at once, she appeared like a vast body of flaming fire, and showering upon the walls and mounds a storm of shot, drove the garrison at once from their guns. The women and children and all the unarmed population of the town fled to the foot of the mountains, five miles distant from the strait, yet some cannon-balls fell near them in the villages to which they had retired. This report I received not as a fact, but an evidence of their fear. Notwithstanding common opinion, it is not true that the English character suffered on that day. The Turks were astonished at the cool valour and undaunted skill of our sailors, nor did they know the disastrous effects of their granite globes.

I was informed by the second in command, that when he was blowing up their flotilla at anchor, some of the captains, as their ships struck, came on board, and being served with coffee in his cabin, made excuses for being so easily taken—"Hussain," they said, "is dead; Smit-Bey is gone—what can we do?" They

* The only spars that were injured, were the sprit-sail yard of the Royal George, the gaff of the Canopus, and the main-top-sail yard of the Standard.

alluded to the famous Capudan Pasha, and to himself who had fought with them in Egypt.

The breeze freshened, and the current was scarcely perceptible when we passed the point of Nagara. We skirted the mouth of a bay, Ak-Bashi Liman, reasonably conjectured the ancient port of Sestos, and a little farther saw a hill crowned with a scanty ruin called Zemenic, where (without taking into account the passage of the eight thousand Turks in the reign of Othman) the standard of the Ottomans was, for the first time, raised in Europe by Solyman, son of Sultan Orcan, in the year 1356*.

A rocky strand or mole two or three miles farther down the strait, preserves also under the name of Gaziler-Iskelessi—"The Victor's Harbour," the memory of the landing of the Mahometan invaders. Zemenic is called also Choiridocastron, or Pig's Fort. *The besotted Grecians*, says Sandys, *jested at the loss, and said they had but taken a hog-stye* †. At this point, Lennelavius asserts that the Hellespont is evidently narrower than in any other part ‡. From beyond Nagara we had entered into that part of the strait which it seems was properly called the Propontic Hellespont. For several miles the channel did not appear to widen. Cultivated hedge-row fields, green with high corn and flourishing vineyards, and enlivened by frequent villages, presented, on either side, a succession of scenery altogether enchanting, but rather rich than romantic, and of which those who have visited

* Voyage au Levant, lett. xi. p. 457, edit. Paris, 1717.

† Lib. i. p. 26, A Relation of a Journey, &c. It was said by John Palæologus, and, according to Tournefort, applied to the magazines of Gallipoli.

‡ Ad Chiridocastron quo loco plane angustissimus est Hellespontus latitudine sua Græcum unum miliare non superat. not. E. p. 1066, edit. Lennelav. in Append. Xenophon.

the banks of the Menai have seen an exact, perhaps a flattering resemblance. The imposing presence of Penmaun-Mawr more than compensates for the distant prospect of Ida. We glided past headlands and bays on both shores, each of them rendered memorable by the poets, or illustrated by the historians of antiquity; and we passed without attention the mouths of two streams, which are now the Bourghas-Su, and the Moussa-Keui-Su, but were the river of Percote* once, and the Practius.

Above them, dividing the higher shores of the Chersonese, we skirted the outlet of a stream, the Kara-Ova-Su, which, although now undistinguished, would, if called as in former days, the *Ægos-Potamos*, be never passed without notice: the name alone is a history. The naturalist might assist the topographer in identifying the site of that memorable stream, by discovering on its banks the monstrous stone foretold by Anaxagoras, and remaining in the days of Pliny, which fell from the sky, and the existence of which, although it would have been denied by the inexperienced scepticism of former times, the occurrence of similar prodigies in our own age, would very much incline us to believe†.

* Le Chevalier supposes Percote the name of a river (*Voyage de la Propontide*, &c. p. 19, vol. i.); but it was a town, or region, near the more modern Parium. See Strab. lib. xiii. p. 590; and Plin. lib. vi. cap. 32.

† “Celebrant Græci Anaxagoram Clazomenium, olympiadis septuagesimæ octavæ secundo anno, prædixisse celestium literarum scientia, quibus diebus saxum casurum esset e sole. Taleque factum interdiu in Thraciæ parte ad *Ægos* flumen. Qui lapis etiam nunc ostenditur, magnitudine vehis, colore adusto, comete quoque illis noctibus flagrante. Plin. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 58, page 18, edit. Paris, 1532. The naturalist adds, that there was a small one at the Gymnasium at Abydus, which was worshipped, foretold also by Anaxagoras. Plutarch, in his life of Lysander, has dwelt somewhat more at large on this extraordinary stone, which was, as he tells us, considered by some as porten-

At Ægos-Potamos the Hellespont, according to Xeno-

tions of the fatal battle of Ægos-Potamos—*κατηνέχθη γὰρ ὡς ἡ δόξα τῶν πολλῶν ἐξ οὐρανόθεν παμμεγέδης λίθος ὡς αἰγὸς ποταμοῦ. κ. τ. λ.* in vit. Lysand. p. 439, op. om. “There fell from the heavens (as many believe) a large stone at Ægos-Potamos, which is even yet shown as an object of veneration by the people of the Chersonese.” The comet mentioned by Pliny is, on the authority of Damachus, called by Plutarch “a large body of fire like a blazing cloud,” seen for seventy-five days previously to the fall of the stone. The like meteoric appearances have attended the descent of stones from the sky in modern times, and the phenomenon seen in 1620 in the Punjab, one hundred miles east of Lahore, answers in description very exactly with the detail in Plutarch. In that instance, “a luminous body was observed to fall from above on the earth, suggesting to the beholders the idea that the firmament was raining fire.” A cursory inspection would inform any mineralogist whether this specimen, if such should be discovered at Ægos-Potamos, is of true celestial origin; since all those hitherto seen, in whatever part of the world, have been found of the same composition. The stones from Bennes, from Vienna, from Bohemia, and the one found in Yorkshire, “all contained pyrites of a peculiar character; they had all a coating of black oxyde of iron; they all contained an alloy of iron and nickel; and the earths which serve to them as a sort of connecting medium, corresponded in their nature, and nearly in their proportions*.”

Although we may believe these stones to be meteoric formations, yet the prediction, or rather the solution, of the phenomenon by Anaxagoras, by the supposition that the sun and stars were ponderous bodies, revolving in a luminous atmosphere; and that one, or part of one, of these bodies might fall to the earth, is a most extraordinary anticipation of modern systems and hypotheses. The discovery that the sun was as big as Peloponnesus (mentioned before, in note, p. 611 of this volume), to our ears may have a ridiculous sound, but it was making a vast step beyond the bounds of former ignorance; and to this great philosopher may be applied the converse of what was said of Milton—“He was a modern born two thousand years before his time.”

* See an Account of some Stones said to have fallen on the Earth in France, &c. &c. Phil. Trans. 1708. part i. paper vi. p. 207.

phon*, is about a mile and three quarters wide. A little way above the mouth of the river, on the opposite shore, we saw the town of Lamsaki, on a tongue of low land which seems to be the promontory called Abarnis, whence Canon the Athenian set sail with nine ships after the fatal battle†, having seized the sails belonging to the Lacedemonian fleet. The modern Lampsacus, although but a small town of two hundred houses, with one handsome mosque, would still be a present worthy of a king. Its territory is rich at this day in vineyards of a superior quality, inclosed in hedges of pomegranate trees, and, as far as could be judged by a transient view, there is nothing wanting to complete the beauty of its situation. The mountains approach within a few miles of the back of the town, and their sides are clothed with woods, which shelter the villages and kiosks of the inhabitants of Lampsaki. Inscribed marbles, and other remains, were found in the town by Sir G. Wheeler, which, together with its name, show it to stand on the ancient site‡. It was five o'clock when we passed this place. Our pilot informed us that a shoal runs out from this part of the Asiatic shore, and we stood nearer to the Thracian side.

Two miles farther on we had the large town of Gallipoli on our left. The channel seemed about five miles wide from this part of the Chersonese to Chardac, a headland in the region of Lamsaki; but beyond this point the receding shores of Asia opened to our view the expanse of the sea of Marmora. Gallipoli, the

* Hist. Græc. lib. ii. p. 455, edit. Leuncl.

† Κόνων δὲ ταῖς ἐννέα ναυσὶ φεύγων κατασχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀβαρ-
νίδα τὴν Λαμψάκου ἄκραν.—Xenop. Hist. Græc. lib. ii. p. 457, edit. Leun-
clav.

‡ A Journey into Greece, &c. book i. p. 75.

Callipolis of ancient geography, which was an important position after the transfer of the empire to Byzantium, and was taken by the Turks nearly a century before the fall of Constantinople*, is still a very considerable town, containing perhaps fifteen thousand inhabitants, half of whom are Turks, and the remainder divided between Greeks and Jews. The latter people have been established in the place since the twelfth century†. It has given a name to the Hellespont, which the Turks call the sea of Gallipoli (Galiboli Denghizzi), and is the chief station of the Capudan Pasha‡. Standing in a peninsula, it forms two harbours, and not unfrequently receives the imperial fleets§.

A little beyond the town we noticed some perpendicular rocks, having the appearance of regular fortifications, surmounted by an old tower; and still farther on passed by a light-house, placed to point out the mouth of the strait, and the position of a long shoal which runs towards the Asiatic coast. As we advanced through the broad entrance of the straits, the breeze died away, and the minarets of Gallipoli were but just out of sight when the sun sank behind the hills, and closed a day which had been passed in viewing a succession of prospects, more interesting by their natural and associated attractions, than are perhaps to be met with in any other part of the world.

* Voyage au Levant, pp. 461, 462, 463, lett. xi. edit. Paris, 1717.

† Voyage de Benjamin fils de Jonas, p. 14; Voyages faits principalement en Asie, &c. edit. The Hague, 1735.

‡ D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orient. Galipoli.

§ Gallipoli, after the Latin conquest, fell to the share of the Venetians, but was retaken by Vataces in 1295, and possessed by the Catalans in 1306, who raised the fortifications, after being besieged by Antony Spinola, in 1307. The Turks took it in 1357.—Tournefort, letter xi. vol. i. pp. 461, 462.

We made very little progress during the night, but found ourselves in the sea of Marmora, yet not far from the coast of Thrace, which was here a line of high lands, more barren than the borders of the Hellespont, but in many parts verdant with pastures and vineyards. We discovered many villages in the nooks near the water's edge and on the side of the hills. We had light and baffling airs through the whole of the day, and had not advanced by half after five farther than to be off the rocky island Proconesus, whose modern name of Marmora has been extended to the surrounding sea.—The marble quarries which supplied many of the public buildings in Constantinople, and furnished the great mosck of Sultan Achmet with all its ornamental architecture, are now no longer worked; the population of slaves formerly employed in those labours has, therefore, been withdrawn. Passing to the north, we saw the only town now to be found in the island. The general appearance of Marmora is barren, but we discerned a few spots of vine and corn lands, with heathy downs, affording a scanty pasturage to a few goats. A little to the west is a long low island, apparently uninhabited, and round it there are two or three rocks, which are sometimes, together with Proconesus, called the Isles of Marmora.

About eight o'clock in the evening a breeze sprung up, which carried us five knots within the hour during the whole night, and in the morning of Sunday, May 13th, we found ourselves near the low green land of Thrace, with a view of three long bridges over a marsh, called Buyuk Chekmedjee, or Ponte Grande, six hours by land from the capital.

The mountains of Asia were just apparent in the farthest distance, and, in fact, the shore on every side is said to be visible from

the middle of this Mediterranean sea. We looked out eagerly to catch the first view of Constantinople, and at two o'clock saw some white columns, arranged much in the same order, and having the same appearance, as the distant turrets of King's College Chapel at Cambridge. These we were told were the minarets of the great moscks of Sultan Achmet and of Santa Sophia.—It now came on to blow hard from the north, and as we were obliged to beat up against the wind, we approached the city but slowly. The weather became very hazy, and obscured the surrounding view; but object after object dropped into the prospect; and the endless dwellings of a vast capital, rising from forests of cypresses, and overtopped with innumerable domes and slender spires, were indistinctly shown behind the clouds of driving mist.

In the course of our tacking we were sometimes at no great distance from Princes' Islands in the sea of Marmora, and at others we had a glimpse of the Seven Towers—a name formidable to the ears of Christians, and coasted under the gloomy walls of the eastern Cæsars, which seemed to inclose the fabled city of the dead, as no distant hum or murmur was heard from within, and not a human being could be seen without their solitary circuit. At sunset the frigate anchored near the headland immediately preceding the Seraglio point; and as no lights were visible, the silence and, in a short time, the darkness, were so complete, that we might have believed ourselves moored in the lonely cove of some desert island, and not at the foot of a city which, for its vast extent and countless population, is fondly imagined by its present masters to be worthy of being called *the Refuge of the World**.

* Alempena,

LETTER XLIV.

Difficulty of obtaining information concerning the Turks, even in Constantinople—Separation of the City and the Suburbs—Foreign Missions at Pera—Departure from the Frigate—Land at Tophana—Ascent to Pera—Dogs—The Hotel—City Watchmen—Police of Pera—The Custom of Parading the Streets incognito—Palaces of Ambassadors—Inglese Sarai—The Armenian Cemetery—The Amusements there—Customs called Oriental—in great measure those of the Ancient World—Seclusion and Treatment of Women—Coincidence of Turkish Manners with those of the Byzantine Greeks—Principal Difference between Ancient and Modern Manners—State of Turkish Women—Female Slaves, or Odalisques, of the Imperial Harem.

I HAD at one time resolved to make my chapter on Constantinople much the same as that called in Hakluyt *The Voyage of William Sandeville to Jerusalem*, the sum of which is this—“*William Sandeville, Earl of Essex, with divers English Lords and Knights, went to the Holy Land in the 24 yere of Henry the Second**. . For without having recourse to the expedient of the Earl's namesake, I despaired of

* *The English Voyages, &c.* p. 17, vol. ii. edit. 1599.

telling any thing not before too well known to require repetition. Thinking, however, that each person must see some objects, or views of objects, not noticed by preceding, or even contemporary travellers, and that to dilate on various parts of Turkey, and to say nothing of its famous capital, would scarcely be forgiven, I shall endeavour to prepare some remarks, which, although not altogether a new composition, will not be the contents of one phial poured into another. It is not my intention, however, to pourtray the general appearance, or the several quarters, of Constantinople; innumerable plans and pictures, and two lively representations, which have amused the inhabitants of our principal English towns, have rendered the first attempt unnecessary; whilst the many travels, surveys, and itineraries, descriptive of the Turkish capital, with which every one at all in the habit of investigating the countries of the east must be already acquainted, cannot but dissuade me from hazarding a new topographical detail of this celebrated city. Enough, and perhaps too much, will be said on the subject, by extracting from my journal, in the manner before followed, a narrative of the manner in which our time was passed during the two months of our residence at Pera; since such an account will necessarily include a notice of several interesting objects to be met with in the capital and its environs.

One of the chief advantages which every man proposes to himself by travelling, especially by visiting large towns, must be to mix with the best native society to which he can have access, or, as Mr. Locke has it, “to get into the conversation and acquaintance of persons of condition*.” But it is in vain to expect that

* *Some Thoughts on Education in Lond. duod. p. 272.*

benefit in the Levant, where the traveller has little employment left except that which (although Lord Hardwicke pronounced it a charming exercise, subservient to morality) has, methinks, when unmixed with other matter, no very great attractions either for writers or readers, namely, “to draw just conclusions concerning the uncertainty of human things from the ruinous alterations time and barbarity have brought upon so many palaces, cities, and whole countries, which make such a figure in history*.”

A stranger at Constantinople would naturally wish to live amongst the 'Turks, as he would amongst the French at Paris and the Austrians at Vienna; but the differences of manner, custom, and language, render it absolutely impossible to become domesticated in a Mahometan family, or, at a short residence, even to join in the very little social intercourse enjoyed amongst the natives themselves. Thus those varieties, and nice distinctions of character, which must subsist in some degree between the individuals of every nation, and which a more intimate scrutiny might discover, cannot be noticed by passing travellers in their partial communications with the 'Turks, who seem to them to have so entire a monotony, not only of manner but of mind, as to induce a belief, that he who has observed one amongst them has seen the whole people, and may form an estimate of them nearly as well by the inspection of a week as by the acquaintance of a year. With this persuasion, a traveller passes through the country without forming an intimacy, or even an acquaintance, with a single Turk; and there is no part of the empire in which he will find himself less inclined to make such an attempt than at the capital

* Spectator, No. 361.

itself.—The water of the Golden Horn, which flows between the city and the suburbs, is a line of separation seldom transgressed by the Frank residents; and an English stranger, if he waited for the suggestions of his fellow-countrymen of the Levant Company, would pass many weeks at Pera without paying one visit to Constantinople.

No foreigner is now allowed to reside in the city itself, not even the minister of a friendly nation; a regulation which does not arise from any ancient usage, but from the policy of later times. In the days of Busbek, the King of Hungary's minister resided within the walls, and Eltchi Han (the Ambassador's Inn) is shown as the place in which that accomplished scholar is said to have written his letters. Notwithstanding the beauty of its situation, on which he dwells with much complacency, he seems to have considered it a sort of state-prison, and complains of not being permitted to purchase a house and garden at his own expence*."

So late as the beginning of the last century†, the Hungarian minister, and those of Poland and Ragusa, lived in Constantinople; but in the reign of Achmet the Third, who mounted the throne in 1703, a proposal was made to the Divan, to confine all the Ambassadors to Princes' Islands. Such is the dislike of the hat, the distinction of the Frank; that the prudent always think fit, and in our time it was absolutely necessary, in visiting the city, to procure the protection of a Janissary. An English gentleman who, contrary to advice, whilst we were at Pera, ventured across

* Cum vero me tæderet inclusionis in eodem diversorio, &c.—Epist. iii p. 97, edit. Oxon. 1660.

† Voyage du Levant, lettre xii. p. 508, vol. i.

the water accompanied only by his servant, was, for some unintentional offence, immediately knocked down, and his attendant coming to his assistance, met with the same maltreatment. No person interfered, and the strangers thought it adviseable to return to Pera. It is an offence against the state to insult any one protected by a Janissary; and it is so much expected that each visitor will avail himself of their service, that a complaint from an unattended person would be productive of no redress.—The distinction between the Mahometan and the Christian resident or settler, is perhaps no where so decided as at Constantinople; and it has of late years, since the wars with France and England, become somewhat dangerous to have an open intimacy with the agents or merchants of any foreign power.

After such a preliminary, it will not be expected that a traveller should insinuate himself into any Turkish company, or enjoy any other society than that which is to be found at Pera. The Franks have, as it were, engrafted themselves on that limb of the capital, and the shoot has many more characteristics of the exotic than of the parent plant.

I shall, before we leave the frigate, take some notice of this portion of the inhabitants of Pera. There were formerly twelve missions in Pera, which, with their respective diplomatic courts and their attached families, together with the visiting guests, formed a society not to be expected in the heart of Turkey; but the new order of things established in Christendom, has materially detracted from the comforts of the Frank residents. The absorption of so many European states by the power of France, is sensibly felt at Pera, where several of those governments whose former importance rendered the presence of a respectable agent ne-

cessary, having now no longer any independent interests to maintain, are in fact represented by the Envoy of the Emperor Napoleon, although they allow a certain number of Greeks in the quality of dragomans and physicians, still to avail themselves of the privileges of those attached to foreign embassies. As the present diplomatic ceremonial does not admit of mutual civilities between the English and French ministers, the former, and those belonging to his nation (that is to say, those protected by him), are in a manner excluded from every other company at Pera except that of their countrymen.

The ministers, the interpreters, and the merchants, some time ago formed three distinct classes of society. The first of these, under the above disadvantages, has been disunited and broken in upon by the second and the third description of persons, who, however, do not mutually amalgamate. I speak not of our own legation, which, with the exception of a few gala days, seeks no other company than those travellers whom its hospitality domesticates at the English palace.

There has been, for more than a century, an establishment belonging to the French embassy, and there is one protected by the Austrian Internuncio, for the education of young persons of the nation in the oriental languages, and such qualifications as may enable them to take situations in the Levantine consulates; and, within a few years, the former power has employed these *Giovanni di Lingua* (for so they are called) as interpreters at the Divan. There was some remonstrance on the part of the Porte; but it was firmly advanced on the other hand, that the Emperor Napoleon did not choose to employ any agents whose very dress showed they were subjects of the Ottoman government; and that,

as he did not desire the Turkish Ambassador at Paris, or any of his suite, to change their costume, so he would not suffer any persons attached to his representative at Constantinople to wear any other dress than that of his own court. This is not the first time that the French have made a stand on a similar point of etiquette. The Marquis de Ferriol, after a long struggle, minutely detailed by Tournesfort, quitted the Seraglio just as he was about to have his audience of the Sultan, who had come fifteen leagues on purpose, because they would not suffer him to enter the presence-chamber with his sword, which he said constituted a part of a Frenchman's dress, and should not be taken from him but with his life*.

The French have doubtless gained a great point in thus putting the executive part of their intercourse with the Porte into the hands of persons who, at the same time that an education in the country teaches them how to deal with the Turks, so as to advance the interests of their employers, are, by their condition as Franks, totally divested of the timidity and submissive habits inherent in the Greeks, or any subjects of the Turks. A rayah or subject, wearing with his robes the badge of slavery, dares not to utter the sentiments put into his mouth, and discharge the duties intrusted to him by a foreign minister. A decisive sentiment, even when he is backed by the presence of his ambassador, can scarcely, or only with a pale face and trembling limbs, be forced from his lips. Most of the minor concerns of the embassies are carried on by the dragomans solely; yet even in these it not unfrequently happens, that after many provoking delays and incon-

* Voyage du Levant, lettre xii. pp. 539, 540, 541, 542, Paris, 1717.

clusive answers on the part of the Turks, the matter cannot be arranged without the personal application of the minister himself.

There are four dragomans attached to the English embassy. Mr. Pisani, descended, I believe, from an ancient Venetian family of Galata, is the chief interpreter: he speaks the English language with the utmost purity, an accomplishment I never met with in any other native of the Levant. It would be difficult, except perhaps from too minute and attentive a correctness and precision, to discover that he is not talking his mother-tongue. He enjoys no little consideration on both sides of the water, and has the manners of a man of ability and address.

The resident members of the Levant Company at Pera, have lately much diminished in number; as far as I recollect, they do not possess at this time more than five or six mercantile establishments. I presume that the number of persons protected by the English ambassador, does not in the whole amount to one hundred; whilst the French minister has, it is said, between two and three thousand dependants. On days of rejoicing and church festivals, the streets of Pera and the catholic chapel are crowded with his tumultuous train. Since the departure of General Sebastiani, the government of Paris have maintained only a *Chargé d'Affaires* at the Porte, Mons. Latour Maubourg, the brother of the general of that name.

Something has been before said of the singular regulation by which the Turks permit the existence of independent jurisdictions in their ports and principal towns, in a greater degree perhaps than the Greek emperors admitted the interference of the magistrates deputed by the powerful republic of Genoa to watch over their trading colony of Galata. The privileges granted in the year 1580

by the Sultan Amurath to the English merchants and their consuls and governors, give an entire controul over all those of his nation, to the minister, who is to protect them and settle all their differences, without the interference of the Turkish police or courts of justice*. For the purpose of their security and dignity, a large body of the Janissaries, who nearly three centuries ago were at the same time the formidable foes and the delegated protectors of the Christians†, is put under the orders of every minister. The duty has attached a disgraceful name to these Janissaries, who are sometimes called, by way of derision, the Christian pig-keepers, as Pera goes by the name of the Pig quarter‡. The French and the English have each a whole *oda*, or chamber of Janissaries, set apart for their service; and although there are not more than four or five in constant attendance, yet the whole body is always at hand, and can be assembled upon any requisite emergency. The *oda* of the British embassy is the fortieth, consisting of about two hundred men.

A disturbance taking place one evening whilst we were at Pera, between some English and Genoese sailors, which the patrolle endeavoured to allay, by knocking both parties down with their long clubs, fifty of the English Janissaries being dispatched to the spot, immediately secured the parties, with the exception of the

* See the Charter of the Privileges granted to the English, and the League of the Great Turk with the Queene's Majestie, in respect of traffique, dated in June 1588.—Hakluyt, English Voy. vol. ii. p. 141, edit. 1599.

† Per omnes fere ejus imperii fines, vel præsidio munitionibus adversus hostem, vel tutelæ Christianis Judæisque adversus injurias multitudinis, sparguntur.—Aug. Busbeq. epist. 1, p. 9, edit. Oxon. 1660.

‡ Reidesel, Voyage au Levant, p. 347.

offender, who having stabbed a marine of the Salsette, had fled to the French palace, and they also apprehended the whole guard : one of whom, but for the interference of the Captain of the frigate, would have lost his head for his indiscriminate assault, and, as it was, received a severe bastinado. Pera may thus be said to be abandoned to the foreign ministers, in whose favour even hogs (the abhorrence of the Mussulmans) are admitted once a year, during carnival, into the suburbs; and yet these ministers experience on their visits to the other side of the water, every humiliation which Ottoman pride can contrive to inflict. Nothing is more true than that the Turks are a people of Antithesis*, and they show the contradiction of their character as much in their commerce with the Franks, as in their behaviour amongst themselves and to their own subjects. Although the most haughty, and, in their own eyes, still the most powerful nation in the world, they consent to see, in the suburbs of their very capital, the ministers of foreign powers exercising an authority which the most petty potentate in Christendom would consider as a surrender of his sovereign rights, and they require at the same time, from these same representatives of the first monarchs in Europe, certain other submissions in point of conduct, which no other people but themselves would demand even from the agents of the most inconsiderable states. Some change, however, must have taken place in the feelings of the Turks since Prince Repnin, in 1774, rode through the city, attended by six hundred men with drawn swords, after the signing of the treaty between the Empress Catharine and the Porte†.

* Voyage au Constantinople, chap. xvi. p. 143, edit. Paris, 1805.

† Const. Anc. and Mod. p. 73.

At twelve o'clock, on Monday the 14th of May, we left the Salsette in the Captain's boat, and rowed against the stream until we came near Yeni-Kiosk, or the New Kiosk, on the next point of land, where some sturdy fellows, who are always in waiting, threw a couple of rope-lines into the boat, and towed us for at least a mile under the walls of the Seraglio. The wind blew strongly from the north-east, and the current rushing violently down the Bosphorus, we had some difficulty to prevent being dashed against the rocky projections of the shore. The entrance of the port and the mouth of the straits, which in fine weather is covered with boats, was whitened with breakers, and showed only a solitary skiff driving across us towards the sea of Marmora. The sensations produced by the state of the weather, and leaving a comfortable cabin, were in unison with the impressions which we felt, when, passing under the palace of the Sultans, and gazing at the gloomy cypresses which rise above the walls, we saw two dogs gnawing a dead body. When we had got beyond the immediate influence of the current, we pulled across the mouth of the harbour to the principal stairs leading to Pera, which are at Tophana, a suburb so denominated from a cannon-foundry and artillery ground. Several horses are kept ready saddled, and attended by boys, under the shade of a large Chinese fountain, near the landing-place; some of which we mounted, and rode up a steep hill to the part of the town in which we intended to lodge. The streets through which we passed were as narrow as those of Ioannina, and not so clean. At the corners of them were heaps of dust and filth, the refuse of the quarter, on which several thin gaunt dogs were lying asleep.

These animals abound in every region of the capital; and, though not admitted into any house, and considered unclean, are never destroyed by the Turks. On the contrary, their multiplication is rather encouraged than checked, for I have more than once seen a litter of puppies warmly nestled in a mat or rug, placed for the purpose of their protection by some charitable inhabitant of the neighbourhood. They render a walk by night not a little perilous. It is allowable to beat them off with sticks, but not to use any other weapon; for a formal complaint was made, that the dogs near Tophana had been wounded by some persons going in the evening to the English frigate.

Nassuff Pasha, Grand Vizier to Achmet the First, had the courage not only to repress the violence of the Janissaries, amongst whom he used to walk with a head in one hand and a drawn scimitar in the other, but in the year 1613 transported all the dogs over to Asia. He would have destroyed them, but the Mufti, on being consulted, told the Sultan that every dog had a soul*. Whether it is from this supposition, and the prohibition of the Koran, or from the notion that they clear the streets of the filth and offal which is thrown before the butchers' houses, they are still as much protected as at Lisbon, where one of the complaints I heard made against the French was, that they had killed ten thousand dogs, and supplied their office by night-carts. There seems a prejudice against cleanliness in the peninsula. Those attached offices, which are thought indispensable in England, are not to be found at Lisbon; nor were they introduced until 1760 at Madrid, when the physicians petitioned against the inno-

* Continuation of Knolles by Edward Grimstonc.

vation, as prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants. The bettermost Turks, however, never neglect the construction of such appurtenances to all their dwellings, and have not therefore the same reason as the Portuguese for fondness to their dogs.—It has been observed*, that these animals have divided the city into districts; and that they deliver an intruder from one to another quarter, as an English beggar is transmitted from parish to parish. I did not ascertain the existence of this precise regulation, but I have been frequently disturbed at night by their howling, and have seen a pack of them hunting a strange dog beyond their boundaries.

We had not much less than a mile to ride, the whole way on an ascent, before we came to our inn. This was situated at the corner of the main street of Pera, where four ways meet; all of which were not less mean and dirty than the lanes of Wapping. The hotel, however, (kept by a Mons. Marchand) was a very comfortable mansion, containing many chambers handsomely furnished, and a large billiard-room, which is the resort of all the idle young men of the place. Our dinners there were better served, and composed of meats more to the English taste than we had seen at any tavern since our departure from Falmouth; and the butter of Belgrade (perfectly fresh, though not of a proper consistency) was a delicacy to which we had long been unaccustomed. The best London porter, and nearly every species of wine, except port, were also to be procured in any quantity. To this eulogy cannot be added the material recommendation of cheapness.—There is another Frank hotel at a little distance in the same street, which in this respect is preferable, but is in every other point of view inferior to that of Mons. Marchand.

* Present State of Turkey, p. 288, 4to. edit.

Immediately opposite to my bed-room window was a Turkish coffee-house, and a wooden bench under the wall near the door was constantly occupied by four or five of the patrol, sleeping at their length or smoking. These watchmen, called *Passevend**, belong to the *Topges*, or gunners' corps, and the *Topge-Bashe* is their immediate superior: they carry a long pole shod with iron, which they beat violently against the ground in going their rounds during the night, and employ with no little dexterity in tripping up the feet of those whom they wish to overtake, by flinging them along the ground.

There is no preventive police in the place; and, in the punishment of offenders, those who are caught suffer for those who escape. A severe beating or bastinado is inflicted without any previous enquiries, upon the first person whom, in any disturbance, the patrol happens to seize. Either no pains are taken to discover the guilty, or when discovered he may prove to belong to the Janissaries or some other corps, and will then be protected by the whole body of his comrades. A single *oda* will sometimes refuse to surrender a culprit, even when demanded by the *Janissar-Aga*, the General of all the Janissaries.

I was at a little distance from the watchman's station one day at noon, when a young woman, belonging to a class of which there are but few in the place, made use of an abusive expression to a *galiondge*, or sailor of the fleet, who, without answering, drew his *attaghan* and stabbed her to the heart. One of our Albanians was

* The famous *Passwan-Oghu* was, as his appellation denotes, the son of one of these watchmen. Many Pashas are what we should call nick-named; a species of raillery at which the Turks are very ready: thus *Topal-Pasha*, is lame Pasha; *Kusch-Pasha*, bald Pasha; *Kior-Pasha*, one-eyed Pasha.

on the spot, and came up to me with the story. It happened close to the guard-house, and the sailor walked deliberately down the hill towards the port without any attempt being made to apprehend him. The wearing of arms is prohibited in Constantinople, but in Pera many Turks, especially the galiondges, during the passage of troops to the armies, under pretence of being prepared for service, carry pistols and daggers in their belts. I have seen one man run after another with a drawn sword, without the least effort on the part of the bystanders to interrupt the fray.

Notwithstanding, however, this state of insubordination, it might be supposed that no little pains were taken to preserve the peace, or at least to enquire into the state of the city, by the continuation of a practice which has furnished so many agreeable incidents for the authors of the *One Thousand and One Nights* and the *Arabian Tales*. I have more than once observed a grave looking personage in a mean habit, sitting on the bench amongst the *Passevend* opposite our hotel, playing with his *comboloio*, or string of beads, apparently lost in meditation, now and then turning up his head for a moment, and then again resuming his solitary game. This I was informed was the *Bostandge-Bashe* in disguise. This officer is a person of the highest dignity in the imperial household, second only to the *Selctar-Aga* or royal sword-bearer: he is the chief of the *Bostandges*, who, from being originally the gardeners of the Sultan, are now a domestic guard, although without fire-arms, composed of five or six thousand men. He is at the head of the police (not including Constantinople), from Gallipoli to the shores of the Black Sea, and is Governor of Adrianople. It might be thought that the duties of the *Bostandge-Bashe* render in his case this species of mas-

querading of some service, but the other great officers of state, by no means connected with the internal regulation of the country, indulge in the same practice. I have met the Capudan Pasha on horseback dressed like a common sailor, and unattended. The Grand Signior himself sometimes parades the streets, as it is called, incognito, but is nevertheless so accompanied, as to render it not only easy, but necessary to recognize him. The purser of the English frigate *Sea-horse* and a woman, walking in Galata crossed the street before the late Sultan Selim as he was going one of his rounds: he ordered them both to be bastinadoed; but being informed that the man was an English subject, contented himself with the cudgelling of the woman. Many stories are told of summary vengeance being taken on petty offenders, and of bakers and butchers having been hanged at their shop doors, but I never learnt that the peace and good order of the state were any way advanced by the administration of this furtive justice.

A fire which had burnt down nearly the half of Pera, rendered it difficult to procure lodgings; but in three days we were settled at a house in the main street, and immediately opposite to a small convent of nuns, and a lane leading to *Frantzooos-Seraï*, the mansion-house of the French embassy.

The word *seraglio*, so often confounded with *harem*, the dwelling of the females, although used by distinction to signify the imperial residence in Constantinople, means in the original Persian word *Saraï**, no more than a house belonging to any person of distinction, and thus the Turks have the expression *Inglees-Saraï*, and *Frantzooos-Saraï*; the English palace, or the

* D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque, Orient. Artic. Saraï*.

French palace. The first of these is a large stone building, very handsome in its external appearance, and containing several long and lofty rooms, one of which is fitted up like an audience-chamber, with a throne under a velvet canopy. It was built lately, at the expence of the Sultan; and the contractor, to make the most of his bargain, completed the work so imperfectly, that some of the suites of apartments are almost uninhabitable from the damp. The palace is surrounded by a piece of waste ground inclosed by a high wall, and stands at the edge of Pera, on the verge of an extensive burying-ground which slopes down towards the Golden Horn, and opens a view, from the upper windows of the house, of that part of the port where the Turkish fleet is usually at anchor.

The vicinity of a cemetery is not in the capital of Turkey judged by any means disagreeable, and no spot is so lively and frequented as the Armenian and Frank burying-ground at the outskirts of Pera, called MNEMATA, or the Tombs. It is shaded with a grove of mulberry trees, and is on the edge of some high ground, whence there is a magnificent view of the suburb of Scutari, and a great portion of the Bosphorus. Between it and the town there is an open space, having on one side, towards the north, a handsome structure of very considerable extent, inclosing a square, which is the Topges, or gunners' barracks, and furnishes quarters for several *odas* of artillery-men. The flat before the barracks, is on Sundays, Saturdays, and Fridays, but more particularly the first, the scene of a hundred childish amusements. There may be seen *arabats* or light waggons drawn by a pair of oxen painted in spots, and horses saddled ready for hire, together with swings, *ups and downs* (Ανάβα*), tee-totums, and most of our

* Mr. De Guys hints at the antiquity of this see-saw (Letter xiv.), and not less gravely than the sire of Scriblerus approves also of *Myinda*, or blindman's-buff, as a classical pastime.

common games of chance ; besides a number of coloured tents, and moveable stands, containing sherbets, ices and fruits.

The Mahometans seem to enjoy the leisure of the Christian and Jewish Sabbath, no less than that of their own holy day, and leave Constantinople to lounge amongst their fellow-subjects of the suburbs. Groupes of Turkish ladies stroll about the walks, or seat themselves on the tomb-stones, or within the tents, surrounded by their children and attendants, and spectators of an amusement which has at least the recommendation of ancient authority—this is the wrestling, which has been often described at length, and may be understood from the following short sketch.

A ring is generally formed by Turks seated on the ground (although two antagonists will sometimes commence the sport unobserved, and apart), who contemplate the mutual efforts with sedate eagerness, and now and then withdraw the pipes from their mouths to applaud any unexpected exertion. The wrestlers, excepting a pair of tight leather drawers, are completely undressed, and their dark naked limbs and shaved heads shine with the oil with which they are plentifully besmeared. They advance slowly towards each other from opposite quarters of the ring, shouting and clapping their hands forcibly on their thighs, at the same time inclining their bodies, as if with the purpose of obtaining the undermost grasp in the subsequent grappling, and they continue at this kind of manœuvre, cautiously surveying and circling each other for some time before they join. They do not attempt to strike each other, but lay hold of the arms as a prelude to the serious encounter. When they are locked together, the chief effort of each seems to be to pass the arm between his opponent's legs. They soon bring one another to the ground, which does by no means decide, but rather commences the ardent part of the struggle. Then it is that the combatants present a complete

picture of the ancient **ΑΝΑΚΑΙΝΟΠΙΑΗ**, or incumbent wrestling. They become so interlaced that it is difficult to tell to whom the arms, legs, and heads belong, and the limbs are occasionally twisted together more uncountly than it would be thought the utmost suppleness of joints would permit. They roll over and over repeatedly, and continue the contest until the head of one of them is decidedly under the body or grasp of the other, and he is unable to regain a commanding position.

The Turks originally may have borrowed this art from their conquered subjects, by whom, however, it is no longer practised, for the Greeks never wrestle. The exercise would perhaps be esteemed too manly for slaves, and might render them suspected by their masters. Yet it is possible that this game was not adopted by the Turks for the first time at the conquest of the Greek empire, but was a part of those habits which, although they were found amongst the civilized Greeks, may have had their origin, or have been practised of old amongst the barbarous nations of the east. Sandys, with his usual gravity, deduces the wrestling from the Trojans*.

The Byzantine ceremonies were some of them horrowed from those of the court of Persia; and the Frank who witnesses the audience of an ambassador at the Seraglio, may fancy himself another Luitprand, at the court of Nicephorus Phocas, astonished by the obscure splendour and mysterious magnificence of the presence-chamber of the Imperial Greek. It is more probable, however, that the Ottoman princes had observed the same form at Brusa, than that they adopted it from a court which, after the taking of the capital, had ceased to exist. The Byzantine Greeks esteemed being

* Relation of a Journey, lib. iii. p. 205.

on horseback a sign of dignity; for no Jew but the first physician was allowed to ride in Constantinople*. The same notion has been before remarked as prevalent amongst the Turks; but it had been transmitted to them by their Tartar ancestors; they did not learn it from the Greeks. The fact seems to be, that the customs called oriental, were not exclusively possessed by the inhabitants of any particular region or country, but were diffused over the most civilized portion of Europe as well as Asia, and reigned without a rival until the rise and predominance of another and, as it were, a distinct race of mankind.—With respect to general customs†, the Greeks and Turks had little to learn of each other at the fall of the eastern empire. It is not meant to be advanced that there was a perfect similarity between them. The former people may not have mounted on the right side of the horse, nor have turned their toes inwards, nor have bowed, by dropping the head on the shoulder, like the Janissaries. The arbitrary regulations of religion or of law, fashion, and what may be called chance, have at all times made considerable changes in those points which are looked upon as the characteristic distinctions of nations; yet, on the whole, the system of manners belonging to the civilized ancients of the West and East, seems to be nearly the same as that of the modern Orientals, and entirely distinct from that of the Franks and of Christendom. If the Russians, Poles, and Hungarians, have any peculiarities which distinguish them from other Frank Christians, it is because these nations are of Oriental origin, and have not long adopted,

* Voyage de Benjamin fils de Jonas, p. 13.

† The conquerors being the more ignorant of the two, might imbibe some of the opinions of the Greeks, and such habits as depended upon those opinions. See Letter xxxi. p. 508, of this volume.

and still only partially, the manners of the part of the world in which they are now settled.

The beard*, the loose robe, the recumbent posture, the use of the bath, distinguished the old inhabitants of Italy and Greece no less than those of Asia.

In that most important of all points, the condition of the female, the polished ancients approached much nearer to the

* This distinction of manhood was universally worn by the first Greeks and Romans, as it was in early periods by all the Turks. It did not begin to be left off until the time of Demosthenes at Athens, and no man was seen without one in Rome before the year of the city 454. A smooth chin was a prodigy amongst the Saracen warriors, for the young Elemir, the son of the great Saladine, was frightened at a man without a beard. Notwithstanding the discontinuance of this usage before mentioned, the brand was again introduced by Hadrian; and although Julian was ridiculed on that account at Antioch, it was worn by all the generals of Justinian, and by every person of any rank amongst the Greeks, to the latest period of their empire. The state of manners in a nation amongst whom such a habit could be renewed after having been laid aside, must have been entirely different from those of Christendom in our own days. It may be asserted, that this appendage was worn not very long ago by some amongst the most polite Frank nations; but this, as well as the robes belonging to those of the learned professions, and used on public ceremonies by the chief personages of the state, was a custom not derived from our ancestors of the north, but from an intercourse with, or perhaps a pedantic imitation of the civilized inhabitants of the south of Europe†. Tacitus remarks, that of the German nations, there were some, amongst whom no one was allowed to cut off his beard until he had killed an enemy‡. The Lombards received their names from the singularity of wearing this distinguishing mark on the face, and their appellation may show us, that the custom in question did never obtain amongst the ancient Franks, in the same manner as amongst the Greeks, Romans, and Orientals.

† The Professors of the University of Paris wore beards until forbidden by edict in 1531; in England the habit was continued much later.

‡ Et aliis Germanorum populis usquepatum rara et privata cujusque audentia, apud Catos in consensum vertit; ut primum adoleverint crinem barbamque summittere, nec nisi hoste caeso exuere votivum, obligatumque virtuti ovis habitum.—De Morib. German. cap. 31.

Oriental than to ourselves. It was, indeed, the boast of civilization to confine one man to one woman, and to check the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes—

“*Concubita prohibere vago, dare jura maritis;*”

but the frequency of divorce both in Greece and at Rome*, must, as far as the respectability of the female was concerned, have been productive of much the same effects as a plurality of wives. As to the general treatment of women, the resemblance between the Orientals and the Greeks and (it may perhaps be added) the Romans, is too striking to escape observation. The ladies of Athens were confined as rigorously, and were as reserved in their manners, as those of a Turkish harem. The orator Lysias apologizes for the widow, whom extreme distress had prompted to state her case in person to some male relations; and Demosthenes could no other way prove that Orestes and his sister lived in the same house, than by an examination of the female slaves, and the evidence of a physician. These are decisive instances, and are quoted as such in that one of Mr. Hume's Essays called a Dialogue.

A perusal of the fifth book of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, will show that the best Athenian wives were mere domestic drudges; for the lady of Ischomachus is recommended kneading, baking, and shaking clothes and carpets, as gymnastics productive of health, and a better colour than the paint with which the faces of the females were usually bedaubed†. The Theban ladies,

* De l'Esprit des Lois. Liv. xvi. cap. 16. “Coriolan, partant pour son exil, conseilla à sa femme de se marier à un homme plus heureux que lui.”

† Ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἔφην εἶναι γυμνάσιον καὶ τὸ διῶσαι, καὶ μάξαι, καὶ ἱμάτια καὶ στρώματα ἀνασσεῖσαι καὶ συνθηνάει.—Xenophon. *Memorabil.* lib. v. p. 848, edit.

when in public, showed no part of their faces but the eyes*. The singular institutions of Sparta are not to be quoted against those of every other part of Greece. The females in the time of the Greek empire were so secluded, that even their brothers were allowed access to them only twice a year, and the higher classes never went abroad except in covered litters†.

Mr. Hume‡ is inclined to think that the Romans, until the establishment of the empire, lived with their women much in the same manner as the English, that is, without jealousy, and with no other gallantry than that of complaisance. Yet it appears that the people of Rome could not be compared with us either in generosity or the want of jealousy; for, not to mention other points of dissimilarity, they esteemed adultery so heinous a crime, that until the time of Theodosius, the female culprit was publicly prostituted in the capital of Italy, a bell ringing before her as she passed through the streets.—It has been allowed on all hands§, that the respectful attachment to the other sex, of which the first principles are to be found amongst our German ancestors||, and which, from the

Leunclav. There are some variations in the reading, which may be seen by consulting the above edition.

* Dicæarchus, Βίος Ἑλλάδος, Anacharsis' Travels, Voyage au Thèbes.

† Philolphi. epist. ap. Hod. Philological Enquiries, chap. v.

‡ See a Dialogue, vol. ii. p. 394, and note 20, p. 503, Essays.

§ "The humanity which accompanies the operations of war, the refinements of gallantry, and the point of honour, are the three chief circumstances which distinguish ancient from modern manners."—Robertson, Charles V. vol. i. sect. 1, p. 85, 2d edit.

|| Tacit. de Morib. Germ. cap. 18, 19.—The prohibition of polygamy amongst the Germans alone, of almost all the barbarians, must make us believe that they were instinctively convinced of the equality of the sexes, upon which

height of chivalrous frenzy, has subsided into the ready deference of European gallantry, was entirely unknown to the great nations of antiquity, and is the chief peculiarity of that cast of character which marks the difference between modern and ancient society. To this cause must it be attributed, that prudence, simplicity of manners, good sense and judgment, are not so much esteemed, as gaiety, politeness, taste, and delicacy*; and that a man of our day, whose character should be impressed with the hardihood of antiquity, might excite our wonder, and perhaps command our admiration, but would attract neither our love nor our esteem.

We may aver with Montesquieu, that many arguments may be offered for and against the liberty of women—" *il-y-a bien des raisons pour et contre la liberté des femmes*;" but notwithstanding the hesitation of that philosopher, the Christian zeal of our times would decide the case in favour of the sex, if we could persuade ourselves, with a lively and by no means unexperienced Mussulman of the last century, that the greater diffusion of Islamism has been prevented by the women†. When, however, a

persuasion all modern gallantry is founded. The conjugal severity (*severa matrimonia*) of these savages has not, together with their attachment to the women, descended to their modern posterity. Female offenders are not now whipped through the streets.

* A Dialogue, p. 395, vol. ii. Hume's Essays.

† Mr. W. Montague stated this to the Duke of Hamilton, in presence of Dr. Moore at Venice.—See A View of Manners, &c. in Italy. Against this merit may be weighed the fact, that the Chinese proscribed Christianity on account of the liberty and equality which it granted to the female sex, and that, therefore, our religion will never be that of China. "Une chose bien triste," says Montesquieu, liv. xix. cap. 18.

late author declares that he would judge of the progress of civilization by the influence of females in a state*, he should surely have limited his remark to the nations of modern Europe, and to the present order of things; and the necessity of such a limitation is most distinctly shown, by the unfortunate reference which he has made to the urbanity of the Lacedemonians. No people in Greece were distinguished by so total a want of polished manners as the inhabitants of Sparta; and one of the first philosophers of antiquity comments upon the defective policy which gave such undue power and liberty to their women†. Allowing the complete superiority of their military character‡, we cannot but put them at the lowest rank amongst the professors and inventors of sciences and arts; nor do we find that when wealth and power had made them luxurious to a degree unrivalled by any other Grecian state, their debaucheries were accompanied with any signs of taste or ingenuity.

It would be as difficult to discover the cause, as to decide upon the merits, of the Oriental treatment of women. Polygamy, and the seclusion of females, are not, as Baron Reidesel § (supported

* Thornton's Present State of Turkey, p. 311, 4to.

† Aristot. lib. i. Rhetoric; lib. ii. Politic. De Pauw, Philosophical Disquisitions on the Greeks, vol. ii. sect. 10.

‡ Xenophon told the ten thousand, that it would be unseemly both in their eyes and his own, to appoint him general, when a Lacedemonian was present—*Κυρῶ Αναβ.* lib. 5. p. 434; and this ascendancy was so much the more extraordinary, as the other Grecian states had at that time such a reputation for military skill, that Caryatides, a Theban, journeyed about, enquiring if any city or nation was in want of a general—*στρατηγιῶν καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενος, εἰ τις ἢ πόλις ἢ ἔθνος στρατηγῷ δέοιτο.*—*Ibid.* lib. 7. p. 499.

§ “La polygamie et l'usage de tenir les femmes renfermées chez elles sont donc des effets des climats chauds,” &c.—Voyage au Levant, chap. ix. p. 338.

by the authority of Montesquieu) supposes, the immediate effects of a warm sun, nor are they to be found alone in southern climates. “Usages are independent of latitude and longitude*.” A plurality of wives is allowed amongst the Kamschatdales; and there is no less sensuality in their frozen huts than in the harems of the Turks. In Thibet, and some cold countries of Asia, a wife is permitted to have several husbands: this, says Montesquieu, is because in those places there are born more male than female children†: but whatever may be the cause, it is clear from this very instance, that the passions of the one sex at least, are as strong in cold as in warm climates. The Egyptians did not seclude their women until the time of Hakem, the third Fatimite Caliph, and rebelled when the order was first promulgated. The Assyrians allowed the women to feast with the men, although in the heart of a country whose inhabitants have been at all times most strict in that respect, and considered the custom as a strange corruption, and degeneracy of manners‡. The restraint severely observed one hundred and fifty years ago in the treatment of the Spanish women, was not produced by the sun, but was a relic of Moorish manners. The distinction between the hooded Theban women and the Spartan Phænomerides, was caused, not by the different aspect of the sky, but the separate institutions of the two states.

It may be inferred that the Turks, when they first issued from their mountains, and were like their other Tartar brethren a wandering nation, had not such ability of confining their women as their Ottoman descendants, who have fixed settlements, and have

* State of Turkey, p. 307, 4to.

† De l'Esprit de Lois. Liv. xvi. cap. 4.

‡ Decline and Fall, vol. ii. 4to. p. 351.



A TURKISH WOMAN.

deserted the camp for the city. Neither Carpin, Rubruquis, nor the other early travellers amongst the Oriental Tartars, advert to any seclusion of their females, although they notice the plurality and the buying of their wives*. We learn, however, that the delicacy of never speaking of their females, is ascribed in a much higher degree to the Turkish nations, than to the other Orientals†.

Whether we are to call their seclusion barbarous or not, the pity bestowed upon the Turkish women may well be spared. Lady M. W. Montague, who had the best means of forming a judgment, has given an enviable picture of their domestic life; and, as far as can be observed from their public appearance, they are in possession of the enjoyments suited to their taste. They can ride in their arabats, sail in their barges, and ramble at pleasure through the crowded streets of the city, or the walks in the environs of Pera. Persons of high rank may refuse themselves the latter gratification, but if they do, it is a voluntary restraint, as under disguise they may walk alone in any quarter; a liberty not enjoyed by the higher classes of our own capital. Not only the Armenian burying-ground, but the sloping gardens of Dolma-Baktche, a mile beyond on the shore of the Bosphorus, are fre-

* Au reste, chacun peut avoir autant de femmes qu'il en peut nourrir Ils les achètent fort cherement de leur peres et merces Voyage de Carpin en Tartarie, article ii.—“ Pour ce qui est de leurs mariages, il faut scavoir que personne n'a de femme s'il ne l'achete.”—Voyage de Rubruquis en Tartarie, chap. ix. ; Voyages faits principalement en Asie, &c. à La Haye, M.DCC.XXXV.

† The common delicacy of the Orientals in never speaking of their women, is ascribed in a much higher degree by Arabash to the Turkish nation.—Decline and Fall, &c. cap. 65, note 31.

quented by many parties of ladies, who seat themselves on silken cushions and rich carpets, the furniture of their houses, and view the djerid playing in the flat below, or the humours of a Jewish mountebank under a spreading mulberry-tree. A little boy, called a Dolop-oglassi, generally accompanies them, and plays on a mandoline whilst they are sipping their coffee and sherbet, and attending to the gambols of their infant children.

No one has written on the character of this nation without noticing the reciprocal affection of the mother and the children in a Turkish family, and this feeling, tender in the one, respectful in the other, and constant and indissoluble in both, must of itself secure for the women a happiness which the artificial regulations of European society have perhaps a tendency to interrupt and annihilate. The Valide, or Sultan-Mother, possesses a maternal power, and has sometimes exercised an unpropitious influence over the Grand Signior himself. The law which forbids the Musulman to mourn for the dead*, still allows the mother to weep three days over the tomb of her son. The woman has an absolute controul in her household, and enjoys a domestic power which, amongst ourselves, it is often the fruitless aim and labour of a whole female life to attain. Though the "benden dosol," or two words of divorce, can dissolve a marriage, they cannot deprive the wife of her portion, which remains at all times, and under every circumstance, inviolable.

The plurality of wives, which the spirit of an European lady cannot even reflect upon with patience, is not in Turkey so terrible, nor so common a calamity as is generally supposed. The wives, even if there are four, live in separate suites of apartments,

* Bobovius on the Turkish Liturgy, sect. 5.

and command their separate establishments. The daughters of Sultans, or such as bring large portions, will not allow of a rival; and those who are not wealthy cannot afford an expensive establishment of wives any more than of horses or slaves. The same observation may be made respecting concubinage. The use of female slaves is not, perhaps, more common in Turkey, than the promiscuous amours of the husbands of Paris or London: the difference is only in the institution, which avowedly admits of such a practice. It should be recollected, that the female attendants usually belong to the mistress, and not to the master of a family. Former writers have corrected the errors of Christendom, which encouraged a belief that the Mussulmans considered their females made solely for the gratification of believers, and denied them souls, and a place in the future Paradise*.

* "Mahomet was not so hard-hearted towards the women as to exclude them from Heaven." There are passages in the Koran which decide the matter—"Whosoever doth good works, either man or woman, and believeth, shall enter into Paradise." "They shall enter gardens of pleasure, together with those of their fathers or wives that have done good." "Believing men and believing women shall enter into the heavenly Paradise."—See Surat, xl. v. 43; xvi. v. 95; xiii. v. 23; xlviii. v. 5; lvii. v. 12; lx. v. 12; lxvi. v. 11. See a Short System of the Mahometan Theology, collected from the Arabic Authors by Adrian Reeland, Lond. 1712, sect. 18. Add to this, that the learned Dr. T. Hyde, commenting on the Turkish Liturgy of Bobovius, says, "the sensual pleasures of Paradise are reckoned allegorical by the wisest Mahometans, that they may be better conceived by human understanding; just as many things are said in the Holy Bible, after the manner of men. For, writing to the Morocco ambassador, when I mentioned a pleasant garden like that of Paradise, he answered me by a reproof, saying, *Paradise was such a place to which nothing could be likened in this world, to wit, which neither eye had seen, nor ear heard, nor entered into the heart of men.*"—A Treatise concerning the Turkish Liturgy, sect. 5, note d, p. 14².

These absurdities may be credited by some of the vulgar, although the same funeral service is performed over the defunct of both sexes ; but Sir Paul Rycaut was entirely mistaken, when he attributed the depravity of the Turkish women to their disbelief in a future state*. He was also going too far, in describing them as destitute of all principles of virtue. Examples of sensuality are no doubt to be found amongst them, and many travellers, who perhaps have only been served by the procurers of Pera with Armenian females, will be ready to vouch for, and magnify the fact. They have, it is true, as great a scope for the indulgence of any evil inclination as the beauties of Christendom ; but Lady M. W. Montague can not have been serious, when she hints that they are equally licentious. I heard several tales similar to those told in books, of assignations formed at the shops of Jewish merchants and jewellers, some of which had terminated tragically. An Italian, who kept a trinket shop in Pera, disappeared suddenly, and a body was found in his house entirely stripped, which was afterwards discovered to be that of a female of distinction, who, to gratify her lover, had robbed the harem of her husband, and had been murdered to prevent detection. The same motive has sometimes been fatal to the other party. The courtesans of the suburbs are chiefly Greeks, although there are some Armenians, and a few of the lowest class are Mahometans. I should doubt whether there is in the character of the Turkish women, ignorant as they are, more voluptuousness than in the spiritual females of our own luxurious metropolis.

* Hist. of the Ottoman Empire, 8vo. p. 271, quoted in the above commentary.

It is roundly asserted by Busbek, Sandys*, and other writers, that they are tainted with that which the author of the *Present State of Turkey* has overshadowed in the delicacy of his phrase, “as an incorrectness of taste, and irregularity of conduct †.” The charge must have been founded on individual instances, but these enormities cannot, from any thing I heard, be called characteristic of the Turkish women.

The external appearance of the females does not promise any very superior personal beauty. Their form is unwieldy and flaccid, but their large black eyes surmounted with an arched brow on a forehead of dazzling whiteness, would be sufficiently attractive, if the appearance of the same features in almost every woman did not lead one to suspect those beauties to be artificial, which is generally the case. The other parts of their faces are of a regular make, and of a polished smoothness. Their died nails, and some other personal peculiarities, are no more agreeable to an European taste than their custom of smoking. Nothing can be more dissimilar than the appearance of a Turkish lady at home and abroad. Her envelopement is thrown off within doors, and, as Sandys says ‡, her under are then her upper garments, which, although covered with gold and other heavy ornaments, are certainly not contrived for the concealment of her charms.

Travellers are at this day under disadvantages not experienced in former times, if, as Mr. Tournefort asserts, the interior of female baths was once open to the inspection of the curious §. These retreats are at present absolutely inaccessible; nor does it

* Epistol. iii. *A Relation of a Journey*, p. 69, lib. i.

† P. 355, edit. 4to.

‡ *Relation of a Journey*, lib. i. p. 68.

§ *Voyage du Levant*, lettre xiv. p. 93, tom. ii.

now happen that the women take, as it is reported they formerly did*, any interest in the conversion of unbelievers.

The purchase of females was at one time permitted to the Christians: at present, none but Mahometans are allowed that privilege, or can even be present at the inspection of the slaves. Aurat-Bazar, the former female slave-market, was burnt down in the last rebellion. The Imperial Odalisques, belonging to the Sultan's harem, are for the most part presents from the Pashas, procured from the merchants who trade in Circassia and Georgia. They are the attendants of the Khâduns, or favourites of the Sultan, the household of each of whom is composed of 150 or 200 of these beauties. This is a more probable relation than that the whole of the Odalisques live and sleep in two large dormitories, as is commonly reported. It is amongst the secrets of the mysterious interior of the seraglio (the *dévlet juréck*, words never pronounced without respect by the Turks), which, in spite of all research, are even yet preserved, that the number of the Khâdûns is not precisely known: the last account of the harem limits them to seven†. This calculation, one way or the other, must be much over-rated, as it would furnish the Sultan with between thirteen and fourteen hundred concubines: Sultan Achmet the First is said, in the Continuation of Knolles, to have retained three thousand; but Sandys, who was at his court, makes the number five hundred‡. It is reported, that the Odalisques of the present Grand Signior do not amount to more than three hun-

* *Paroles Remarquables des Orientaux*, par M. Galand.

† *Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur*, Paris, 1809, p. 22. Dr. Dallaway says they were six until the time of Abdulhamid, the last Sultan but two, who added one Khâdun.—*Const. Anc. and Mod.* p. 27.

‡ *Relation of a Journey*, lib. i. p. 74.

dred. Mr. De Tott* seems to think that the annual expence of each female's dress does not exceed ten guineas, and concludes from that circumstance, that the harem may be supported without any vast revenue.—An effectual method of suddenly diminishing this establishment was adopted by the late Grand Vizier Bairactar, who drowned more than a hundred Odalisques of Sultan Mustapha's harem, instead of removing them, as is usually the custom, to Eski Sarai, the Old Seraglio.

The idle tales relative to the amatory ceremonies of the Imperial harem require no farther contradiction than they have before met with from well-informed writers. It appears that the Sultan's selections are made during his visits to the Khâduns, or sometimes the Valide, and that his choice is notified by the Keyayah-Khâdun, or Intendant of the harem. The story of throwing the handkerchief, which was so established a fact, that it was introduced with no little success upon the English stage†, and became proverbial, is not so entire a fiction as has been lately imagined, but originates in the oriental practice of accompanying a visit with a gift, and generally of shawls worked in gold or silver. The Keyayah, on delivering the notice, presents the Odalisque with a piece of muslin, containing usually some night garments and embroidered handkerchiefs.

Every epithet of commiseration has been attached to the ladies of the harem; but as no writer was ever able to speak from per-

* Vol. i. p. 131.

† His Majesty withdrew with the fair one to the interior; "which," said a writer in a periodical paper of the day, "might be a subject of great content to the parties, although we that staid without, made, methought, but a ridiculous figure."

sonal experience, the pity may be gratuitously and unseasonably bestowed upon persons who are not, perhaps, at all sensible that they can be the objects of any other feeling than envy and admiration. It was saying more perhaps than was intended, when Mr. Tournefort allowed them to be, of all the slaves in the world, the least miserable*. Educated from a tender age within the precincts of the Seraglio, and feeling not a wish for that liberty which no female in the empire enjoys, they partake of all the amusements, and are educated in all the accomplishments of their sex; and the hopes of each are constantly cherished by the chance of her being the favourite of her Imperial master, and perhaps the mother of an Ottoman sovereign.

The Valide, or Sultan-mother, has revenues and a separate establishment: her influence has in some reigns been considerable enough to be highly prejudicial to the interests of the empire: such was the mother of Mustapha the First.

In the first alliance of England and the Porte, there was an interchange of presents and letters between Queen Elizabeth and the Empress-Wife, as she was styled, of Amurath the Third†, who possessed the importance always attached to the mother of the heir apparent, and indeed to any Hasseki, or mother of a royal son, and continued to enjoy her dignity and power as Valide, in the reign of Mahomet the Third. The Queens of the harem have been charged with the commission of every disgraceful violence; and the ferocious ambition of one female, whose character has been rendered notorious by the pen which has represented it in the most

* Voyage du Levant, lettre xiii. vol. ii. p. 20, edit. Paris, 1717.

† See Hakluyt, The English Voyages, &c. vol. ii. p. 311, edit. 1593.

agreeable traits, has communicated itself to the whole succession of female Sultans. But Roxalana and the mother of Mustapha are not to cast a shade over all the Ottoman Princesses, any more than Catharine of Medicis is to be given as a fair specimen of a French Queen*. The powerful females of the harem have been allowed to possess in a superior degree a virtue which is of itself the characteristic of a noble and ingenuous mind—their early benefactors they never forget; and the rise of several great men of the Turkish empire has originated from the gratitude of a favourite, who did not fail to bear in mind the author of her introduction to the Seraglio. The Valide, in the time of the late Selim, was presented to Sultan Mustapha his father at the age of nine, by Veli Effendi the Mufti; and when, in the reign of her son she was all-powerful, she loaded with wealth Veli Vade, the child of her first master, and advanced him to the highest honours of the Law.

I will now conclude this notice of the Imperial harem, which, as Tournefort says of his account of Gallipoli, is all I can tell of it without having been there, with mentioning, that I made no effort to get a sight of its inmates, being persuaded of the total impracticability of such an attempt. It has not been at all times impossible to penetrate into the gardens of the Seraglio, by

* The cruel Queen of Solyman, who caused him to murder his gallant son Mustapha, and the infant son of that Prince, cannot be recognised in the gay French mistress. The Roxalana of Busbek (see Busbeq. epist. i. p. 29, usq. ad. 37; epist. iii. p. 121, edit. Oxon. 1660) and Cantemir is not the Roxalana of Marmontel; but the author of *Moral Tales* has recorded the manner in which she rose to power (and he founded his story on a fact), rather than the use which she afterwards made of her authority over the Sultan.

the assistance of a foreigner employed in their superintendence ; but the time chosen for that enterprise must be when the Khâduns and the Odaliskues have been removed to their summer palaces : even the adventurous Pouqueville beheld only an empty dormitory. When any of the ladies walk in the gardens with the Sultan, or move from the different dwellings of the Seraglio, the Black Eunuchs precede them ; and at the redoubtable cry of “ Helvet ! ” any gardeners who may be within the walls, abandon their work, and fly to the gates : even the White Eunuchs are excluded. A loiterer would be at once cut to pieces by the sabres of the Blacks—“ Qui est ce qui voudroit mourir pour un coup-d’œil si mal employé* ? ”

* Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, lettre xiii. vol. iii. p. 20, edit. Paris, 1717.

LETTER XLV.

The Valley of Sweet Waters—The Plain of the Barbysses—The Woods and Village of Belgrade—Road to Buyuk-dere—The Thracian Banks of the Bosphorus—The Town and Meadow of Buyuk-dere—The European Side of the Canal to Fanaraki—The Cyanean Isles, and Ancient Altar—The Asiatic Shores of the Bosphorus—The New Castles—The Hieron—Giant's Mountain—The Shore to Scutari—Bourgaloue—Fanar-Baktchessi—Kaddi-Keui on the Site of Chalcedon—Kis-Kalesi, or Leander's Tower.

STRANGERS at Pera are usually taken to see a certain number of spots in the vicinity of Constantinople; the chief of which are the valley of Sweet Waters, the villages of Belgrade and Buyuk-dere, the mouth of the Bosphorus, the Giant's tomb, the mountain of Bourgaloue above Scutari, and the garden of Fanar-Baktchessi. At the head of the port is a large flat of low land, having very much the appearance of the meadows near the harbour of Portsmouth, which seems to have been created by the perpetual alluvions of the river Lycus, formed by the united streams of the ancient Cydaris and Barbysses. There are some paper-mills near the head of the port, which have given the spot the name of Kiat-Hana, or in Greek, Kartaricos. A mile and a half beyond the mills, the ground rises on each side, and

encloses a flat valley adorned with the pleasure-grounds and kiosk of Sultan Achmet the Third, which were constructed by a Frenchman on the plan of the gardens at Versailles and Fontainebleau. The river is there converted into a straight canal, running between avenues of tall trees. At the kiosk the stream runs over two flights of marble steps. Near the cascade is a grove of tall trees, which is the resort of parties from Pera and Constantinople. I have seen a circle of French gentlemen, with a cloth before them covered with bottles and glasses and cold provisions, much after the manner of our jaunting citizens, amusing themselves with a Jew conjuror, and bursting into loud fits of laughter; whilst the groupes of Turks, also spectators, and some of them in two little lattice-work boxes, built as *namasgahs*, or places of prayer, contemplated the scene with countenances of invincible gravity, forming a strong contrast with the obstreperous mirth of the noisy foreigners. Strings of females promenading between the avenues, sets of dancing Greeks, horses superbly caparisoned, add to the beauty and singularity of the spectacle which is to be seen on any fine day in the valley of Sweet Waters. At the kiosk of Kiat-Hana there is a line of field-pieces pointed up the valley, not intended for defence, but for the practice of the Topges. The kiosk was the favourite summer palace of Sultan Selim: it is a gaudy building, not very large, of lath and plaster; and not having been inhabited by the court for some time, is now neglected and in decay.

A mile and a half above Kiat-Hana there is a small village, which is at the mouth of the valley of Sweet Waters, and separates it from another long plain, enclosed on each side by a chain of hills. It may be about six miles in extent: the Barbysses runs through its whole length. The plain is the pasturage of the

Sultan's horses, which are turned out on the 23d of April; when the Grand Master of the Horse (Buyuk-Embrôkhôr), and his Deputy (Kutchuk Embrôkhôr), assisted by all the Squires of the Stable (Salahor), and attended by the chief officers of state, lead the horses from the royal stables at the gate called Ahour Capoussi, in procession through the streets of Constantinople to the valley of Sweet Waters; the Sultan himself inspecting the ceremony from the pavilion of Alay Kiosch, near the great gate of the Seraglio. During the season of their feeding, they are watched by parties of Bulgars, or Bulgarians, who live in black tents pitched on the spot, and render it dangerous to pass the valley alone, or after the night-fall, as they make no scruple of demanding alms in too imposing a manner to be refused, and sometimes fire upon travellers, under pretence of attention to their charge. A gentleman of the English embassy, attended by a Janissary, was one evening, on refusing to stop, saluted by several shots, and only saved himself from running the gauntlet down the valley, by galloping up one of the steep hills on the side of the meadows.—It is not surprising that the royal horses should be treated with such respectful attention, since the Imperial stirrup is still addressed by petitioners, as in the times when the city of the Sultan was a camp, his palace a tent, and his throne a saddle. The *Rikiab-Agaleri*, or officers composing the board of state which goes by the name of the Stirrup, are the Bostandge-Bashe, the two Embrôkhôrs, and the Intendant of the palace-porters, Capidge Kehayassi*.

* Mr. Eton asserted (Survey of Turkish Empire, p. 27) the preservation of this ancient form. Mr. Thornton, "after searching with some care," (chap. iii.

The country beyond the valley, as well as on each side, is an expanse of open downs, which, generally speaking, is the character of all the immediate vicinity of Constantinople towards the interior of Thrace. The forests of Belgrade commence about ten miles from Pera, extending in length from the village of Bourgas towards the shores of the Black Sea, not less than twelve miles, and ranging along the coast at intervals for at least a hundred miles. A rich vein of coal, which has not yet been worked, has been discovered in the woods near the sea-shore.

At Bourgas is a portion of the aqueduct built originally by Theodosius, or Valens and Valentinian; destroyed by the Avars in the reign of Heraclius; repaired by Constantine Iconomachus; and totally reconstructed by Solyman the Magnificent*. Pococke has given a very minute account of this structure†. The most ancient part of it, as to its appearance and materials, which are alternate layers of brick and stone, is that within the walls; the largest, that at Bourgas, which is a stupendous structure, four hundred and forty feet long and one hundred and seven feet high. The aqueduct at Pontcysyllty may very safely be compared to either of these works.—Bourgas is between four and five miles from Belgrade. The road passes through a forest on a gravel-walk, by a stream dammed up by high massive walls, and near Belgrade skirts two large reservoirs. The largest of these is railed

p. 97) could hear nothing of the stirrup, which does however exist, since a firman of Selim's to Baron Hubschs, Danish minister at the Porte, relative to some French prisoners, was dated from the Rikiab-Agaleri.

* Le Chevalier, *Voyage de la Propontide*, &c. vol. i. p. 109.

† Observations on Thrace, pp. 136, 137.

off, and as the wood grows down to the water's edge, and is intersected by many paths and green rides, looks like a lake in a cultivated park, and has indeed much the appearance of the piece of water at Bowood Park, in the county of Wilts. The village of Belgrade itself is embosomed in the depth of the forest, a little above a streamlet (the ancient *Hydralis*) which falls into the reservoirs, and supplies the whole capital with water. On a green knoll is the country-house of Mr. Pisani, the chief dragoman, which was built by Sir Robert Ainslie, on the site, as some assert, of the mansion which the residence of Lady M. W. Montague has rendered an object of curiosity to every traveller. Another site is also pointed out, but the first place has the advantage of being more beautifully situated than any other in the village, and it alone commands a view of the first lake through a vista of the neighbouring groves, which so conceal the termination of the reservoir, as to give the water the appearance of a broad river winding through the woods.

Some of the foreign ambassadors retire to this village during spring and autumn. The French Minister gave a sort of *fête-champêtre* whilst we were there, and several large tents were pitched on a green near the rivulet, for the accommodation of the party during their repasts, and to enclose a space which was each evening allotted to the dancers. The carousal lasted four days.

The repose of Belgrade is completely interrupted by the loud merriment of the Greeks, who often retire thither from the eye of superiority, and celebrate their marriages and church-feasts with discordant music and songs. Night after night is kept awake by the pipes, tabors, and fiddles, of their moonlight dances; and the fountains, resorted to by the nymphs which charmed Lady

M. W. Montague*, do not adulterate the beverage of the youths who assist at these continued Saturnalia.

The route from Belgrade to Buyuk-dere is through the woods, but after an hour's ride you burst suddenly upon the view of the Bosphorus, and the mountains of Asia. At this spot an aqueduct, built in the beginning of the last century for the supply of Pera and Galata, and the villages on the Thracian side of the canal, crosses a narrow dell, and the road passes under one of the stupendous arches into a valley between sloping woods, which expands at last into a large meadow, or rather green plain, stretching down to the shore of a deep bay or inlet of the Bosphorus, called formerly Bathykolpos, and still preserving its name in the Turkish appellation of Buyuk-dere.

It was numbered amongst the ancient glories of the Bosphorus, that its banks were adorned with continued edifices; and the earliest of modern travellers remarked, that, after the desolation of many ages, they had risen again under the empire of the Turks, and covered the shore for ten miles, from Metopon, the point of Galata, to the promontory Estias†. The same peculiarity is still observable on the Thracian border of the strait; and from Tophana there is a succession of villages, or rather a street of wooden houses, skirting the water's edge, the intervals between which are occupied with royal palaces and their surrounding domains. The banks are every where high, and their declivities above the dwell-

* Letter xxxvi.

† "Collucebat olim ab initio Bospori ad finem ædificiis continuis, quæ longis bellis eversa iterum excitantur, &c. &c."—Pet. Gyllii, Præfat. ap. Banduri Imperium Orientale. Pars tertia, p. 255, edit. Paris, 1711.

ings are covered with wood, interspersed with vineyards and hanging gardens.

To the artillery barrack succeeds the village of Fondoukle, commenced by Hussein Aga, in the reign of Mahomet the Fourth, on the site of the place called Argyropolis, by Atticus, an Archbishop*. Beyond are the gardens and the pier of Dolma-Baktche, or the Kiosk of Melons. Many of the serai, and summer-houses, have received these significant, or rather fantastic, names: one is the Pearl Pavilion; another the Star Palace; a third the Mansion of Looking-glasses.

The Imperial palace beyond Dolma-Baktche, at the following village of Beshik-Tash, was built for Bey-Khan, the sister of Sultan Selim, and is also a favourite retreat of the present Grand Signior. Mr. Melling, who was employed in fitting up the interior of the mansion, gave no favourable report of it to his friend Dr. Pouqueville†; nor is there any magnificence in the exterior appearance of the building. The white pannels and coloured pents, with gilded lattices, are, however, of a character more suitable to every surrounding object than the domes and colonnades which an European taste might have substituted for the present serai of Beshik-Tash. At this village is shown the tomb of Bek-tash, the Saint who blessed the infant corps of Janissaries, by holding over them his mantle; a type of which depends from the caps of those soldiers. Dr. Dallaway, however, calls this square piece of felt an Egyptian ornament.

* Socrat. Ecclesiast. Hist. Melet. Geog. *Θρακη*, p. 437.

† Voyage au Constantinople, p. 207. He calls it "mesquin et médiocre;" but the author of Constantinople Ancient and Modern, describes it in very different terms. P. 139.

The tomb of Chairathene-Pasha, the famous Barbarossa, is also found on the same spot.

Next to Beshik-Tash is the village of Orta-Keui, and beyond Testerdar-Bornou, the succeeding point, that of Kourou-Tchesmè, where there is a string of large wooden houses, painted in dark colours, belonging to the Greek princes, and ecclesiastics of the Fanal, and also to the richest of the Armenians and Jews.

Arnaut-Keui, the Albanian village, is next to Kourou-Tchesmè, and a large palace of the Sultan's succeeds, near Effendi-Bornou, where the stream of the Bosphorus, called in this part the Devil's Current (Cheitan Akindissi), runs with the violence of a mill-race; and the boatmen, who are before assisted by a counter current, formed by the fresh water of the port, are obliged to tow the wherries for nearly a quarter of a mile. The depth of the water near the shore is in most parts so considerable, that the Turkish line-of-battle ships sometimes touch the wooden wharfs, and bear away their yards against the houses at the edge of the canal.

The succeeding point, Kislar-Bornou, is conspicuous by the old castle built on the site of some fortresses of the Greek Emperors, by Mahomet the Second, which, together with a fortress on the opposite shore, points out the exact part of the channel where the Persians, Goths, Latins, and Turks, successively passed the Bosphorus. There are no houses near the fortress, which is in the midst of a thick grove, rising to a considerable height on the steep declivities of the impending hill. It is at this spot that the Bosphorus appears like a majestic river, winding between banks as high and woody as those of the Wye, and not less lively and cultivated than the borders of the Thames.—I have seen, says Gyllius, the banks of the Peneus, and the shady dell between



the Thessalian hills of Olympus and Ossa : I have seen also the green and fruitful borders of those streams which flow through the rugged mountains of the Median Tempes : “but I have beheld nothing more lovely than the vale through which the Bosphorus rolls its waters, adorned on either side by softly-swelling hills and gently-sinking dales, clothed with woods, vineyards, and gardens, and rich with a gay variety of shrubs, flowers, herbs, and fruit-trees*.”

Nearly opposite to Mahomet's Tower, in the midst of a green meadow watered by two rivulets, and shaded with clumps of trees which give it the appearance of a park, stands a large country-seat, the property of the Grand Signior, but inhabited by the Bostandge-Bashe, with a centre and wings like an European mansion-house. The inspection of the canal, as the straits are called, is entrusted to this state officer ; and he may not unfrequently be seen, in the dusk of the evening, in his eight-oared barge, skirting the villages on the banks. At this time the rayahs are careful to extinguish every light, and suspend the sound of music and dancing, which is often heard in passing under their gloomy-looking dwellings.

The towers of the castles have a mean appearance, as they are covered with conical roofs. At the bottom of Mahomet's Tower the boatmen point out to strangers the low doorways of dungeons, from which they say no one was ever known to return. They were, indeed, for some time the prisons of Christian captives of rank†. But the Towers of Oblivion (such was their name

* Præfat. *ibid.*

† Turribus ejus utuntur pro carceribus ad tuendos principes viros Christianos in bello captos.—Pet. Gyllii de Boss. *Thrac. lib. ii. cap. 13.*

in the time of the Greek Emperors) are now no longer a place of confinement for the condemned, nor for prisoners of war. The opposite castle of Anadoli, or Bogaz-Hissar, where the battery is more formidable than of Roumeli, or Eski-Hissar, is on a flat under the hills projecting into the strait, the breadth of which in this place is about half a mile. This spot, perhaps seven miles up the strait, is said by most authors to be midway of the Bosphorus, and according to the ancient dimensions of the canal, may have been in that position; but it is commonly called at Constantinople by the boatmen, as far from Tophana as from Buyuk-dere, which corresponds with all the modern maps, and gives the whole canal, from the mouth at Fanaraki to the point of Scutari, a length of twenty or twenty-one miles. Mr. Tournefort's computation of sixteen miles and a half seems under-rated*.

Beyond the castle, and the point Kislar-Bornou, there is an inlet of shoal-water, called Balta-Liman, in which we saw many small trading vessels belonging to Frank merchants, stopped in their progress towards the Black Sea by an order of the Porte. A little river runs under a wooden bridge into the bay. From Balta-Liman to a bay, Stenia, there are no houses, but the remains of ancient foundations are to be seen near the water side. Yeni-Keui is a village a little beyond; and from this point the canal takes a sweep towards the north, after a mile of rocky shore. The long village of Terapia, where is the French minister's summer palace, ranges close along the edge of the canal. From a short distance beyond Terapia, boats going to

* Letter xv. p. 119, vol. ii.

Buyuk-dere cross the deep bay; and opposite to a point, "Keres-Bournou," you have the first view of the opening into the Black Sea*.

Buyuk-dere contains the country houses of the Franks of Pera, and the Russian, Danish, Swedish, Austrian, and other ministers. The façades of these mansions are most of them in the European taste, and range along an extensive strand a mile and a half long, in front of the sea, which is the evening promenade of the inhabitants and visitors. Behind them are large gardens, with groves of plane, lime, and walnut trees, overshadowing parterres of flowers and valuable plants. The meadow or plain,

* Mr. Le Chevalier (*Voyage de la Propontide, &c.* vol. ii. pp. 50—64) has taken considerable pains in arranging the comparative topography of the Bosphorus, which may save the reference to Gyllius, and even to the learned detail contained in Mr. Tournefort's fifteenth letter (vol. ii. p. 118, et seq.), although he does not altogether agree with either of those authorities. According to his notice, Fondoukle is near the *Æanténin*, where the Megarenses adored Ajax; Beshik-Tash, the site of the stone *Thermastis*; Testerdar-Bornou, the promontory *Clidion*; Effendi-Bornou, *Estias*; Kislar-Bornou, *Herméum*, near the Woman's Port; Balta-Liman, the gulf of *Phydalia*; the bay of Stenia, *Leosthenios*; the bay of Terapia, *Pharmacias*; Keres-Bornou, the site of *Petra Dicaia*, or the *Just Stone*, which resisted the robbery of one of two sailors who deposited their treasure there, with an oath not to invade it except by common consent (a story which Le Chevalier says is still in the mouth of the fishers of the Bosphorus). It cannot but be remarked, that the modern have occasionally a reference to the ancient names, some of which are translated into Turkish, others into modern Greek, others only half translated, and others again not translated, but only having a relation to the old title. Thus, Buyuk-dere, is Bathy-Kolpos; Terapia, Pharmacias; Kislar Bornou, the Woman's Port; and Balta-Liman, the Port of the Hatchet, which seems to be so called from being thought the scene of a victory gained by the ancient heroine Phydalia.

the Kalos-Ágros of the Byzantines, before mentioned, at the bottom of the bay, is mown into a smooth plain, and is also a favourite resort of parties from the village, who take coffee and sherbets under the shade of a large plane, or rather a clump of eleven trees growing from one root, commemorated in the Gardens of Delille. On every side this fine valley is embanked by high and waving acclivities, covered with verdure; and on the west and north inclosed with the woods of Belgrade, running like a park plantation along the verge of the hills.

There is at Buyuk-dere, upon the water's edge, an hotel kept by an Englishman, one Marriot, in which a stranger may find very comfortable lodgings and good fare.

On our first visit to this village, we went in the ambassador's barge to the mouth of the straits. Keeping on the Thracian side, we passed first a headland, and then a small bay, into which runs a river*. At another time I rambled over the hills above the river, where it is joined by another small stream, and found them a continued vineyard. The strait at this part contracts, and there is a battery on the European shore, at the foot of the hill anciently called Amilton by Dionysius of Byzantium†, erected by the French engineer Mounier in 1795, and containing twenty-five pieces of heavy ordnance. It is called Teli-Talian. Three quarters of a mile beyond we passed Roumeli-Kavak, the castle of Roumelia, on the banks of the small river Chrysorrhoas, where there is a battery, raised partly by Mr. Toussaint in 1783, and by Mounier in 1794. Above are some ruins of a castle built

* "Promontorium nuncupatum Simam prætergressos excipit Seletrinas sinus."—Dionys. Byzant. ap. Pet. Gyll. de Bosporo, lib. ii. cap. 19.

† Ibid. cap. 20.

by the Genoese, on the site of the Temple of Serapis, called by Strabo the Temple of the Byzantines. On the hill above the Chrysorrhoas, which commands a view of the Euxine and of the Propontis, of the Bosphorus and of Constantinople, was placed the ancient light-house, to direct the vessels to the mouth of the straits*. As we advanced we perceived that the hills on each side became more high and rugged, terminating on the Thracian shore in dark rocky precipices, having no appearance of that culture and animated beauty which adorn the borders of the canal below Buyuk-dere. Mr. Tournefort remarked a suite of frightful caverns on this shore, the habitations of the pitiless Thracians, in passing which the ear was often saluted with echoes as loud as the discharge of artillery. The whole coast has been described with inimitable accuracy by Gyllius, to whom, for every classical information, the traveller should not omit to refer. We rowed by a battery of twelve pieces of cannon, constructed by Mounier and another French engineer, and also by the bay of Buyuk-Liman, and passing afterwards near the fortress of Karipché, built by De Tott in 1773, containing twenty-three guns, arrived at Fanaraki, or *Roumeli-Fener*, the European light-house, where there is also a battery and a village. We had been two hours on our passage from Buyuk-dere.

We rowed out to, and landed upon the Cyanean rocks, which are under the hills of Fanaraki. These rocks, rising in five pointed crags, bear a strong resemblance to the wood-cut in Sandys' Travels, although the Augustan column, commonly called Pompey's Pillar, is not as there represented, but shows only the

* Dionys. Byzant. ap. Pet. Gyll. de Bosphoro. lib. ii. cap. 21.

original base, a fragment of white marble a little more than five feet high, and nine feet and a half in circumference. A festoon of laurel leaves, with the head either of an heifer or a ram, is still discernible round the marble; but the faint traces of the inscription are defaced by the names of travellers. On the upper surface are oblong grooves, the holes, most probably, by which the iron and leaden clamps united the shaft to the pedestal of the column. Mr. Tournefort talks of it as if he had seen it in its original state, with the Corinthian capital represented in Sandys, and about twelve feet high; and mentions it as a decided point, that the base and the shaft could not have been designed for each other*. This had been said by Gyllius† and by Sir G. Wheeler‡; and Dr. Smith, who saw it before the last traveller, described the height of the pillar to be about eighteen feet, and the diameter three§. The present base may, as Gyllius conjectures, have been the altar which Dionysius of Byzantium says was erected by the Romans on the Cyanean rocks, and dedicated to Apollo, and it may also have been intended as a landmark, in the same manner as the statue of Apollo on the rock at the port of Prasiæ, or Raphiti in Attica||.

Supposing the shaft and base to be of different materials, yet the whole of the column was, it is probable, put in the present position of the fragment by the person who superadded the pharos,

* “Quand on examine avec soin cette baze et le fust, on convient que les deux pieces n'ont jamais été faites l'une pour l'autre.”—*Lettre xv.* p. 151, vol. ii.

† *De Bosporo*, lib. ii. cap. 25.

‡ *A Voyage*, &c. book ii. p. 207.

§ *A Collection of Curious Voyages*, &c. tome ii. cap. 5, p. 48.

|| See p. 424, of this volume.

and dedicated it to Augustus, since the original place of the altar was visible when Gyllius travelled. The column was standing in 1730*, and when it fell or was taken down, I have not been able to learn. It is remarkable enough, that two conspicuous objects at each extremity of the Bosphorus, namely, this column, and the fort in the islet opposite to Scutari, should have received such inapplicable titles as Pompey's Pillar, and Leander's Tower.

We did not pass over to the Cyanean rocks of Asia, but rowed round the promontory of Fanaraki, the ancient Panium, that we might say we had been fairly in the Euxine. The land recedes much more suddenly than on the Asiatic side, so that to those beating along the Thracian shore, the entrance to the straits is abrupt, and has a fantastic appearance, like the mouth of some mighty sea-monster; the white castles on the dark-coloured hills having the resemblance of teeth.

The rugged rocks on each side of this strait, appear at this day as if fresh from the irruption of the waters which tore a passage into the lake of the Granicus and Rhyndacus, and creating new

* Lord Sandwich's Voyage round the Mediterranean, p. 136. It is worth while to remark that Meletius, writing about the time of Tournesfort, seems to say that the pillar had fallen into the sea, unless he alludes to the position in the midst of the waters. Τὸ Φανάρι τῆς Ρόυμειλης, πλησίον τῆ ὁποίᾳ ἀνωρῶσθῃ ἡ Στύλη, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσα Λατινικὴν, Οκταυῖαν, ἣτις τανῦν πεσμένη ἔνδον τῆς θαλάσσης κεῖται. αὐτὴ πᾶς κεῖνται καὶ αἱ Κυανεαὶ Νησίδες—Θράκη, p. 438; which appears to bear this literal translation: "*the Phanar of Roumelia, near which was erected (the word in vulgar Greek signifies restored) the pillar, bearing the Latin inscription, of Octavius, which now fallen down, is in the midst of the seas, where are also the Cyaneans islands.*"

channels and seas, gave another surface to a vast portion of the western hemisphere*.

We tasted the waters of the Euxine, and it was not to establish any theory, but merely from a persuasion of the fact, that we all pronounced them to be scarcely brackish. The compara-

* The natives of Samothrace preserved in the age of Diodorus, a tradition of the times, when their ancestors trembled at the flood rushing from the Propontis through the broken channel of the Hellespont.—Hist. lib. 5, p. 322. Tournefort, Letter xv. p. 125, vol. ii. See also the first book of Strabo, pp. 49, 50, &c. and Casaubon's Comment. p. 32. Aristotle arguing upon these supposed facts, thought, that at certain intervals the sea necessarily changed its position; and Pliny mentions that the passages now called straits were forcibly made, "invitis teris."—Præfat. Hist. lib. vi. Naturalists have been convinced that the plains between the Caspian and the Baltic were once an expanse of water; but that any earthquake would effect such a mighty revolution, may not be so decidedly believed, notwithstanding the vestiges of great volcanic explosions still observable by travellers. External violence on the body of this planet, may cause that partial alteration of its position, which would drive the waters towards a new equator, and produce those changes on the face of the earth, which have dried the sea, and deluged the land. But the perpetual influx of rivers, which was supposed by the ancient naturalists to have caused the irruption of the Euxine, will not, according to modern theories, account for such a phenomenon. The Mediterranean loses by vapour 20,300,000 tons a day, which is very nearly three times as much as is supplied in twelve hours by all the freshes, reckoning those of the Euxine amongst them, which fall into that sea. Those who believe with Dr. Halley, that there is "an equilibrium of receipt and expence in the whole sea," will doubt, perhaps, whether the formation of straits is to be ascribed to any such event as that alluded to above, nor will they be alarmed lest the prophecy which Polybius records in his fourth book, should be fulfilled, and the Euxine become one vast expanse of marsh and mud. See *An Estimate of the Quantity of Vapours, raised out of the Sea, &c. Presented to the Royal Society by Mr. E. Halley*, F. R. S.

tive sweetness of this sea, which was remarked by the ancients*, but was confined by Ovid† to the surface of the water, has been indeed established by modern naturalists‡.

On returning to Buyuk-dere we kept nearer to the Asiatic shore, and being assisted by the current, were only an hour on the passage. There is a fort and a light-house on the Bithynian side of the entrance, upon the ancient promontory Ancyraeum; and from this point to the Fanar of Europe is a little more than three miles. From the two Fanars the strait contracts; and at Porias-Liman, a mile and a half lower down, there is a fort of twenty-three guns, erected by De Tott in 1773. The succeeding headland, a mile beyond, now called Fil-Bornou, and formerly Cape Coracium, forms, according to Tournefort, the beginning of the narrows, for the width of the passage is there only a mile and a quarter. But the Bosphorus runs into a retreating bay within Fil-Bornou, which having been distinguished by the ancients as the Gulf of Panticium, now has the name of Ketcheli-Liman, and sweeps round for nearly three miles to the next headland, one of the three points of the ancient cape of Bithynia. Upon this point stands Kavak-Anadoli, the castle of Asia, nearly opposite to Roumeli-Kavak; and as the strait is not more than a

* Strab. lib. i. p. 50.

† “Il est certain que les eaux de la mer noire sont beaucoup moins salées que celles de nos mers.”—Voyage du Levant, lettre xv. p. 129. 1717.

‡ Copi . tot leticm quas auget adulterat undas

Nec patitur vires æqnor habere suas

Innatat unda freto duleis, leniorque marina est,

Quæ proprium mixto de sale pondus habet.

See Casaub. Comment. Strab. p. 32.

mile across, the first modern defences of the canal were erected in this place by Sultan Mahomet the Fourth, to stop the incursions of the Cossaks, Poles, and Russians.

A battery of thirty-seven pieces of cannon, and twenty mortars, constructed by M. Toussaint in 1783, and by Mons. Mounier in 1794, has now given the name of the New, to what was formerly called the Old Castle. The spot being considered the entrance of the Bosphorus, was chosen by the Byzantines for the site of a strong-hold; and on the slope of the hill, above the new battery, there are considerable remains of a castle and wall, which appear to be minutely described by the topographers of the Bosphorus, as the fortress and circular wall, ruined by the Gauls, but rebuilt by the Greek Emperors, and, as is generally supposed, put into a state of defence by the Genoese.

A village near the battery, called Ioro, or Yoro, has been mentioned by every traveller as pointing out the site of the temple and port of Hieron, and consequently deciding the spot on or near which Darius took his survey of the Euxine. Gyllius found the village on the European cape called Ieros-Romelias*, and Meletius says that the Turks call the castle Ieros-Kalessi†. I did not hear of such a name; but I find by my journal, which was not written under the impression of the spot being an object of so much controversy as by the detail in Gyllius it appears to be‡, that the best view of the embouchure of the Bosphorus, and of the expanding sea, is to be procured not on the hill commonly

* De Bosporo, lib. iii. cap. 20.

† Τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ καλεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων Ἱερός Καλεσι. ΠΟΝΤ. καὶ ΒΙΘ. p. 446.

‡ De Bosporo, lib. iii. cap. 5.

called the Giant's Mountain, but on a barren summit above the Genoese castle.

The temple of Jupiter Urius was under this castle, and as the Hieron, if not the actual temple, as is supposed by the latest authority*, was however an adjoining district, it may, like the TEMENOS, or sacred portion of Hercules at Marathon, have included the summit immediately above the fane, but scarcely the neighbouring hills. Tournefort, who, in alluding to the spot where Darius was seated, thought the expression of Herodotus, ΕΠΙ Τῷ ἹΕΡῶ, upon the Hieron, could be brought to signify the port of the Hieron, might have extended the meaning to any portion of the sanctuary, whence the most extensive prospect was to be obtained. It is evident, that the preposition upon is not to be taken in its most precise sense, or in construing the whole passage, we must suppose Hieron, and the seat of Darius, to be on one of the Cyanean isles†; which no modern appearances will justify‡.

The headland Magiar-Bornou, fortified by the battery called Youcha, with twenty-three guns and twelve mortars, constructed by Mounier in 1795, is a mile and a half below Anadoli-Kavak, and under the towering Giant's Mountain. From this point, which corresponds with the Argyronian cape, the strait recedes

* Clarke's Travels, pp. 682, 683, 684, vol. i.

† Ἐνθιῦται ἐσβὰς ἐς νέα ἔπλεε ἐπὶ τὰς Κυανέας καλυμμένας τὰς πρότερον πλαγκτὰς Ἑλληνέας φασὶ εἶναι. Ἐξόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἱρῷ ἐθνεῖτο τὸν Πόντον εἶοντα. ἄξιοθέτητον.—Hist. lib. iv. cap. 85, p. 268, vol. iii. edit. Glasg.

‡ “Sed si templum aliquando in Cyaneis fuisset, quædam vestigia restarent, vel excavatorum fundamentorum, vel excisa via ad ascensum, ubi nulla apparent,” &c.—Pct. Gyll. de Bosp. Thrac. lib. iii. cap. 5.

opposite to the gulf of Buyuk-dere, forming a bay overlooked by abrupt precipices, and terminated by a promontory two miles lower down, in face of Terapia. The canal bends inwards to the south, and the Sultan's Port, a bay of a mile wide, is closed at the other horn by Cape Stridia, or the Cape of Oysters, called by the Turks, Selvi-Bornou.

We sailed towards this bay from Buyuk-dere, and landed at a spot which is called the Grand Signior's Scale, having been the landing-place leading to a magnificent kiosk now in ruins, but of which the gardens still remain, at Sultanie-Baktchesi, near the village of Beicôs. We mounted some horses at a coffee-house, where there were several ready saddled for visitors, and passed by a large paper manufactory at the head of an extensive meadow, or smooth-shaven lawn, shaded by rows of tall straight oaks, and watered by two clear rivulets, where the ladies of the Imperial harem often take boat in the summer, and jaunt up the beautiful vallies in their arabats, to some artificial lakes or large reservoirs, where they fish, and amuse themselves with the dancing and music of their Odalisques. We wound up the hills towards Anadoli-Kavak, and had peeps of several woody dells divided by little rivulets, opening upon us from below. The most accurate observer of the Bosphorus says, that it receives thirty rivers, and that its banks are adorned with more than fifty vallies*. In less than an hour we were on the top of the mountain above Magiar-Bornou, and repaired to the Tekeh, or Dervishes' chapel, where we were shown, in the adjoining garden, a flower-bed more than fifty feet long, rimmed round with stone, and having a sepulchral

* Pet. Gyll. Præfat. de Bosp. Thrac.

turban at each end, which preserves a superstition attached to the spot long before the time of the Turks or of the Christian Greeks of Byzantium; and which, after having been called the tomb of Amycus, and the Bed of Hercules, is still the Giant's Grave. A century ago the shore near Beicôs was named Amya, which suggested to Tournefort, that the village was on the site of the capital of the son of Neptune, slain by Pollux. Had that traveller been aware of the name of the hill above Magiar-Bornou, he would not have conjectured Amya to be the place of the hero's sepulture; but it appears that he too closely followed Gyllius, who omitted noticing the summit of the mountain, and the tradition attached to its gigantic grave, although he took considerable pains in rectifying the topography of this part of the coast.

The ride on the hills from the Giant's Mountain to the summit above the Genoese castle, gave us a view to the right of a large tract of dark forest country, intersected by deep dells, or green ravines, which, when contrasted with the luxurious banks of the canal rolling beneath us between a line of painted villages and gardens, appeared like a dreary wilderness. It is set apart for the Grand Signior's hunting.

The Bay of Beicôs, or the Sultan's Bay, formerly called the Round Gulf*, is succeeded by the ancient Catangéan gulf, which is terminated on the west by Kandlinge-Bornou, a promontory with two points, inclosing a small bay called Placa, supposed by Gyllius to be the port of Phryxus. Kandlinge is a considerable village. Anadoli-Hissar, the old castle of Asia, opposite to Mahomet's Tower, together with a village, is a mile and a half lower

* "Hic sinus jam Soltanicus prius Cyclaminus appellatus."—Pet. Gyll. de Bosp. Thrac. lib. iii. cap. 7.

down, at the western extremity of the Gulf of Manoli. A river, Yok-su, *the Green Water*, which is navigable by boats for a mile, and is the largest of the streams running into the Bosphorus*, discharges itself to the south of the fortress; and the mouth of Kutchuk-su, the *Little River*, is above Candile-Baktchesi, a village on the site, as Gyllius and Tournefort thought, of the Bithynian Nicopolis; but Meletius places that town at Mutania, twenty miles from Brusa†. The Bostandje-Bashe's palace, and a long succession of royal gardens, occupy the plain and the sides of the hills between the rivers. Coule-Baktchessi, a village a mile and a half below Candile, on the plain formerly Cecrium, or Protos-Discos Major, is opposite to Korou-Tchesmè; and from this place the towns of Tchengel-keui, Stavros, and Cossourge, occupy with little intermission the whole shore, as far as the great suburb of Scutari. Tchengel-keui is on the site of Chrysokeramus; Stavros on that of a place of the same name, or Staurosis, so called from a golden cross which was raised on a church constructed on the spot by Constantine the Great, and now remarkable for a magnificent mosck built by Sultan Abdulhamid‡.

* Pet. Gyll. de Bosp. Thrac. lib. iii. cap. 8.

† HONT. xxi B1Θ. p. 418. In Gyllius, a promontory to the west of Candile-Baktchessi, is the *Ἀρχα Ποιζούσα* of Dionysius. The next headland is the promontory Helia, and the succeeding bay Protos-Discos Minor. The point between Chrysokeramus and Scutari, was in his time Hermonianum, but more commonly Nagalon.—See Anaplys Bosphori Thracii, ap. Banduri Imper. Orientale, tom. ii. chart. iii. Chrysokeramus was so denominated from a church with gilded tiles, built by Justin and Lobe.—See Anonym. Antiq. Constant. lib. iii. ap. Band. tom. i.

‡ Melet. HONT. xxi B1Θ. p. 447. Tournefort, lettre xv. p. 139, vol. ii. Between Stavros and Tchengel-keui is a large monastery of the Akoimeti, or

As the villages on the Bosphorus are not, like the capital, inclosed in walls, the passage from Buyuk-dere to Tophana after nightfall is indescribably agreeable. As far as the castles only the Thracian border appears lighted, but below that point a thousand twinkling fires gleam upon the margin of the canal, and near the mouth of the straits the sloping hills on each side of the water glow with the brilliancy of a vast illuminated amphitheatre.

The hills on the side of the modern Chrysopolis are for some height one cemetery, or forest of cypresses. The prediction which foretells the subjection of Constantinople to a white or yellow-haired nation, has gained credit during the last century; and the Mussulmans, who choose a more secure repository for their ashes, prefer the burying-grounds on the Asiatic banks of the Bosphorus to those of the capital.

We went more than once to the hill of Bourgalou, not quite an hour's ride above Scutari. Near the top is a fountain of clear water, which is much esteemed, and sold for five paras the half gallon in Constantinople; and the country upon the declivity, in the immediate neighbourhood of the hill, is covered with gardens, melon-grounds, and vineyards, supplying the capital with fruit. Northwards the ground is also well cultivated, and divided by

sleepless monks. The spelling of the Turkish names by foreigners not acquainted with their language, is entirely arbitrary, and so different in different authors, as to cause much confusion in comparing their accounts. Wheler has *Bechikroash*, *Bartoliman*, *Therania*, and *Boindore*, for Beshik-Tash, Baltaliman, Terapia, and Buyuk-dere. I have endeavoured to spell those names which I recollect, just as they sounded to my ears, although this does not give a very good chance of correctness. Mons. Bassompierre having occasion to mention York-House and Kensington, spelt the one *Iorchaux*, and the other, still more strangely, *Inhimhort*.

hedge-rows and frequent avenues and clumps of trees. The summit of Bourgalou commands a prospect of the windings of the Bosphorus to Buynk-dere, of Constantinople, Galata, and Pera, from the Seven Towers to the 'Topges' barracks, of Princes Islands, the Gulf of Nicomedia, and, in a clear day, the island of Marmora.

We rode down the hill across an inclosed country to Fanar-Baktehesi, on the point anciently *Heræa*, or *Heræum**, distinguished afar off by some tall cypresses, and a tower yielding a very faint light. Some ruins of that which was first a church, and then a mosque, near the light-house, are by the native Greeks called the palace of Constantine, but were constructed out of the remains, it is probable, of some buildings erected by Justinian. On the south of the point is a fishery, where vast quantities of young tunnies, are annually caught. A man is perched upon a high pole, and when he sees the shoals of fish within reach, lets drop his net, which is suspended in the same manner as that commonly used for the ensnaring of singing birds. Behind the point are some gardens, and at the back of these is a raised terrace, overshadowed by tall venerable trees, and containing two reservoirs of water, about four feet deep, with a jet playing in the midst of each. One of these is used as a bath, and is made private by a canvas screen or curtain. They are remains of the baths of Justinian.

The grove of Fanar-Baktehesi is one of the many resorts of the Franks, Greeks, and Turks, of the capital. At one of our

* *Εστὶ δὲ προπάρσις κλυτῆς Χαλκίδονος ἄκρᾱ
Ἡράκλεια τρήκησα πολυσπιλάς.*

Demosthenes de rebus Byzthinicis, ap. Gyll. de Bosp. Thrac. lib. iii. cap. xi. In the time of Gyllius the point was called the promontory of John of Calamoti, and the church was, I suppose, dedicated to that saint.

visits we saw a party of French gentlemen and ladies carousing under the trees; and at another a Turk and three young Georgians, who were amusing themselves with bows and arrows, attended by several slaves, took their repast at the contiguous fountain. An old Bostandge, the tenant of a cottage in the gardens, furnished the company with pipes and coffee.

We returned near the shore, and by the bay to the north-west of the light-house, which is now called Calamoti, and was the ancient harbour of Eutropius, belonging to Chalcedon, notorious for the murder of the Emperor Maurice and his four sons*, and afterwards for that of the Empress his widow, and her three daughters. We crossed over a peninsula terminated by the headland of Mounde-Bornou, through lines of vineyards in a deep sandy soil, and passed by a village preserving no memorial of Chalcedon, except perhaps in its name of Kaddi-Keui—the *Judge's Town*, which may be thought to have some reference to the council that condemned the Eutychian heresy, and established by a majority of voices the two natures of the second person of the Trinity. Persians, Greeks, Goths, Saracens, and Turks, by turns despoiled Chalcedon†. The walls were razed by Valens, and much of their materials were employed in building the aqueduct which goes by his name, and which was, by a singular coincidence, as remarked by

* “Ad cædem Mauritiî regis movetur Phocas, et in Eutropiî portu primum ejus quatuor filios interficit, nihil aliud tum dicentes, quam hoc ipsum: Justus es Domine, et justum judicium tuum.”—Zonaras, ap. Gyll. Περὶ τῆς Εὐτροπίου λιμένος.—Anonymi Antiq. Const. lib. iii. ap. Band. tom. i.

† “Hæc enim iterum, et sæpius vastata, primo a Persis, iterum a Valente Imperatore muris spoliata, deinde a Gothis eversa, quam post Cornelius Avitus aliquâ ex parte restituit: postea a Saracenis, postremo a Turcis funditus delata, ut duntaxat perparvus vicus restat.”—Pet. Gyll. de Bosporo Thracio, lib. iii. cap. ix.

Mr. Tournefort, repaired by Solyman the Second from the remaining ruins of this devoted city.

Between Mounde-Bornou and the point of Scutari is a headland, dividing the shore into two bays, the first of which was the south-western port of Chalcedon. The headland is distinguished by a kiosk of Sultan Amurath the Fourth's, called Kavak-Serai, and now in ruins, the marbles having been taken by Sultan Selim in 1794, to adorn a mosck within the walls of the Seraglio. The second bay is partly occupied by the burying-grounds and suburbs of Scutari; and on a hill above, stand the ruins of the barracks erected by the late Selim, the exercising-ground, the mosck, and several wide regular streets, intended by that enterprising Sultan to have been allotted to manufacturers of silk and cotton, which, as it is, are sent from Smyrna to England, spun there, and again imported to Constantinople, to be worked into garments and household furniture.

In crossing from Damalis, the point of Scutari, to Tophana, we rowed a little way into the mouth of the strait, in order to stem the current, and passed within Kis-Kalessi, the Maiden's Fort, vulgarly called Leander's Tower, on a rock just large enough for the base of the building, and for a platform containing five cannons. This tower, with a wall crossing the sea to the point of Scutari, and a chain to a second fort on the European shore, was contrived by the Emperor Manuel to close the mouth of the Bosphorus; but it is now a light-house, not a place of defence; since the guns are mounted only for saluting, and the garrison, as it was a hundred years ago*, is, like Tyrconnel's regiment, composed of one man.

* Voyage du Levant, lettre xv. p. 137, vol. ii.

LETTER XLVI.

Galata—The Tabagics, or Wine-houses—Yamakís, or Dancing Boys—The Tower of Anastatius—Conflagrations—The Size of Constantinople—Population—Jews—Armenians.

THE suburb of Galata (the Sycæ and Justiniana of the Byzantines, of which Pera has been considered as making a part*) covers the whole point of land and the hill on the north of the harbour; and the walls, raised by the Genoese in 1348, and repaired in 1446, are in circuit more than four miles†. The gates are always left open; and as houses are now built against the walls, the stranger passes through them imperceptibly. The outside ditch on the upper quarter is now a rope-walk. The streets are not so dirty, ill-paved, and narrow, as those of Pera; many of the mansions are of stone, and they contain the commodities and counting-houses of the Frank merchants. Three churches of the Greeks, and one of the Armenians, besides religious houses of the Dominicans and Capuchins, are to be found in this quarter; in which there is as much licence in the article of morals as of toleration in matters of religion.

* Sycæna regio, jam vulgo nominata Galata, sive Pera, &c.—Pet. Gyll. Topog. Constant. lib. iv. cap. xi.

† Quater mille et quadringentos passus.—Ibid.

The use of wine is, as every one knows, prohibited by the Mahometan law ; but it depends upon the humour of the reigning Sultan, whether this article of faith shall be strictly acted upon and observed. Selim the Second, and Amurath the Fourth*, indulged in this excess without scruple ; some Grand Signiors have staved all the wine casks, and punished those who sold the liquor with death. The last Sultan Selim, contented himself with taxing the commodity ; but I know not whether it was true, as some one has said of his court, that the Seraglio was more accessible to bottles than to grandees†. The present Sultan has not been very severe with offenders. When we were in the city, wine was to be had in all the tabagies or coffee-houses kept by Greeks, and as no Turk is a drinker without being a drunkard, I was witness to as much excess in this respect, as might be seen in the same time at the west end of the English metropolis. Tabagies are to be found in Constantinople, but Galata abounds with them, and you seldom fail of being saluted with music, or more discordant sounds, in passing through the streets of that suburb. These wine-houses, for so they are called by the Franks, are usually large halls floored with Dutch tiles, having

* Selim the Second was surnamed *Mest*, or the Drunkard. Some historians say that his frenzy caused by wine was religious, " which he himself declared to be drunkenness, and so chose rather to be accounted a drunkard than a hypocrite. But such colourings for the vulgar."—*Cantemir's Ottoman Hist.* book iii. chap. v. note 1, p. 218. Tindal's translation, edit. 1734. " In the year 1043 (A. D. 1633) a new and hitherto unheard-of edict is published by the Emperor (Murad IV.), by which not only the sellers of wine are allowed to exercise their trade, but also every one allowed to drink it freely, contrary to the Mahometan law."—*Ibid.* book iii. p. 240.

† Notice sur la cour du Grand Seigneur.—Paris, 1809, p. 138.

a fountain in the middle, and a wooden gallery for the guests running round the sides of the room, about half way between the ground and the ceiling. That part of the entertainment which is most to the fancy of the company, and which no Englishman would patiently contemplate for a moment, is the exhibition of the Yamakis, or dancing boys, who are chiefly insular Greeks and Jews, but never Turks. The wretched performers dance to the music of guitars, fiddles and rebeks; and what with the exclamations of the master of the dancers, and sometimes the quarrels of the Turks, so much noise and disturbance ensue at mid-day, as to bring the patrolle to the spot. Rome itself, at the period of the famous edict of the Emperor Philip, could not have furnished a spectacle so degrading to human nature as the taverns of Galata.

We visited the tower of Anastatius, formerly the citadel of Galata, which was partly burnt down in 1794, but has been since repaired. The ascent to the summit is by 147 steps, and there is a wooden house at the top, which is inhabited by the man whose duty it is to beat a large drum at the discovery of a fire. The Janissaries' tower in Constantinople is used for the same purpose, and when the cry of Yangen-var—*There is a fire!* is heard from the turret of the latter building, the melancholy sound is repeated by the passevend, who patrolle the streets, and awaken the inhabitants by the loud ringing of their staves. A fire that has continued an hour, and has been thrice proclaimed, forces the Grand Signior himself to the spot. At the conflagration in Pera, just before our arrival, Sultan Mahmoud posted himself at Galata Sarai, the college of the Itcholans or pages, and when the fire burnt up to the English palace,

sent repeated messages to assure the embassy that every necessary aid should be afforded to prevent a disaster. He distributed, according to custom, several bags of piasters amongst the assisting populace. The householders are by no means gainers by this singular usage, which has often been the cause, and has contributed to the continuance, of fires. The people, to communicate their discontents, become voluntary incendiaries, and the removal of an obnoxious ministry is accomplished, not by petitions, but repeated conflagrations. The person of the despotic monarch of the Ottomans is, on these occasions, accessible to all, and the Imperial Manslayer is then obliged to listen to the revilings of the meanest amongst his people, even of the women themselves*.

The Turks, who are very expert at pulling down the houses adjoining to those where the fire rages, often wait until the arrival of the Sultan ensures them payment for their exertions, and employ the interval in pillaging. The number of general fires in the capital and the suburbs, cannot be rated at less than three annually. A late writer says, that during a residence of three years, the annual average was five or six. The houses, of laths and unburnt brick, are soon rebuilt, and the inhabitants prepare for this frequent event, by lodging all their valuables in a chest.

The summit of the tower of Galata is the spot which was made the point of prospect, for taking the panoramic view of Constan-

* Hunkiar, *possessor of men's necks*. See Titles of the Emperor of the Turks; Bobovius on the Turkish Liturgy, sect. viii. Rycant says, the Sultan may kill any number under a thousand a day, without assigning a pretext for his anger; but the Turkish casuists, Mr. Thornton observes, limit the number to fourteen.—*Present State of Turkey*, p. 95.

tinople exhibited in England. 'Those who have seen that accurate representation, will be able to decide whether the seven hills upon which this capital is said to stand, and which Pococke described to the satisfaction of Mr. Gibbon*, are discoverable in the present appearance of the city. For my own part, I could not; upon repeated trials, distinguish the eminences, although assisted by a plan which divided the town into seven quarters, with a relation to the same number of hills. Gyllius, however, in his topographical description, not only distinguished the seven hills, but averred that six of them were discernible to those sailing through the port, rising like brothers, and in regular succession, from the back of the same promontory†.

The tower of Galata does not present so complete a prospect of the city as that of the Janissaries (or Yangen-kiosk—the tower of fire): from that summit the spectator will at once be convinced of the exaggeration in which most writers have indulged, in speaking of the size and population of the Turkish capital. The base of the triangle on which the city is built, and which extends from the Seven Towers to the port, is perhaps one-fifth less than the side the sea of Marmora, and about a sixth larger than that towards the harbour; and it appears from this height of so inconsiderable an extent, that having heard of a comparison between Constantinople and Paris, and even London, I was induced to time myself, in passing under the walls from one point to another, and found

* Decline and Fall, vol. ii. p. 9, note 22.

† "Ex eodem enim promontorii dorso sex colles nascentur, eminentes in Sinum, ut fratres dicere possis, ita per ordinem locati sunt, ut alteri alterorum aspectum non auferant," &c.—De Topog. Const. lib. i. cap. v. ap. Band. Imp. Orient.

the walk to have lasted one hour and seventeen minutes. This will give about five miles for the breadth of the city on the land quarter, and will reduce the extent of the three sides to fifteen miles, the measurement of Mr. Spon, and three less than the computation of Bondelmontè, which has been esteemed the most correct: at the same time it must be recollected, that Chalcondyles limited the circuit to one hundred and eleven stadia*, and Gyllius made it less than thirteen miles†. It should be added, that the walls, which are treble on the land-side, and eighteen feet apart from each other, take away from the real dimensions of the town, and that the gardens of the Seraglio, and a multitude of other palaces, the large courts of the royal moscks, and the vacant spaces of the Hippodrome and other open spots, diminish considerably the extent of the ground actually covered with houses. There is no such determinate way of judging of the size of the suburbs of Galata, Pera, and Scutari, which, if they were not interspersed with vast burying grounds, would be at least one-fourth as large as the city within the walls, but cannot be said at present to be in the proportion of more than one-fifth to the capital itself. A late author, from a variety of calculations is persuaded, that there could never have been a population of much more than three hundred thousand souls within the walls‡. But this number must be under-rated, if the register of the Stamboul Effendissy, or Mayor of

* Melet. Geog. Article, OPAKH, p. 423. Mr. Tournefort, in making the Thracian side nine, and the whole twenty-three miles, could have hardly consulted his eyes.—Voyage du Levant, p. 465, vol. i. lett. xii.

† “Ambitus urbis non attingit tredecim milliaria.”—De Topog. Const lib. i. chap. iv.

‡ Survey of the Turkish Empire, chap. 7, p. 287, second edit.

Constantinople, showed, that in 1796 there were eighty-eight thousand one hundred and eighty-five houses* within the jurisdiction of that minister, that is to say within Constantinople, for the suburbs are under other officers. At least five persons must be given to each house, and making every allowance for the whole of the suburbs on the other side of the port and canal, five hundred thousand does not appear too large an estimate for the population of Constantinople and its environs. A stranger is told by the Turks, that there are many more than a million of inhabitants in the capital, and if he trusted to their accounts, would also believe that there are seventy-two thousand moscks, whereas the number of those buildings does not amount to more than two hundred and twenty, with three hundred mesdjidi, or public chapels.

I know not what numbers to assign to the different people composing this city, but should suppose that there must be three Turks for one person of any other nation. The most numerous, next to the Mahometans, are the Greeks; the Armenians must be reckoned after the Greeks, then the Jews, and last of all, and in a proportion comparatively small, the Franks. As the rayahs have separate quarters of the town allotted for their habitation, it might not be thought difficult to ascertain the actual proportion which they bear to each other, but no such computation, that I am aware, has hitherto been made.

The Jews, have all the usual characteristics of their nation. The most considerable amongst them are brokers and money-

* Constant. Ancient and Modern, p. 16. Dr. Dallaway however reckons Pera and Galata.

changers, jewellers, physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries; the lower classes are sherbet-sellers, silk-twisters, druggists, boatmen, fishermen, confectioners, perfumers, tobacco-sellers, and mountebanks*.

Physicians have enjoyed the utmost favour and licence at the courts of the greatest Mahometan princes, and many of the remarkable sayings of the Orientals are put into their mouths. One of the Caliphs being seated on a couch with his favourite physician, amused himself, half involuntarily, with enlarging a rent in the bottom of the doctor's robe, and amongst other questions relative to his art, enquired, to what lengths those of his profession suffered a madman to go before they bound him. The other hesitated to reply, until he saw that his companion had extended the rent up to his waist, when he said, "Commander of the Faithful, we do not have recourse to the strait waistcoat before a man is mad enough to tear his physician's gown from the bottom as high as the girdle." The Caliph laughed at the rebuke, and,

* The present chief dentist to the Grand Signior is a Jew. When first introduced to the Sultan, he was ordered to examine a tooth, which, upon inspection, he found it was necessary to extract. He very naturally considered it a delicate matter to give such exquisite and sudden pain to an absolute monarch, and resorted to the following stratagem. Hiding the instrument in his long sleeve, he requested permission to re-examine his Highness's tooth, and fixing the steel and drawing out the tooth with one motion, instantly gave a loud scream, and fell, as if in a fit, upon the ground. The Sultan jumped from his seat in his instant surprise and anxiety to relieve the Jew, and thought nothing of the operation or his complaint, until he found the cause of it had been removed. Whether or not the fact was understood at the Seraglio is not told, but such is the reputation of this skilful Israelite, that he is in perpetual request, and his fee is not smaller than that of the most fashionable London dentist.

after the fashion of the time, rewarded his friend with a purse of money.

The first physician is a Turk, but the Grand Signior does not trust his health to any Mahometan ; and the office of the Achim-Bashe, is only to receive money for the licences which he grants to the various practisers of medicine in the metropolis.

The taxes levied on the Jews are not greater than those of the other rayahs, and they feel the burden of them the less, by being allowed a tefterdar or treasurer of their own, who collects the whole sum, and settles with the ministers of the Porte. It is said that they pay so much annually to furnish the Sultan with tents. The origin of this obligation was, that a Grand Vizier having become acquainted with a decision of some Hebrew doctors, by which the Turks were placed on the outside of the walls of Paradise, averred, that in that case, the Jews should at least provide them with tents to shelter them in the winter*. This comment on the Rabbinical dogma was of more importance to the nation, than the opinion of the Mahometan theologians, who settled, that in the infernal regions the Jews will be a story lower than the Christians†.

The bankers of many of the Turkish grandees are Jews, and some of them have been involved in the fall of their employers, but this circumstance, and the address shown by them in the management of all pecuniary concerns, give their principal people a consideration in the eyes of the Turks, equal to that of any other subjects, although the common Turks, and more especially the Chris-

* *Paroles Remarquables des Orientaux*, Galand.

† “ Les Mahometans mettent les Juifs dans un étage plus bas que les Chrétiens en enfer.—D’Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, artic. Jahoud.

tians, affect to treat and talk of them with every mark of contempt and disgust. They are distinguished by a high square cap of black felt without any rim or border, which the Constantinopolitans call in derision *hauroux*, a word signifying a certain chamber utensil. The lower classes are dirty, both in their persons and dwellings, and Ballata, the Jew quarter, is the most filthy of any in the capital, and not less nauseous than in the days of Christian Constantinople, when the tanners used to empty their puns before the doors of the houses inhabited by this persecuted people*. The wise tolerance of the Turks, has produced a great increase of this part of the population since the last conquest of the city. In the twelfth century, when the Jew of Tudela travelled, he found only a thousand of his countrymen in the place; and in the reign of Andronicus the Elder, the Patriarch Athanasius represented, in a formal petition to the Emperor, that the whole nation ought to be banished from the metropolis†. In the middle of the seventeenth century, a traveller was persuaded that there were between twenty and thirty thousand of that *accursed* and *contemptible* people in the city‡; and the smallest computation would rate them now at fifteen.

* Voyage de Benjamin de Tudela, p. 13. Voyages faits principalement en Asie, &c. tome i.

† Γράμμα πρὸς τὸν Αυτοκράτορα περὶ τῶν Θεοκτόνων Ἰσδαίων ἵνα ἐξέλθωσι τῆς πόλεως.—*A Letter to the Emperor concerning the god-killing Jews, that they may depart from the city.*

See Band. Comment. in Antiq. C. P. lib. ii. p. 614, Imp. Orient. tom. ii.

‡ The reverend and learned T. Smith, D.D. Fellow of Magd. Coll. Oxon, and F. R. S. A Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages, tome ii. cap. 5, p. 38.

The Armenians are the most respectable of the Christian inhabitants of the Levant. The depopulation of a whole country has often been effected by those monsters to whom the Author of all events has, at different times, delivered the universe, but no great and violent work of tyranny was ever attended with less excess, or has produced more beneficial consequences, than the laying waste of Armenia by Sha-Abbas the Great, and the partial deportation of its inhabitants from the frontiers to the interior provinces of Persia. By this decisive measure, the monarch prevented the encampment of the Turkish armies on the borders of his dominions, and by giving a new spirit and employment to the transplanted nation, increased the wealth of his empire, at the same time that he bettered the condition, and added to the importance, of a large portion of his subjects.

The Armenians, who, from being the most warlike of the Asiatics, had, after their subjection by the Persians, become the patient cultivators of the soil, from the period of this forced emigration substituted commerce for agriculture, and gave a striking, and perhaps a solitary example, of the competence of a powerful individual to change the habits and character of a whole people. Some of this nation were to be found in Constantinople in the latter periods of the Greek empire*; but the Armenian merchant, now so well known in every quarter of the globe, was created by that prince when he established the great colony of

* See the three Epistles of the Patriarch Athanasius to Andronicus the Elder, in which the Armenians are coupled with the Jews as profaning the city by their religious rites, and worthy of expulsion—*Καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἀρμενίων, ὅπως ἐξέλθωσι*.—Anselm. Band. Comment. in Antiq. CP. lib. ii. p. 615, tom. ii.

Julfa, in the suburbs of Ispahan; and to the same act the European world is indebted for an increased and perpetual supply of the most precious and costly of all Oriental commodities. The growth of silk increased in every province of Persia, and the new settlers applying the same prudence and industry to the concerns of commerce, as they had before employed upon the labours of agriculture, not only enriched themselves and added to the revenues of the state, but by an intercourse with more civilized nations in their long and painful journies, and an interchange of their merchandize for the manufactures of Europe, improved the taste, and much increased the comforts, of all their fellow-subjects.

Of mild but persevering tempers, sober and patient in all their pursuits, honest although skilful in their dealings, accommodating in their habits and manners without losing their individual character, they did not fail to acquire a reputation in every country to which they were directed by the enterprise of traffic; and the preference shown for those of their nation in all commercial transactions, soon made them settlers in many of the flourishing cities of Asia and Europe. They had not to make any sacrifice of patriotic feelings, for they had no country, and they are now, no less than the Jews, a dispersed people, living in strange lands; and in Turkey, notwithstanding their numbers, they may be considered rather as a sect than a nation.

The above eulogy of the Armenians must be confined to their mercantile character. Living under despotic masters, being of a more saturnine and phlegmatic disposition than the Greeks, and not having, like their fellow-subjects, any interest in the soil, or desire of emancipation, they have the temperament of contented slaves, and their minds display no other activity than what is suf-

ficient to assist them in the pursuit of one only object—the attainment of wealth. Their boasted literal language, which is comparatively a late invention, although understood by only a few of their Vertabiets, or Doctors, has not contributed to the advancement of science, or any branch of learning. Like the Greeks, they are debased by their subjection not only to the Turks, but to their priests, and by the tyranny of a mean and absurd superstition. “All the world knows,” says Mr. Tournefort (to whom the reader, without consulting the work of the Marchese Serpos, may refer for an account of this people) “that the Armenians are Christians, and that they would be very good Christians, were it not for the schism which separates them from us*.”

It seems that their principal heresy consists in some misunderstanding of the hypostatic union, a sneaking attachment to the Eutychian doctors, Dioscores and Barsuma, and an avowed excommunication of the council of Chalcedon; in a belief of the lesser gospels, of the doctrine of Origen relative to the creation of souls at the beginning of the world, of the millenium; and lastly, in a denial of purgatory and a present paradise.

The practical errors of their church are, a scandalous participation of the communion by infants, an abominable adoration of the elements before consecration, a sacrilegious use of confession, the absurd administration of extreme unction to the dead, and, for the most part, only to priests, and an ordination of persons unprepared for the sacred office†. But neither these theological vices, nor the

* Voyage du Levant, tom. ii. p. 396, lettre xx.

† The epithets are Mr. Tournefort's, who writes *en bon Catholique*, but with a serio-comic air which it is impossible to mistake.

adoption of many Greek and Jewish ceremonies, nor the quarrels of the Patriarchs of Itchmiadzin and Jerusalem for the monopoly of the chrism* (or holy oil), can be so revolting to a Protestant Englishman as the dogma which comprehends all virtue, practical and religious, in a strict attention to the duty of abstinence.

Each Wednesday and Friday are fast-days. Besides the four great Lents, they have four other fasts of eight days each, preparatory to the feasts of Christmas, the Ascension, Annunciation, and St. George's day; during the whole of which they eat nothing but roots. The Bishops eat flesh and fish but four times a year; the Archbishops abstain from both altogether; and as ecclesiastical honours and fasting augment in equal proportions, it may be expected, as Mr. Tournefort observes, that the Patriarchs must almost die of hunger.

There is, however, a considerable portion of the Armenians to whom the above charge of heresy cannot apply. About the year 1520, the labours of Father Bartholomew, a Dominican Friar, converted many of this nation to the Catholic faith, and to subjection to Pope John XXII.; and since that period the missionaries have proceeded with unequal, but generally increasing, success. A Catholic Patriarch has been established at Racsivan, and an-

* Formerly the oil could only be manufactured by the Patriarch of Itchmiadzin: Jacob, a Bishop of Jerusalem, got himself appointed Patriarch of Jerusalem by the Grand Vizier about 1660, and commenced making the chrism also. "*Voilà le sujet d'un grand schisme parmi eux. Les Patriarches s'excommunièrent réciproquement; celui des Trois Eglises forma un grand procès à la Porte contre celui de Jerusalem. Les Turcs qui sont trop habiles pour vouloir décider la question, se contentent de recevoir les presens que leur font les Partics a mesure qu'elles reviennent a la charge: en attendant chacun debite son huile comme il peut.*"—*Voyage du Levant*, p. 405, tom. ii. lettre xx.

other at Caminiec, since the union of the Polish Armenians with the church of Rome in 1666. Monasteries of religious of the Dominican order, are to be found wherever any of the nation are settled; and in some places they are enabled by their power, as well as inclined by their duty, to brand those of their original church with the name of schismatics. At Constantinople the churches are in possession of the latter, and the Catholics frequent the Roman chapel, although until lately they were more powerful than the other party, the Patriarch being a favourer of their persuasion.

The hatred subsisting between the two sects may be easily conceived: it frequently breaks out in violence and persecution. A late Patriarch punished a convert from his church to the Catholics with five hundred blows on the soles of the feet; a sentence which he was enabled to inflict, as the holder of the dignity is invested by the Porte with entire authority (except of life and death) over all Armenians. Neither bribery nor intrigues are spared to obtain such power, notwithstanding the accompanying obligation of abstinence; and there have been instances of two rival Patriarchs enjoying, or rather dividing, the office between them. In spite of the difference of their creed, the Roman Catholics, for the sake, it is presumed, of conversion, have assimilated themselves to the temper, and have in some measure adopted the severity, of the schismatics, to a degree not required by the Latin church. The first class of the Roman Armenians at Constantinople, assume the manners of the Franks, but in the other orders it is difficult to distinguish between the two sects.

Some of the customs of the Armenians are no less striking to a Frank stranger than those of the Turks. Their women are

equally enveloped when abroad, and are to be distinguished from the Mahometan females only by the colour of the square capes of the feredjès which hang behind their backs; and their marriage ceremonies are as tedious and fantastical as those of any of the Orientals. These lasting alliances, which are settled between the parents during the infancy, and sometimes before the birth, of the parties, are concluded and consummated before the bridegroom has a view of the face of his spouse, and the disguise is in some instances continued after the marriage; but unless the honest visitors at Pera are much deceived, the extreme delicacy of the females is reserved only for their husbands. Their constant use of the bath, and other personal habits, together with the little peril of an amour with a Christian compared with a Mahometan intrigue, render them the unsuspected and ready substitutes for the Turkish ladies, in the hands of a class of people which may always be met with in any large city.

Such of the settlers as have attained considerable wealth, although their appearance in Constantinople is that of the honest mechanic, live in much splendour in their villas on the Bosphorus and at Belgrade, and, during the feasts of their church, indulge freely in the pleasures of the table; but a late writer was not a little seduced by the charms of a simile, when he declared, that "their festivity seems to consist chiefly in being intoxicated, and jumping about with the preposterous activity of an elephant*.

The Armenian cemeteries in the neighbourhood of the capital, and especially that behind the walls on the road leading to Selivria, present a specimen of one of the *scandalous* customs in which,

* Constantinople, Ancient and Modern, p. 83.

notwithstanding some pretensions to orthodoxy, these people continue to indulge*. At the tombs may be seen the relations of the deceased in all the attitudes of grief, from the torpor of mute despair, to the agitation of uncontrouled sorrow. The men stand at the foot of the grave, their arms folded, their heads upon their chests, and the tears rolling down their cheeks; whilst the women are seated on the ground, or prostrate on the flat tomb-stones, beating their breasts, and lamenting aloud. A solitary mourner is sometimes found weeping and praying amongst the sepulchres; but on stated days the ceremony is general, and the priests attend during the performance, which concludes somewhat unexpectedly for strangers, with music, dancing, and feasting.

The chief Armenians of Constantinople are, as well as the Jews, money-brokers (sarraffs), and they receive a small premium for examining the coin in the many bargains which go through their hands. They also buy the specie when cried down and at a low price, and re-issue it in the loans with which they accommodate the 'Turks, at the exorbitant interests of between twenty and thirty per cent. This is the chief source of their wealth. Many of their corn merchants are in good circumstances, and also their goldsmiths, as only a few of any other nation exercise that trade. There are Armenian surgeons, physicians, and apothecaries. The greater number of bakers are of

* *Notwithstanding they have some errors worth to be rejected, and some scandalous customs besides. So you shall see them here and there cry over the graves of their deceased friends, &c.*—Dr. Leonhart Rauwolf's Travels into the Eastern Countries, part iii. chap. 14, *Of the Armenians, and their Religion.* The said traveller was of the reformed religion, and a good herbalist, but a believer in Prester John and the Unicorn.

their nation. They are the chief house-builders, masons, joiners, turners, braziers, and locksmiths; and as porters, they show themselves the most laborious, and, perhaps, the strongest people in the world. Sixteen of them, eight before and eight behind, with their arms extended across on each others shoulders, will carry a barrel of wine slung on four poles, throwing three hundred weight upon each man*. They march in a quick lock-step, accompanying each pace with the groan of a pavior, and apparently in the last agony of exertion. The Armenians are also water-carriers, sherbet-sellers, boatmen, fishermen, silk-twisters, ribbon-weavers, and tent-makers, and are accounted the best farriers and horse-breakers in the country. As chintz-printers and muslin-painters, they surpass most European artists, but the blocks and patterns are French. Previously to figuring their linens or cottons, they polish them with a paste of fine flour, and, as has been noticed by a contemporary traveller, they wash their printed calicoes in sea-water, to cleanse them from the gum used in preparing the colours†. On the whole, the Armenians are the most industrious and useful subjects in the Ottoman empire.

* Constantinople, Ancient and Modern, p. 128.

† Voyages and Travels by John Galt, p. 275, 4to. Mr. Galt adds, that he has seen squares of muslin not worth ten shillings, raised in value by the labour of the painter to upwards of a hundred.

LETTER XLVII.

Ters-Hane—The Harbour and Docks—Visit to the Capudan-Pasha at Divan-Hane—Executions—Visit to the Ters-Hane-Emini—The Sultan's Cypher—Russian Prisoners—Visit to the Capudan-Pasha's Ship, the Sultan Selim—The Turkish Navy—Martial Music—Gratitude of the Turks—and other amiable Traits of their Character—A Notice of some Points relative to the Mahometan Religion, and to its Ministers—The Mevlevi and Cadri—The Turning and Howling Dervishes.

THE east side of the port beyond Galata is a line of public buildings, and of palaces attached to the state officers of the Turkish marine. The Ottomans had been for more than half a century in possession of the most advantageous spot in the world for the establishment of a navy, before they applied themselves to navigation, for they were not masters of a single ship of war until the reign of Selim the First. That monarch constructed a dock for the building of galleys, which is still seen in a bay of the port under the hill and cemetery leading to Pera and the English palace. A long wooden wharf runs along the edge of the water, at which small merchant ships are moored, but the galleys, now out of use, are removed to the inner part of the port. It is called the Galiondge's Wharf. The point of Divan-Hane, the au-

dience-chamber of the Capudan-Pasha, terminates this bay to the north. The long suite of buildings beyond Divan-Hane, belongs to the quarter of Ters-Hane, or the Arsenal, which owes its present appearance to the labours of De Tott, and of the French engineers Leroy and Lebrun.—The enterprising Hassan-Pasha, from a waiter at a coffee-house in Gallipoli, raised himself to absolute authority under Sultan Abdulhamid, and by one act of ferocious courage (when he blew up his own and a Russian line-of-battle ship at Tchesmè) established a reputation, which he maintained throughout his long continuance in office. He recovered Lemnos, quelled a rebellion in Syria, and totally subdued the Morea, exercising the most prompt and horrible vengeance on the insurgents. His favourite was a young lion, whom most travellers had the good fortune of beholding crouched down and serving as a footstool to this terrific Admiral. He had, however, discernment enough to give every encouragement to the French officers above mentioned, the latter of whom was patronized by Kutchuk Hussein, Capudan-Pasha, also a man of acknowledged abilities.

During the reign of Selim, whose projects will be hereafter noticed, the improvements of the marine still continued under Mr. Rhodéz, a Swede, with a company of engineers of the same nation, and Mr. Benoit, a French gentleman; and even after the disastrous termination of his efforts, the external appearance of Ters-Hane, such as it is at this day, would do credit to the most civilized nation of Europe. Here there are large mast and block houses, brass and copper foundries, rope-yards, naval store warehouses, besides a dry stone dock constructed on the most approved principles. A stone facing lines the harbour; and such is the depth of water, that the sterns of the three-deckers hang

over the shore. Engines for masting ships and heaving down, contrived upon the usual plan, are ranged along the pier. The ships of the line of the first class are built near the shore, on a natural declivity, and slide at once into deep water. The galley harbour succeeds to the stone piers, and beyond are the cannon foundries, near Ain-Aleh-Kavak Sarai, *the Palace of Mirrors*, a deserted kiosk built by Achmet the Third. The ground rises from near the shore of the port; and the suburbs of Hassim-Pasha, Piali-Pasha, and Piri-Pasha, with intervening cemeteries, and spots of open land crown the declivities above Divan-Hane, Ters-Hane, and the galley wharf.

The officers of the English frigate wished to see the Arsenal and the Turkish Fleet, which was then in port. As a preliminary, we visited Ali, the Capudan-Pasha. He was in his kiosk of audience at Divan-Hane, a splendid chamber, surrounded by his attendants, and, contrary to custom, received us sitting. He is reported to be a ferocious character, and certainly had the appearance of being so. His capacity for his office may be collected by the following specimen of his conversation.

After the usual compliments, he told the Captain of the frigate he had never been at sea, but that he was very fond of it. He asked him if the wind was likely to continue long in the same quarter, and when he was answered that his Highness, from having been accustomed to the climate, was more likely to know than a stranger, was unable to comprehend the deduction. He enquired if the Captain had a man on board to manage the compass; and learning that every man in the ship was acquainted with that instrument, replied, pointing to a young Midshipman in our company, "What! does that boy know any thing of the compass?"

It was evident this was no legitimate successor of Hussein-Pasha; but in the choice of a High Admiral, it is as likely as not, that a person of total incapacity for the office should be selected; as this dignity, like every other under the Ottoman government, is obtained by bribery, intrigue, and favouritism; and every Turk is content with asking himself if the place is fit for him, without enquiring whether he is fit for the place. He looks upon the office of Capudan-Pasha as preferable to that of any other state minister under the Vizier Azem, because it conveys more power and wealth; but if he cannot obtain that situation, he will take up with being Tefterdar Effendy (Minister of Finances), or Jeny-cherry Aghassy (General of the Janissaries).

The Capudan-Pasha is supreme over all the islands subject to the Ottoman dominion, and of all the great sea-ports and some maritime districts: he is member of the great council of state; and presides at Ters-Hane like an absolute prince, with the attendants of a court; and, what is an important point in Turkey, an executioner. An Intendant and Judge of the Marine (Ters-Hane Emini, Ters-Hane Effendi) are subject to his orders, but the latter officer attends also to the police of Pera, under the Bostandge-Bashe.

The place chosen for the death of criminals condemned by the High Admiral, is usually a flat near the Galiondge's wharf. A horizontal motion of the hand from his master, is sufficient hint and warrant to the executioner, who usually stands near him. The prisoner is led out without any ceremony, pushed upon his knees, and beheaded with a short sword, or rather a long broad knife, which does not always perform the task at one blow. If the punishment takes place secretly, the prisoner is

strangled: sometimes he is hanged up on a nail, driven into any house in the street upon which the hangman may fix. Persons of condition are strangled first, and afterwards beheaded. I saw a body turned on its chest, the carcass covered, but the legs and arms bare, which had apparently suffered from burning or beating, and the head lying between the legs. This latter position is an indignity confined to the rayahs, as the heads of Turkish criminals are placed under their arms. The body was that of a Greek Cogia-Bashe of Triccala, who was charged with lading stores for the Russians; but, as a person acquainted with the case told me, was in reality found guilty of being rich, and having two or three handsome merchant vessels, which the Capudan-Paslia desired to appropriate to his own service.

On the day of visiting the navy, we waited first on the Ters-Hane-Emini, whom we found with a kind of painting apparatus, and a hair pencil, drawing a sprig or floweret upon small bits of written paper, and handing them off to the officers in waiting. What these billets were we did not learn, but conjectured that they were official, and that the ornaments were the signets which it was the Intendant's duty to affix*.—This manual skill may seem unworthy of so important an officer as the Second Minister of the Marine; but the Nichandgi-Effendi, a counsellor of state, corresponding with our Keeper of the Privy Seal, also draws with a brush, or hair pencil, the elaborate anagram which stands at the

* A traveller should be cautious of making any conjectures of the above kind, lest he should fall into an error like that of the Malabar merchant at the court of Calcutta, who mistook a pair of green spectacles, for a necessary precaution worn by those who approached Lord Minto, to ward off the effulgence of his Lordship's presence.—See Mrs. Graham's Journal.

head of all the Imperial firmans ; and employs himself, as I have seen, in this mechanical discharge of his duty in the Divan. That the office requires some painful attention, may be seen by the annexed fac-simile of Sultan Mahmoud's cypher, taken on a scale one half less than that of the original, from our travelling firman. It is called Turrè, but is properly the Khati-Sherif (which gives a name to the whole mandate or public edict), signifying *the holy character*, or Khati-Humayun, *the sublime character*, and no Turk will touch it before he has ceremoniously kissed it with his mouth and forehead, and brushed away the dust from it with his cheeks. We learn from Cantemir, that it is held in reverence even after the death of the Emperor whose name it represents*.



* Ottoman History, Part I. Book iii. p. 160, of Tindal's translation.

The act of writing the Sultan's name, conveys therefore a sacred dignity, and it would be a sort of profanation to entrust it to common hands. In the same way, even the menial offices about his court are considered highly honourable, although they are not, like the Lordships of the Bed-chamber at St. James's, by any means a sinecure. The Pasha of the Dardanelles, at a visit paid him upon my return from Constantinople, learning that we had been in the Seraglio, asked us how we liked the presence-chamber; and, on our reply, commended it highly, saying, that he ought to know it well, having swept it out for fifteen years.

Leaving the Ters-Hane-Emini, we proceeded, accompanied by some of his officers, to examine the port. There were nine two-deckers, and one three-decker, laid up close to the pier, quite out of repair, besides several frigates, one of which, distinguished by a palm at the head, was *La Justice*, now *La Victorieuse*, that carried Denon to Egypt. One three-decker was on the stocks. The store-rooms seemed empty, and there were few people at work in any part of the arsenal.

We met between two and three hundred Russian prisoners, chained by the legs, going from the public prison, called the *Bath*, to their labours. This place of confinement (the abode of suspected Greeks and condemned Turks, as well as of captive enemies) is enclosed with high walls at the head of the arsenal, and probably merits the frightful description given of it from the report of the unfortunate Frenchmen suffering there during the war between their country and the Porte*.

* L'aspect du bagne offre un coup-d'œil qui flétrit l'imagination, &c.—
Pouqueville, *Voyage à Constantinople*, chap. xvii. p. 149.

A very great and good man has endeavoured to reconcile the custom of enslaving prisoners of war with the laws of nature and reason. Whether it is excusable or not, the Turks only follow a practice which was formerly universally prevalent, and which was certainly not extinguished amongst Christians until the thirteenth century*; nor do they follow it to its full extent, for the prisoners are released on a peace; and, although they are very rigorously confined, and obliged to work, they cannot, therefore, be said to be enslaved. The Turks, however, no less than the ancient Scythians, still think themselves fully entitled to a payment for the head or redemption of every one whom they destroy or spare in battle.

From Ters-Hane we went on board the Sultan Selim, the Capudan-Pasha's ship, of a hundred and twenty guns, built on the French model, and perhaps as fine a vessel as any in the world. The High Admiral's cabin is a magnificent apartment, surrounded by a handsome stern-gallery; but that of the Captain, and the ward-room, are not very comfortably contrived, especially the latter, which is half filled with small arms: indeed the places where the officers sleep are near the fore-castle, where there is also an immense oven for baking bread. Her decks were perfectly clean and sweet; and, as she was not burthened with any comforts or conveniences for the crew, her quarters were quite clear below as well as on the upper deck. Her complement of men is twelve hundred, all of whom, the Captain told us, were on board, although there were but few of them visible above, and the most perfect

* Grot. de Jure belli et pacis, lib. iii. cap. vii. Decline and Fall, vol. ii. 4to. p. 595.

good order and silence were observed in every part of the ship. On the lower deck were four enormous cannons on each side, upon carriages without either trucks or wheels, and incapable of elevation. It is extraordinary that a reform in this particular should not have taken place at the same time with the other improvements. The crew is divided into two distinct bodies; the Greeks who manage, and the Turks who fight, the ship: the former are about two hundred in number. With such a regulation, it cannot be expected that any excellence in the vessels themselves should enable the Turkish navy to equal that of any civilized state.

The line-of-battle ships in commission when we were in the Sultan Selim, were two of three decks, and ten of seventy-four guns; all of which were moored in the port near Ters-Hane.

Whilst we were in Pera the fleet left the harbour, and proceeded towards its annual cruise in the Black Sea. It first anchored off Beshik-Tash, then remained some time in the bay of Buyuk-dere, and was more than a fortnight in getting finally out of the canal. We saw the ships under sail in the Black Sea. Several of the squadron generally return, after suffering by mismanagement, into the canal, previously to the appointed season for giving up the cruise.

During a war with Russia, great promises are annually made on the part of the Capudan Pasha on commencing the expedition, which are almost as regularly disappointed, and have sometimes been fatal to the Admiral, who contrives in some instances to acquit himself by strangling his Captain, or that of the Patrona Bey or Vice-Admiral, and laying the charge of misconduct on the pretended delinquent.

I had an opportunity of going on board one of the Turkish

ships of war at sea, and saw nothing of that good order and discipline, which apparently prevailed in the Sultan Selim when in harbour. She was a sloop of eighteen guns, and one hundred and twenty-five men, and would certainly have proved herself not equal to an English armed cutter. It was difficult to distinguish the Captain from his sailors, either from his dress or manner: indeed the dignity of naval command cannot be at all understood in a Turkish ship of war; for one traveller relates, that he saw the Captain and one of his men playing at chess on the quarter-deck; and I heard Sir S. Smith mention, that upon his coming on board the Turkish Admiral's ship, the great Capudan-Pasha Kutchuk-Hussein, either as a distinguished honour, or as a proof of his nautical accomplishments, fired a salute with his own hand, running along the deck from gun to gun.

The people of a free state submit to unlimited subserviency when enrolled amongst the troops of their country. The subjects of a despotic monarchy reserve all their liberty of action for the period of their service in arms. The anchoring of an Ottoman fleet in a port, and the passing of an army through a town, is a public calamity to the inhabitants of the invaded district. The Galliondges, however, are reckoned more brutal and licentious than the land troops of the Empire.

Whilst we were walking the deck of the Sultan Selim, the Capudan Pasha left Ters-Hane, to proceed to Buyuk-dere. He passed near the ship in his gilded barge, and the band mounting the poop, continued to play until they were relieved by those in the three-decker of the Patrona Bey. Their long trumpets, the only instruments, produced nothing like our martial airs, but slow and unvarying, though not unpleasant sounds,

such as we may conceive the mournful music of the Goths, or the long-drawn note of the ancient Swiss clarion *.

After leaving the Sultan Selim, we went on board a seventy-four, commanded by a Captain who had been made prisoner in Alexandria, when it was taken by the British, and who, although he retired for three years to Syracuse before he ventured to return, would have lost his head on coming back to Constantinople, had he not been saved by English interposition; by which also he obtained his ship: another officer who had been his companion in the same circumstances, was on board. We were received with the utmost cordiality, and as they spoke Italian, they made us at

* Mr. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. ii. 4to. p. 549, compares the Gothic trumpets to the *rauca cornua* of the Uri, and remarks upon the art with which Philip de Commines has noticed the blowing of these Swiss horns before the battle of Nancy, in which the Duke of Burgundy lost his life. “*Attendant le combat, le dit cor fut corné par trois fois, tant que le vent du souffleur pouvoit durer; ce qui esbabit fort Monsieur de Bourgouinge, car deja a Morat l’avoit ouy.*” This passage, and particularly the last turn in it, produces all the effect of the sublime in writing. I beg leave to insert from Knolles a specimen of the pathetic, no less simple and effectual. Writing that Busbek admired the order and silence of the Turkish camp, he adds, “*he met only with a rough Hungarian and his companion, a soldier, who, heavy himself, to the lute, rather howled than sung a doleful ditty, containing the last words of a fellow of his dying of his wounds, upon the green banke of Danubius; wherein he requested the river, because it ran to the place where he was born, to carry news to his friends and countrymen that he died an honourable death, and not unrevenged, for the increase of his religion, and honour of his country; whereunto his fellow sighing bare a foot.*”

*O happy and thrice happy wight,
Would fortune with thee change we might.”*

Hist. of the Turks, p. 777.

once understand how much they regretted they were unprepared for the visit: they would have sent a boat on shore for coffee. Upon discovering a gentleman of the embassy, who had come with them in an English sloop of war from Malta, and whom they conceived instrumental in their preservation, they hastened to him with delight in every feature, pressed him tenderly by the hand, made repeated enquiries after all their English friends, and showed their love and gratitude by a thousand expressions of kindness.

On our departure they renewed their professions, and with an air of melancholy, let drop some hints of regret, that the suspicions of their government would not allow them to repeat by personal visits, and frequent communications at the English palace, their unfeigned attachment, and eternal obligations to their generous friends. Ingratitude is a vice unknown to the Turks, whose naked character, where it can be discovered through the incrustations of a defective system, displays a disposition which belongs only to those whom nature has formed of better clay, and cast in her happiest mould. Perhaps European civilization would not give a greater scope to the exertion of their intrinsic virtues, but it is clear, that many of their vices are to be attributed to their faulty institutions.

The descriptions of Rycaut (and much earlier writers might be mentioned) apply to the Mussulmans of Constantinople at this day, as much as to those of the seventeenth century, and the decay of their relative strength, as an European power, has but little affected their national character. The Mahometan religion has prevented, and ever will prevent, any material change in the individual condition, and consequently the character of the Turks.

The light thrown upon the manners and customs of this people during the last hundred years, has left it unnecessary to disabuse the world on the subject of the religion of Mahomet. The times are past, when the Mussulmans were charged with believing that God is a corporeal being, the author of evil, without providence, and not eternal; that the soul is mortal; that the devils are friends of Mahomet, and of God; that Venus is the proper object of worship; that man was created of a leach; and many other absurdities, originating only in the ignorance of their accusers*.

Into the doctrinal part of their religion the Turks do not enquire, but content themselves with an implicit faith in the one eternal Deity, in his angels, in the prophets, in the day of resurrection and judgment, in the decrees of God, and in the virtue of purification, prayer, alms and fasting. There are some of their priests, as might be expected, who disturb themselves with the subtleties of the controversialists, and engrafting upon the simplicity of the original law a variety of strange creeds, have established sects, the opinions of which, if we are to believe some writers, are not only different from, but altogether inconsistent with, the faith of Mahomet. Rycaut mentions one brotherhood, whose mystery, which it required a long noviciate to penetrate, consisted in a profession of atheism, and a practice of the most horrid de-

* Pope Pius II. in a letter to the Sultan of the Turks, made the first charge; Cedrenus the second, the same Pope the third, Bartholinus of Odessa the fourth and fifth, Polydore Virgil the sixth, Johannes Andreas the seventh, the great Selden, in his 4th chap. on the Syrian Deities, the eighth; and Euthemius Zigalenus the last. Sylburgius accuses Mahomet of having called the Blessed Virgin the sister of Moses; and Bartholinus of Odessa upbraids the Koran for saying that she was impregnated by eating dates. Those who would see the origin and refutation of these follies, may consult the second book of Adrian. Reland's System of the Mahometan Theology.

baucherics ; but Islamism can no more be affected by such a perversity, than the religion of England by the monks of Medenham.

The sect does not, as far as I could learn, exist at this day, but institutions and practices no less foreign to the original faith, may still be found. Such are the invocations of dead and the reverence of living saints, a belief in prophecies* omens and dreams and the power of amulets and charms, and the admission of numerous orders of Dervishes ; the removal of all which excrescences, and the restoration of the simple Unitarianism of the Koran, it is the professed object of the Wahaubees to effect. These powerful sectaries have taken the holy cities, and overrunning all Arabia, and part of Syria, have menaced at the same time the Sopli of Persia and the Sultan of Constantinople, peremptorily inviting them to recognise the divine commission of Wahaub, the Unitarian Chief, and restore the faith to its primitive purity. Should the mission of this reformer accomplish its aim, and meet with general success, we may then expect to become acquainted with Mahometanism, such as it was in its infancy.

Mr. Leibnitz says of it, that “ ’tis a kind of deism joined to the belief of some facts, and to the observation of some performances, that Mahomet and his followers have added, sometimes unluckily enough, to natural religion, but that have been agreeable to the inclinations of several countries ;” and he adds, “ we

* The knowledge of future events is obtained, they think, by the constant practice of virtue, fasting, and humiliation. The *Etishmysklerden*, “ the attainers to the fulness of divine fervour,” pretend to visions ; yet Mahomet is declared in the Koran *Achir Pergamber* the last of the prophets, which the modern Mahometans have explained, as usual, to suit their own notions.—See Cantemir, Ottoman Hist. book i. p. 39, Tindal’s translation.

are obliged to that sect for the destruction of paganism in many parts of the world*."

To this brief and just exposition, and the subsequent eulogy of the religion, I shall only add, that its main doctrine has been allowed to be so similar to that of a great heretical Christian, that in times when theological controversies were more bitter than at present, sober treatises were written, to prove the conformity of the Mahometan belief with that of the Socinians; and that sect, on account of the irregularities of Adam Neuser, was charged with a conspiracy against Christianity, in conjunction with the Emperor of the 'Turks†. 'What was once thought a disgrace to Socinus, may now be considered an honour to the author of Islamism, who, when he declared *There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet*, may, considering the infirmities of human nature, be scarcely so much condemned for the imposture of the latter article, as praised for having promulgated the sublime truth contained in the first half of his concise creed. In short, of the prophet of Mecca we may say what Adrian Reland has pronounced of his commentator Kerabisensis, *This Arabian delivers some truth, covered over with a shell of fiction, being destitute of divine revelation*.

‘Οὐκ ἶδεν, ἀλλ’ ἐδόκησεν ἰδεῖν διὰ νύκτα σελήνην.

* A Letter from Mr. Leibnitz to the author of the Reflections upon the Origin of Mahometanism, dated Berlin, 1706.

† See Historical and Critical Reflections upon Mahometanism and Socinianism, translated from the French, London, 1712. *A Turk hearing a Polish Socinian discourse on the Trinity and Incarnation, wondered he did not get himself circumcised.* See the Letter of Mr. Leibnitz, who, of the two, prefers the Mahometan, as more consistent than the Socinian.

The rapid progress of Islamism has been attributed to the vicious licence permitted and promised to its votaries; but an Arabian impostor, many years after the Hegira, allowed a much greater laxity of morals to his followers, and notwithstanding some success, his sect did not survive him. On the contrary, the Prophet, in forbidding the use of wine, created a restriction to which the Arabians were not before accustomed; nor will any religion owe its dispersion and prevalence to a declaration of freedom of action; for it is consonant to the genius of man, to admire and follow systems abounding with rules and regulations, and even prescribing a conduct which seems to do violence to all the natural feelings and unbiassed inclinations of the human breast. Were this not the case, Fakeers, Monks, and Dervishes, could never have existed: it would have been impossible that any man in the world should, like Uveis the Mahometan, have established a sect and met with proselytes, whose pretensions to piety were founded on the extraction of all their teeth.

Mahomet was too wise to omit the palpable parts and outward ceremonials, which are the life and soul of all superstitions; which, in fact, are the superstitions. He was too wise, to make his Koran a promulgation of licences instead of restraints; his fasts and abstinences, his ablutions, his pilgrimage to Mecca, are so many meritorious mortifications, which have all tended to the propagation of his doctrine. To the same knowledge of the human mind may be attributed the miraculous relations of the Koran.

It has been before hinted, that a variety of principles and articles of faith have been invented by the founders of different Mahometan sects, but that these heresies do not engage the attention of the great body of the people. Some persons are inclined

to think, that many of the higher classes in Turkey are very sceptical in matters of religion*. Of this I could form no judgment; but it was not difficult to see, that few except the lower orders retain that spirit of intolerance and bigotry which Mahometans are accused of displaying in all their commerce with Christians. A notion has very generally obtained, of their contempt and hatred of infidels so far prevailing, that it is established amongst them, that they may break any engagement with an unbeliever; but nothing is more unfounded than such a supposition, for the contrary conduct is expressly commanded by the Koran†, and they have been always notorious for their good faith in their commercial intercourse with other nations. “*How do we trade amongst the Turks,*” enquires Mr. Harley, who had fallen into the common error, “*and trust the Mahometans, one of whose doctrines in the Alcoran is, not to keep faith with Christians? They have obtained it by a just, punctual, and honourable practice in trade, and you credit them without scruple, nay, rather than some Christians‡.*”

All the people of the East, except the Mahometans, as Montesquieu§ thought, look upon all religions in themselves as indifferent, and amongst the Calmucks, the admission of every kind of religion is a point of conscience. The truth is, the Mahometans themselves, whether originally from climate or otherwise,

* It must, however, be confessed, that in so great a nation there are many of the learned Turks who do not implicitly believe all that is said in the Koran,” &c. Cantemir, Ottoman Hist. book i. p. 31, Tindal.

† See A Short System of the Mahometan Theology, book ii. sect. xxv.

‡ Essay on Public Credit, 1710 (reprinted 1797), p. 17.

§ Liv. xxv. chapit. 15, de l'Esprit des Loix.

notwithstanding great apparent steadiness in their own faith, are perfectly tolerant in their practice; and I cannot help supposing that they entertain very charitable notions on this head, for I recollect a person of authority, to whom one of us had introduced our Albanian attendant Dervish, with the recommendation that he was a Mussulman, observing, that he did not enquire into a man's faith, but his character, and that he presumed Heaven would be wide enough for persons of all religions*. The generality of the Turks are at the same time exceedingly attentive to all the forms prescribed by their law, and perform their religious duties without either affectation or levity. The obligation to external piety is not confined to the priesthood. They pray in the streets and in their open shops at Constantinople, not for the sake of ostentation, since every one is equally pious, but to perform a portion of their civil duties. On the same principle, no one, whatever may be his private opinions, utters any sentiments disrespectful to the faith. Such a levity would be sedition, and a

* The Koran, Surat 2, verse 59, has these words: "*Verily, those who believe, both Jews and Nazareens (Christians), and Zabians (Gentiles in Arabia, or Ishmaelites), whosoever of these believe in God and the last day, and do good works, have their reward with their Lord, and no fear shall come upon them, neither shall they be affected with sorrow.*" Artus Thomas, in his *Triumph of the Cross*; Bellarmine, in his *Controversies*, vol. ii. p. 293, 294; and Thomas à Jesu on the *Controversies of the Gentiles*, p. 677, and others, cry scandal against this toleration, *the last dotage of Mahomet*; and Reland has, I fear, with some success, defended the Prophet against the heinous charge. A short *System of Mahometan Theology*, book ii. sect. 2.—The Cham of the Tartars told Rubruquis in 1253, "*Que comme Dieu avoit donné aux mains plusieurs doigts, ainsi avoit il ordonné aux hommes plusieurs chemins pour aller en Paradis.*"—*Voyage en Tartarie*, cap. 46, p. 119.

crime against the representative of the Prophet; for the Sultan is the Vicar of Mahomet, and is the supreme head of the government, which is not less a theocracy than the ancient Jewish monarchy.

It has been established beyond doubt, by the writer who, in my humble judgment, has given the truest and most satisfactory account of the Turkish government, I mean Mr. Thornton, that the Ulema, or ministers of the Mahometan law, at whose head is the Mufti, do not assume or exercise a power paramount to that of the Sultan, however they may have been resorted to, in order to sanction the Imperial edicts, or to join with the Janissaries, or general voice of the people, in deposing a cruel or incapable prince*. The Mufti, who has been likened to the Popes or Patriarchs of the Christian sects, but is in fact more similar to the Pontifex Maximus of ancient Rome, is in dignity, though not in power, the second person in the empire; but he is not, as some have endeavoured to prove, the first. To show this, it is sufficient to say that his continuance in office depends upon the will of the Sultan.

In a despotic monarchy nothing remains fixed but the religion†; the Mahometan law is unchangeable and all-powerful; but its immediate ministers possess neither the one nor the other attribute. If the *fetwa*, or decree, of the Mufti were a necessary sanction to every act of importance, which it seems not to be, the person who disposes of the office may be supposed capable of controuling the officer. The religion may be called supe-

* Present State of Turkey, p. 100 to p. 113.

† De l'Esprit des Loix.

rior to the Sultan, for by it he holds his power; but I cannot think that any opposition to the Imperial authority on the part of the Ulema, however long or successfully it may continue, can be adduced to show that the Sultan of the Turks is not a despotic prince, or can be considered in any other light than an insurrection, to which every absolute monarch must occasionally be subject.

It is the custom for the Grand Signior to back his ordinances relative to peace and war, and other state matters, by the *fetwa*, as it is for him to go to the mosck publicly on every Friday, and to attend in person at a conflagration; but the two latter obligations are equally strong with the former; nor are the three exceptions to the exercise of his own will and discretion, of sufficient importance to be mentioned as a proof of limitation in the Ottoman sovereignty, or of any other point, than that no prince is altogether superior to established usages. Nevertheless, Abu-Taleb, the traveller commonly going by the name of the Persian Prince, a much better judge than either De Tott, Sir James Porter, or other Europeans, who have adopted the same notion, informs us in his Travels, that he did not consider the power of the Grand Signior absolute, which I can only account for by supposing, that in the Asiatic governments to which he had been accustomed, insurrections were not so frequent, nor the influence of usage so apparent, as in the capital of Turkey.

The identity of law and religion gives a sanctity of character to the Mufti, the Cazy-askers of Roumelia and Natolia, the Istamboul-Effendi, the Mollahs, Cadis, Naibs, and all the administrators of justice in Turkey; but the ecclesiastics, or Murta-ziki, are, except in their education, a distinct body from the Ulema,

and are not immediately dependent upon the Mufti, but upon the Kislar-Aga, or Chief of the Black Eunuchs*. The Santons, Alfaquis, and Sheiks, explain texts of the Koran, but their sermons are not given at any stated time, nor very frequently; the Talismans perform the same office, but are chiefly employed in transcribing the holy books; the Imaums recite the prayers, at stated hours of the day in the moscks, but not aloud, only animating the people by their example: on Friday, however, before prayers at noon, a reader or chanter (Nat' chon) sings the praises of Mahomet. To each mosck there is also a Haim, or overseer; Fernesh, a sweeper; and Abkesh, a water-drawer. One Muezzin, or chanter, will serve for several moscks. The burying-grounds are under the inspection of a Turba-dhar, or sexton. There is also a person whose business it is to attend to the innumerable lights with which the larger moscks are supplied, and to provide for the illuminations of the Rhamazan, when all the minarets are adorned with lamps, hanging not only round the galleries and to the tops of the spires, but upon strings from one turret to another, so as to form various figures, and verses from the Koran.

There is no part of the religious duties of a Mussulman which

* The Cazy-askers are chief justices: they sit not on the right, as Mr. Thornton says, but on the left hand, of the Grand Vizier in the Divan. The Istambol-Effendi is chief justice of Constantinople; the Mollahs, or Moulas, are presidents of great towns, to whom the ancient Ottoman kings paid five hundred aspers a day, but who now receive nothing from the government (Bobovius, a Treatise concerning the Turkish Liturgy, sect. ii.); the Cadis are judges of small towns; and the Naibs, puisne judges. Each court has a Katib, a secretary; a Mokaiyd, a clerk; and Muhzir, a crier. The Mufti's pension is five hundred zequins a day from the Scraglio. (Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur, p. 141).

requires the intervention of a priest; nor, although a reader and chanter are retained in some great families, is the distinction which separates the Christian laity and clergy, to be recognised amongst the Mahometans. There is nothing in the external behaviour of the Imaums, or others of the secular priesthood, which distinguishes them from their fellow-subjects: they assume no authority, either temporal or ecclesiastical; and are under the controul of the Cadis, or municipal judges: in short, they are the guardians of the moscks rather than of the Mussulmans. The Hogias, or schoolmasters (one of whom is attached to each of the great moscks in Constantinople), are in smaller parishes the only public readers of the Koran.

The extreme simplicity of this religion, and of the ordinances by which it is supported, has not, however, prevented all pretensions to extraordinary holiness, or the encouragement of several sects of fanatical impostors, to whom some allusion has before been made. The Christian recluses were the admiration of the Mussulmans before they had adopted the same practice; but since the first institution of religious orders in the reign, and by the patronage, of Nasser-Ben-Hamed, the third prince of the Samanide dynasty, in the year 331 of the Hegira, there has been a constant succession of saints, distinguished from their fellow-citizens by the title and profession of poverty, and supposed to be occupied in the perpetual contemplation of the more abstruse points of the Mahometan doctrine*. These saints have been

* D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Articles *Nasser-Ben-Hamed*, *Derwische*, *Sofi*, *Zaked*, *Fakir*; &c. Sâadi, in the *Ghulistan*, relates, that the Christian monks of Mount Libanus in his time performed miracles; and Bokhari, in

known under the names of Calenders, Torlaquis, and other distinct appellations applied to particular sects, but are more generally spoken of under their original title of Dervish, a word having the same signification in the Turkish and Persian language as the Fakir of the Arabic, and denoting a poor man. They have their travelling mendicants, fraternities of settled recluses, and some few solitaries, amounting in all to thirty-two orders; all of which differ from each other, and are distinguished also by particular manners and appearance from the rest of the world.

Although it is expressly said in the Koran, that the vow of celibacy is not received in Paradise, the Calenders do not admit of marriage; but the generality of the orders are under no such restriction. Some individuals amongst them have, like Haji Bek-Tash, attained an extraordinary reputation; but the profession of piety, beyond the acquirement of alms, is not attended with any advantages in Turkey. The Mussulmans consider themselves obliged to contribute to the support of the religious; at the same time, that not only the more enlightened of them, but the common people, regard the Dervishes with but little internal reverence, and rather tolerate than approve of their institutions. The *Seyeh*, or wanderers, who raise contributions by proclamation, are relieved, but not respected*. Their *kirkah*, or torn habit, notwithstanding its alleged descent from the ancient pro-

his book entitled *Sahib*, recounts the wonders of the Abyssinian, *Sahab Gioraije*, a Christian solitary, with the good faith of a Capuchin. There is also an Arabic history of Christian monks.

* On coming into a town, a *Seyeh* cries aloud from the market place or court of the mosck, "*Ya allah senden besh bin altùn isterim*"—O God, give me,

phets, has been the subject of much sarcasm for the Oriental wits, and the vices which it is known to envelop, have not added to its respectability*.—A Dervish attempted to kill Sultan Mahomet the Second, and also Achmet the First; and in the reign of Osman the First another enthusiast ventured to disturb the peace of the empire, by foretelling the triumph of Christianity upon the strength of a vision seen at Mecca. The prophet was cudgelled to death†.

I pray, five thousand crowns—or some other sum or commodity, which he is to collect in the course of his journey. The Seyehs come even from India. One of them delivered to Kioprili Mustapha Pasha, Grand Vizier to Solyman the Second, letters from the Great Mogul, and told him that his master, hearing of the Sultan's distresses, had sent an offer of assistance to his brother Musulman. To which Kioprili replied, that Solyman would be ever grateful for the zeal and friendship of the great Padishah of India, but that his affairs just then being in a prosperous state, "he could be honoured with no greater favour from his Indian majesty, than his commanding his beggars not to enter the Ottoman dominions."—Cantemir, Ottoman Hist. Part I. book i. p. 40, of Tindal's translation.

* Sâadi, in the eighth chapter of his Ghulistan, addressing the religious, says, "*Possess the virtues of a true Dervish, and then, instead of a woollen cap, wear, if you will, a Tartar bonnet.*" Ebu-Cassab, one of their spiritual masters, calls their garments the mask of hypocrisy; and Hafiz prefers a goblet of wine to the blue mantle of the Dervish; which the Persians, who have given a mystical meaning to all the verses of this poet, explain as an attachment to divine love, and a hatred for hypocrisy. *Dervishlik khirkhaden bellu doghil*, is a Turkish proverb, which answers to the *cucullus non facit monachum*. See D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, Article Dervische.

† In the early ages of the Mahometan religion a Mahometan said that he was God. A man reminded him, that one who had called himself a prophet had been killed. "*They were right,*" said the other, "*for I did not give him his commission: he was no prophet of mine.*"—Paroles Remarquables des Orientaux, Galand.

The character of the mendicant Dervishes of Asia Minor has been already seen*. Yet the Santons and Sheiks, whose exhortations make most impression in the moscks, are the superiors of these fanatics; and a sermon preached by one of the former in St. Sophia, was the origin of the disgraceful expedition undertaken by Sultan Solýman against Malta in the year 1564†.

Attempts have been made to abolish the institution, but the Janissaries still retain eight Dervishes of the order of Bek-Tash, as chaplains to the army; and the people of Constantinople run in crowds to amuse themselves (for no other motive can be assigned to them) at the exhibitions of the turning and of the howling Dervishes, to which all strangers are carried, as to the theatre or other places of entertainment in the cities of Christendom.

There is a monastery of the former order, the *Mevlevi* (so called from Mevlana their founder) in Pera, and we were admitted to the performance of their ceremonies on Friday the 25th of May. We were conducted by a private door into the gallery of the place of worship, a single octagonal room, with the middle of the floor, which was of wood highly polished, railed off for the exhibitors. A red carpet and cushion were placed at the side opposite the great door near the rails, but there were no seats in any part of the chamber. We waited some time until the great door opened, and a crowd of men and boys rushed in, like a mob into a playhouse, each of them, however, pulling off his shoes as he entered. The place without the rails, and our gallery, were filled in five minutes, when the doors were closed. The Dervishes

* Letter xxxvi. p. 648, of this volume.

† Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur, p. 148.

dropped in one by one, and each of them crossing his arms, very reverently and with the utmost grace bowed to the seat of the Superior, who entered at last himself, better dressed than the others, and with his feet covered. With him came in another man, who was also distinguished from the rest by his garments, and who appeared afterwards to officiate as a clerk. Other Dervishes arrived, and went into the gallery opposite to the Superior's seat, where there were four small cymbal drums. The Superior now commenced a prayer, which he continued for ten minutes; then a man stood up in the gallery, and sang for some time from a book: the cymbals began to beat, and four Dervishes taking up their *neih* or long cane pipes, called by Cantemir the sweetest of all musical instruments*, played some tunes which were by no means disagreeable, and were, indeed, something like plaintive English airs. On some note being struck, the Dervishes below all fell suddenly on their faces, clapping their hands with one accord upon the floor.

The music ceased, and the Superior began again to pray. He then rose, and marched three times slowly round the room, followed by the others, who bowed on each side of his cushion, the Superior himself bowing also, but not to the cushion, and only once, when he was half way across it. The Superior rescatated himself, and said a short prayer. The music commenced a second time, all the Dervishes rose from the ground, and fourteen out of the twenty who were present, let drop a long coloured petticoat, round the rim of which there were apparently some weights; and throwing off their cloaks, they appeared in a tight vest

* Ottoman Hist. Part I. book i. p. 40.

with sleeves. The clerk then marched by the Superior, and bowing, retired into the middle of the room. A Dervish followed, bowed, and began to whirl round, his long petticoat flying out into a cone. The rest followed, and all of them were soon turning round in the same manner as the first, forming a circle about the room, with three or four in the middle. The arms of one man alone were held straight upwards, two of them crooked their right arms like a kettle-spout, the rest had both arms extended horizontally, generally with the palm of one hand turned upwards, and the fingers closed and at full length. A very accurate and lively representation of this curious scene may be found in Lord Baltimore's Travels.—Some of them turned with great speed; they revolved round the room imperceptibly, looking more like automatons than men, as the petticoat concealed the movement of their feet: the clerk walked with great earnestness and attention amongst them, but without speaking, and the Superior remained on his cushion moving his body gently from side to side, and smiling. The performers continued at the labour for twenty-five minutes, but with four short intervals; the last time they turned for ten minutes, and notwithstanding some of them whirled with such velocity that their features were not distinguishable, and two of them were boys of fifteen and seventeen, apparently no one was affected by this painful exercise. The clerk, after the turning and music ceased, prayed aloud, and a man walking round, threw a cloak upon the Dervishes, each of whom was in his original place, and bending to the earth. The Superior began the last prayer, and the company withdrew.

The ceremonies just described are said by Volney to have a reference to the revolution of the stars, and whether or not they

are to have credit for any superior astronomical science, these Dervishes certainly possess some literary merit, as all of them are instructed in the Arabic language, and make it their study to become critically acquainted with its beauties. Their monasteries contain many rare books, collected at considerable pains and expence in all the countries of the East where they have any establishments, or which are visited by any of their fraternity.

It cannot be supposed that any set of men who are better instructed should be more superstitious than their fellow-citizens; but it is very probable that they may be aware of the awe and astonishment which any strange religious ceremony creates in the mind of the vulgar, and that without being in reality enthusiastic, they take advantage of the reputation sometimes attached, even amongst the Turks, to that character. They cannot be unwilling that the spectators of the performance should discover some mystical meaning in their revolutions, which it seems to me were in their first origin nothing but a sort of religious penance; but I cannot think that they are themselves deceived as to the efficacy or intention of the ceremonies. The Superior does not inflict upon himself the execution of so rigorous a duty, and it may be added, that there is a marked superiority, both in his appearance and that of the musicians, to the air and manner of the Dervishes employed in the exhibition, who may, after all, be retained to display their feats for the benefit of the institution.

The Mevlevi are, however, rational worshippers, when compared with the Cadrhi, or Howling Dervishes, whose exertions, if considered as religious ceremonies, are more inexplicable and disgusting than those of any enthusiasts in the known world, and if regarded merely as jugglers' feats, are legitimate objects of curio-

sity. A large party of our countrymen went to see them on the 26th of June.

From our lodgings we walked to the back of Pera, and keeping the suburbs of Cassim Pasha on our left, passed over the large plain and hill of the Ok-meidan, or archery ground, where there are many marble pillars erected as memorials of the distance to which some of the Sultans, and other distinguished Toxophilites, have shot their arrows; for the endeavour of the Turks is not to hit a mark, but to exceed each other by the range of their bows; and I think it is Olivier who mentions, that they have contrived an extravagant method of flattering their sovereigns and grandees, by placing in the Ok-meidan, signs of a prowess altogether impossible. I recollect perfectly well walking another time across the plain, quite unconscious of the sport, and being stopped by the shouts of some Turks on a neighbouring hill, and by a fellow who ran hastily up to me, and pointed to an arrow which had just lighted in the ground. The archers were amongst some large loose stones, and at a distance which rendered them scarcely discernible. Some of the Asiatic troops still carry bows and arrows.

After crossing the Ok-meidan, we waited an hour in the court-yard of a ruined mosck, shaded by large plane trees, and containing two dry fountains and a range of deserted cells. We were told that the ceremony never took place except with the attendance of a sufficient number of spectators, and after leaving the mosck we staid some time in an outward yard, until a crowd was collected, and we heard music and praying in an anti-chamber. We then entered, and found a large party singing, or rather bawling, in a dirty deal apartment, fitted up at the further end

with several flags, having axes, swords, pikes, and cymbal-drums on one side, and a silk cloth inscribed with characters on the other. This they said was a part of Mahomet's tent, the other portion of this holy relic being at Vienna. On the left hand corner was a latticed box for women, and next to it was an open compartment railed off from the floor. In this place we seated ourselves, and saw three principal personages of the sect kneeling under the flags, and waving their heads sideways, keeping time with the musicians, who were beating drums and singing at the lower end of the room. In the corner under the latticed box, was a black or tawny dwarf half naked, upon his knees, contorting himself into many frightful and ridiculous gestures, now and then becoming furious, and knocking his arms and head violently against the ground. To him we directed our attention, until at last he tore open his vest below his waist, and struggling on the ground, was led off frothing at the mouth, and suffering apparently under the convulsions of actual madness.

After this exhibition the principals advanced; the crowd ranged themselves along three sides of the lower end of the room, and six persons squatting down in the middle of the party, commenced singing, and were joined by the remainder of the company in the chorus, which was the repetition of the name of God. The whole of the three lines, amounting in all to between thirty and forty persons, none of whom belonged to the fraternity, but were introduced promiscuously by kissing the principal's hands, continued waving backwards and forwards, and sideways close together, howling and grunting to a tune, which was lost at last in a general and continued exclamation of *Yallah-Illah! Yallah-Illah!* when they jumped and jogged themselves into that which appeared to all of

us, from undoubted symptoms, to be that peculiar kind of artificial frenzy, which we learn was produced by the Sarmatian art of see-saw, or session on a cord *.

I should mention, that before the violent howling and jogging began, a Dervish perfectly mangy, and covered with filth and sores, came round, and reverently taking off every man's turban, placed it under the banners. The three principals only jogged their heads and moved on their heels. They seemed half in joke, as also did several of the party, especially a young Imaum of our acquaintance who had accompanied us to the place, and who, although he joined in the whole ceremony, was laughing heartily and winking towards our box. During the howling the Superior of the order, a red-faced, drunken-looking man, entered the room, and walking busily amongst the party, made various exclamations of ill temper and discontent, as if displeased with some parts of the ceremony.

After the howling, a prayer was recited, and all the company dispersed into the anti-chamber to take coffee and pipes to recruit themselves; but they soon returned, and a jug of water, into which the Superior had blown, and a consecrated shirt, were handed round the room. Two infants were also brought in and laid on a mat before the Superior, who stood first on their bellies, and then on their backs, and afterwards breathing upon them, delivered them to his attendants, cured, as we were told, of some complaint which this charm was calculated to remove.

The howling and jogging recommenced, and to this succeeded a prayer. The Superior then brought forward two men, and ran

* See Swift *On the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*—Tale of a Tub.

long needles, like netting needles, with large handles, through their cheeks, pushing them out at their mouths, and also through the thick skin above the wind-pipe. After a short time he pulled the needles out, wetting the wound with his spittle, and so contriving the extraction that no orifice was visible, although it appeared that a hole had been made, and the performer brought the men close to our box, as if to convince us that there was no delusion in the operation. The feat was repeated, and a black curly-headed fellow, who they said was an Egyptian, on the needle being drawn out, appeared to faint, and falling down, lay for some time on the ground, until the superior puffed into his mouth, when he jumped up, screaming out *Yollàh!* in a convulsed but ridiculous tone, and recovered instantly. The boring was practised on several in the room, and the jogging and singing were continued by the crowd below. The Superior, having first drawn several rusty swords and returned them to their sheaths, now took an attaghan, and breathing upon it, gave it to a black Arab, who stripped to his waist, and, after crying several times on the name of God, applied it to the narrow part of his abdomen as tightly as possible, sawing it with the utmost violence upon his belly, but without leaving any marks, except a few bloody scratches: whilst he performed this frightful feat, he called out to us, *bono? bono?* as much as to ask if it was well done.

Another swarthy Arab then took the attaghan, which by the way was handed to us, and was as sharp as a razor, and lying on the ground, placed it with its edge downwards across his body, and suffered the Superior to stand with his whole weight upon the back of the knife. The same man then took two sharp iron spikes, headed with wooden globes, and a tassel of iron

chains, and knobs, which were all breathed upon and blessed, and drove them repeatedly into each of his flanks, so as to make the pair nearly meet in his body. During this trial he seemed in a fury, calling loudly on God and Mahomet, and with a kind of enthusiastic coquetry, would scarcely suffer the spikes to be forced from his hands.

A brazier of burning charcoal was then brought in, and six or seven men, chosen promiscuously as it appeared from the crowd, were presented by the Superior with red hot irons, breathed upon and blessed like the other instruments, which, after licking them with their tongues, they put between their teeth. One fellow near us made many wry faces, and pulled the irons from his mouth; but the others, although they were in evident pain, and the water streamed from their lips, seemed as if they were loth to part with them, and, either from pretence or some actual convulsion, were with difficulty forced to open their jaws. One of the Arabs then swallowed several pieces of burning charcoal, after they had been blessed; and this, as well as holding the hot irons, whatever preparation may have been actually used, was performed without any visible trick or slight of hand. The charcoal and irons were certainly both at a red heat.

Whilst this business was transacting in the upper part of the room, several tambourines were handed down, and played upon by persons of the crowd, who seemed highly delighted with the scene; and during the whole ceremony, those below continued screaming and jumping, and shouldering each other in a mass, and at last huddled themselves together into a ring, leaping round and round, and squeezing those in the middle into a jelly, until the whole party was utterly exhausted, and the performance closed, having lasted for three hours.

We retired after paying for our seats, but were followed by the two Arabs; one of whom spoke a few words of English, and asked us for an additional present, on account of some unusual exertions with which we had that day been favoured. He told us he had played before the English at Alexandria.

The part performed by the two Arabs, and by the dwarf first mentioned, was clearly a juggle; and, notwithstanding the religious preparations, it appeared that no one regarded it, or wished us to think it supernatural; but I confess myself at a loss to account for the voluntary sufferings of the others, all of whom were common fellows taken from the spectators. It is to be remarked, that the Superior himself did not seem to be one of the order, but only to be chosen for the occasion as director of the magical rites; and that the Dervishes took very little share in any of the laborious part of the ceremony.

The women, and the very lowest of the vulgar, may be frightened into some religious feelings by these horrid and absurd mummeries, accompanied as they are with frequent prayers and religious rites, and a constant invocation of the Deity. The existence of the jumping sect of our own island, renders unreasonable all scepticism as to the follies of enthusiasts; but it did not appear that either the spectators or performers were under any delusion as to the motive or effect of this species of devotion. Having given the relation of the facts just as they happened, from a note taken on the spot, I shall leave every one to form his own conclusion on this extraordinary scene.

The Cadrhi were abolished by Kioprili Mustapha Pasha, but revived after the death of that Vizier.

LETTER XLVIII.

Excursion to Constantinople—The Wall on the Land Side of the City—The Miracle of Baloucli—The Seven Towers—The Coffee-Houses near Yeni-Kapoussi—The Meddahs, or Tale-Tellers—Teriakis, or Opium Eaters—Koum-Kapoussi—Kebab—Balik-Hane—Execution of Viziers—The Kiosks under the Walls—Battery and Boat-Houses of the Seraglio.

WE had not been many days at Pera before we crossed the water to visit the capital. A party of us went in a boat from the Salsette, and in one of the *peramidias*, or small wherries, which ply upon the canal, and which amounted in 1777 to five thousand seven hundred, including the private pleasure-boats. The number of fishing-boats at the time of the Latin invasion was one thousand six hundred*. The resemblances of the *kirlangishes* or swallows, as they are called, to the shape of the ancient boats, has been often observed, and is so exact, that they might be thought the originals of those which are often seen on the Etruscan vases conveying the shades of the departed across the Styx.

We landed after rowing up the harbour, near the spot where

* *Decline and Fall*, cap. lx. p. 149, note, and 152, 4to.

the walls begin to cross the peninsula at Askame-Iskelessi, close to the gate of St. Demetrius. We walked through Ballat, the quarter of the Jews, which seems to have derived its name from Palation, as a large building known to the Turks by the name of Tekkuri-Sarai is recognized for the Hebdomon, a palace of the Cæsars standing in this region of the metropolis. We then arrived at a range of sheds, where there were many gilded arabats for hire, and some attached stables, from which, after waiting some time near a large burying-ground, we procured horses, and rode under the walls across the peninsula as far as the Seven Towers.

The appearance of these walls (the work of the second Theodosius) is more venerable than that of any other Byzantine antiquity: their triple ranges rising one above the other, in most places nearly entire, and still retaining their ancient battlements and towers, are shaded with large trees, which spring from the foss and through the rents of repeated earthquakes. The intervals between the triple walls, which are eighteen feet wide, are in many places choked up with earth and masses of the fallen ramparts; and the foss, of twenty-five feet in breadth, is cultivated and converted into herb gardens and cherry orchards, with here and there a solitary cottage*. Such is the height of the walls, that to those following the road under

* I only reckoned, but it was during a cursory view, one hundred and eighteen towers. The Florentine Bondelmontè, whose plan bears the date of 1422, saw one hundred and eighty. The outer ditch is faced with a wall, which makes the third rampart, and only the two other walls are defended by towers. Every late author, except Dr. Dallaway, appears to have overlooked the third range; but Gyllius notices it—"Alter paries effertur aliquanto supra fossam, crebris pinnis distinctus."—De Topog. Const. lib. i. cap. xix.

them on the outside, none of the moscks or other buildings of the capital, except the towers of Tekkuri-Sarai, are visible; and as there are no suburbs, this line of majestic ramparts, defenceless and trembling with age, might impress upon the mind the notion, that the Ottomans had not deigned to inhabit the conquered city, but, carrying away its people into distant captivity, had left it an unresisting prey to the desolations of time.

In crossing the five highways which issue from their respective gates, we met hardly a single passenger; and even two or three little huts, where a glass of water, pipes, and cherries, might be procured, seemed less frequented than the coffee-houses on the roads of Asia Minor.

We passed first by *Egri-Kapoussi* (the Oblique gate), where the triple wall commences, and next by *Edrene-Kapoussi* (the gate of Adrianople), *Top-Kapoussi* (the Cannon-gate, where the victorious Mahomet made his public entry into Constantinople), and afterwards by *Mevlanè Yeni-Kapoussi*. We then crossed over the road leading from *Selivri-Kapoussi* (the gate of Selivria), and riding through a large Armenian burying-ground, arrived at *Balouchi*, which is the site of the church of the Virgin, built by Justinian, and is remarkable for one of the many standing miracles that support the sinking credit of the modern Greek church.

In a little chapel dedicated to Agia Panagia, we were shown, in a recess lighted up with candles, a fountain of cold water, and were desired to remark a fish about the size of a minnow, of which the monks related, that the last Constantine taking a repast at the side of this spring with a priest, and being told that the Turks had made a breach in the walls, said, that it was no more possible than that the fish on his plate should ever again swim in the

water; when, upon his saying the word, it jumped from the dish into the fountain, and the city was taken! Our informant would not exactly say that what we saw was the identical animal, but averred, that it was more than a hundred years old, had never been smaller nor bigger than it appeared in its then state, and was of the same species as that which leaped from the Emperor's plate: in proof of this latter assertion, he begged us to observe the glitter of his scales, transmitted from his fried forefathers. Our Greek attendants crossed themselves, and took a draught of the water, which, as well as many other holy springs in the neighbourhood of the capital (*Αιασματα*), is thought a specific in various disorders*.

Returning from Baloucli, we entered the city at the gate of the Seven Towers, which we attempted to visit, but were stopped at the entrance, and informed, that without a firman it was inaccessible to strangers. The world has been favoured with a detailed description of this redoubtable prison, by the unjust detention of the traveller frequently referred to in the course of these Letters, who has also amused himself, like his countryman De Retz, with sketching some biographical notices of his jailors*.

The defences of this imperial castle do not entitle it to any

* The difference between the above relation and the story as it is told in Pouqueville's third volume, shows that the Greek fathers reserve to themselves the privilege of varying the circumstances of the miracle. The Emperor, in his time, was a servant, and the existing fish the actual performer in the prodigy.—*Voyage a Constantinople*, p. 93.

† *Celui qui commandait le chateau pendant ma captivité appelé Abdulhamid était un veillard vénérable, d'origine Tartare, qui avait faits ses premières années dans le sérail en qualité de muezzin ou de sacristan. A l'âge de*

respect as a fortress, and if the Ottoman armies lost, as is said, twelve thousand men in forcing this portion of the Byzantine ramparts, (the ancient Cyclobion), they must have met with a much more serious resistance than the Aga Abdulhamid, and his garrison of sixty-five men prepared against the crews of two Lazic vessels, who stormed the place in 1795, and carried off a captive fellow countryman. We walked through a little door into the first court, and saw a crowd of boys at play, who were, as they told us, pupils of the Imaum or chaplain of the fortress, but being allowed no further ingress, we saw neither the golden gate of Theodosius, nor the chamber in which Osman was strangled, nor any of the other objects of curiosity to be found within the circuit of the castle.

Not more than two of the seven inscriptions given by Banduri*, Wheler, and Tournefort†, were seen by Pouqueville; but a more observant antiquarian would perhaps have discovered the remaining

soixante ans n'ayant plus de voix pour chanter sur un minaret, ou a la porte d'une mosquée, on l'avait créé commandant de place. Brave homme, au reste, plein de vertus," &c.

"Cet aga avait sous ses ordres un kinja ou lieutenant, une garnison composée de cinquante quatre disdarlis, divisés en dix sections, commandées par autant de belouk-bashis ou caporaux. Sans rappeler les noms de ces illustres personnages, je dirai que le lieutenant du chateau était dessinateur dans une manufacture de toiles peintes; et que, parmi les caporaux, on comptait l'inum ou curé des Sept Tours; un batelier, un marchand de pipes, et plusieurs personnages de la même importance."—Voyage a Constantinople, pp. 67, 68.

* Insc. Constant. Antiq. CP. lib. vii. pp. 182, 183, tom. i.

† A Voyage, book ii. p. 129. Voyage du Levant, pp. 466, 467; tom. i. lett. xii.

marbles. Although four only of the Seven Towers have remained entire (for the fifth is rent in half) since the earthquake in 1768, the fortress still retains the names of *Efta-Coulades* in the Greek, and *Yedi-Kouleler* in the Turkish language, both of them significant of the former number of its conspicuous bulwarks*.

It was supposed that Count Bulukof, the Russian minister, would be the last of the *Moussafirs*, or imperial hostages confined in this fortress; but since the year 1784, Mons. Ruffin and many of the French were imprisoned in the same place; and the dungeons of the Seven Towers were gaping, it seems, for the sacred persons of the gentlemen composing his Britannic Majesty's mission previous to the late rupture between Great Britain and the Porte.

Not finding our boats as we expected at the water's-edge, we rode onwards for some way near the walls, and through several narrow mean streets, in which there were but few people stirring, until we came to a large manufactory of printed cottons. This we visited, and saw that the whole labour was performed by the hand. On our route we passed Imrhor Dgiamissi, a mosck, once the church of St. John Studius, where there are still some pictures preserved; and skirting the outlet of the gate Psanmatia, near which are two decent

* Dion mentions, that there were from the Thracian gate to the sea, seven towers, and Cedrenus alledges this sea to be the sea to the north, that is, the port. A person directing his voice, or throwing a stone against the first of these towers, heard the sound repeated afterwards by all the other six; a miracle, says Pliny, which the Greeks call *echo*, and which was produced also by seven towers at Cyzicum. This is from Gyllins; (lib. i. cap. xx. de Topog. Const.) but I do not make out from it, that the fortress at the other end of the walls on the shores of the sea of Marmora, had its name of the Seven Towers from an echo, as is asserted in Constantinople Ancient and Modern, p. 19.

Greek churches, and of Vlanga-Boscan (the gate of Theodosius), came to Yeni-Kapoussi (the new gate), near the new quarter of the Armenians, who have a handsome church, built in the reign of the last Selim.

A comparison of Kaulffer's Map with Banduri's Chart of Constantinople, divided into regions, such as it existed at the time of the Greek Emperors, with every remarkable object distinctly noticed, renders it superfluous for any traveller at this day to dwell upon the comparative topography of the ancient and modern city. By far the greater part of the antiquities which were seen by Gyllius have disappeared; but the regular division of the ground-plan of the city, enables us to discover their respective sites, and it is most probable that an attentive scrutiny would discover many ancient monuments enclosed within the palaces and gardens of the incursions Turks. The mechanical labours of the engineer above-mentioned, deserve a better and more copious illustration than the work of Mr. Le Chevalier, which, although incomparably the best on the subject, might easily be surpassed by any person able to consult the requisite authorities on the spot; an advantage possessed by no passing traveller. But to treat of these things properly, would require a distinct volume, which is my present intention, if circumstances should ever favour me with the requisite information and opportunity, one day or the other to attempt

“ Me si fata meo intererentur vivere vitam

“ Auspiciis.”———

From the Armenian quarter, and the cotton manufactory, we walked a little distance, and passing through Yeni-Kapoussi, came to a long range of coffee-houses by the sea-side. These

were of the better sort, open on one quarter, with a fountain playing in the middle of a range of marble seats, and recesses furnished with pillows, stuffed carpets and mats, which in some of them, were spread also upon marble slabs on the outside of the houses. In one, several well-dressed Turks were sitting with their pipes, listening to the pretty airs of a guitar and violin, whilst the recesses were occupied by others asleep. Some of these, with their turbans off, and their heads wrapped in a sash, were rolled in the carpets, and sunk on the cushions in the apparatus and oblivion of a night slumber; and neither these nor such as were stretched upon the slabs on the outside, who would have had a thousand practical waggeries played off upon them in any other city, were disturbed or even noticed by the company. None of the guests, indeed, seemed entirely awake, but inhaling the odours of their perfumed herbs, silent, scdate, and lost in the delicious bliss of total inactivity and listlessness, were lulled into the soft approaches of repose by the tinkling music, the unceasing fall of the fountain, and the regular rippings of the water on the sandy shore.

The *Meddahs*, or reciters of stories, who frequent these coffee-houses, as well as some others near Tekkuri-Sarai, can scarcely extort from their indolent audience the labour of a smile, and, by fixing the attention upon one monotonous narration, rather augment than interrupt the universal torpor. The stories of the *Meddahs* are partly dramatic, and partly descriptive, turning upon a suite of uninteresting adventures, mostly in private life, which are detailed with painful minuteness, and often invented extemporaneously during the progress of the history. It must be supposed, however, that the same oriental taste which has produced the *Alf Lila O Lila*, or *Thousand and One Nights*,

would secure now and then a tale not totally uninteresting. In fact, the Turks are an acute people, and some of the better sort are authors of elegant compositions, which their fear of being suspected for ambitious innovators, prevents them from making public. The oriental courts were formerly crowded with poets. Mirza Khan promised one thousand pieces of gold to any one who should find a fault in the works of any of his numerous bards. Mahomet the Second said, “were I to imitate Mirza Khan, I should exhaust my treasury.” However, an eastern author of reputation asserts, that there were some good Turkish poets in the time of that Sultan*. A modern Grand Signior would neither have the ability, nor the opportunity of making such an observation. The Grand Vizier Kioprii Mustapha Pasha, who was killed at the battle of Salankamen, always carried a little library amongst his baggage, and when out of employ at Constantinople, gave lectures every day to sixty scholars, for whom he furnished lodging and boarding. But learning is not now a recommendation to favour, although it is not totally neglected. A dying Sultan would not now, like Othman†, recommend to his successor the patronage of the learned as one of the bulwarks of the state. The author of Constantinople Ancient and Modern asserts‡, that many of the gentlemen of the capital can quote the Persian poets as happily, and refer to the Arabic philosophers with as complete erudition, as we can do

* LETIFI.—See *Paroles Remarquables des Orientaux*. Caland.

† See the last words of Othman to his son Orchan, as reported by the historian Sâadi.—*Cantemir, Ottoman Hist. Part I. book i. p. 20*, Tindal’s translation.

‡ Page 86.

to the Greek and Roman. Of this I know nothing, but I know that the minister who was *Reis Effendi*, or Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; when we were at Pera; was with difficulty persuaded that Spain and Italy were not one and the same country, or at least parts of the same kingdom.

The works of the present writers are, as I understand, chiefly historical, but some are interspersed with narratives, which show a turn for point and antithesis, although their humour may be judged to be not very exquisite from the following specimen. Two blind beggars, one of whom always called on the name of God, and the other on that of the Sultan, had, one day, a pleasant dispute concerning which was the most efficacious mode of address. This came to the ears of the Grand Signior, who ordered the man that put up petitions in his name, to be given a duck stuffed with sequins. The beggar put it in his wallet, and meeting with his friend at night, asked him what he had got that day by calling on the name of God. "*I have got eight paras,*" said the other. "*Then you are more lucky than I,*" returned his friend, "*for I have only a duck which was given me at the Seraglio gate, and which, as I am in no humour for fowl to-night, you shall have for five of your paras.*" The agreement was struck, and the beggar soon eating his way to the money, the other repented of his bargain. "*Ah!*" he said, "*the Sultan has done less for me than God has done for you: he gave me a duck, but never told me it was stuffed with sequins.*" It is fortunate for the audience of the Meddahs if they hear any thing enlivened even with this sprinkling of pleasantry.

Amongst the frequenters of the coffee-houses near Yeni-Kapoussi, may be seen some of those Teriakis, or opium-eaters, who

are always noticed amongst the curiosities of the Turkish capital. Pale, emaciated, and ricketty, sunk into a profound stupor, or agitated by the grimaces of delirium, their persons are, after the first view, easily to be recognized, and make, indeed, an impression too deep to be speedily erased. Their chief resort is a row of coffee-houses in a shady court, near the mosck of Sultan Solyman, which I visited, but certainly did not see so frequented by these singular debauchees, as I had been led to expect. The increasing attachment to wine, has diminished the consumption of opium; but there are still to be found Teriakis, who will swallow in a glass of water three or four lozenges, amounting to one hundred grains. They are mixed with spices, and stamped with the words *mash Allah* (the *work of God*). Yet the exploits of these persons are insignificant when compared with that of the taker of a daily drachm of corrosive sublimate, who was alive in 1800, and nearly a hundred years old; but was, like Partridge the almanack-maker, almost reasoned out of existence by a verbal criticism, which has since turned out to be incorrect*.

From the coffee-houses we walked on to a tabagie near Koum-Kapoussi, the next gate, where we dined upon kebab. This dish, which any palate would reckon a delicacy, consists of mutton chopped in small bits, either with or without herbs, larded

* Dr. Pouqueville mentioned the fact, and said the man was known by the name of Suleyman Yeyen, or Suleyman the taker of corrosive sublimate.—Voyage a Constantinople, p. 126. Mr. Thornton thought the story false from beginning to end,—Present State, &c. p. 229, because “*yeyen*” is from, “*ye-mek*,” to eat, and the name can be only Solyman the eater; but, says my fellow-traveller, Suleyma n-yeyen, put together discreetly, mean the swallower of sublimate, without any Suleyman in the case; *Suleyma* signifying corrosive sublimate.—Childe Harold, pp. 178, 179, second edit.

with milk and butter, and fried upon a wooden skewer ; an operation which is performed over a small brazier on a marble dresser in the front of the shop. The room is fitted up with small boxes in our own fashion, and there is generally one chamber to which a small party may retire. The kebabgees, or cooks, who are in the most repute, live near Eski-Sarai, the *old palace*, assigned to the establishments of deceased Sultans ; and as all of them are Turks, only sherbets are served up with their meats ; but in our tavern there was no want of wine ; and at a table near us, covered with a dessert of fruit and cakes, sat a knot of young Turks, the bucks of the quarter, pushing about the bottle with a noisy emulation which did not confine itself to their own party, but brought them staggering to our side of the room with tumblers of wine, pledging repeatedly our healths, and looking at us for approbation, as acknowledged masters of the art. Their debauch ended in loud fits of screaming and shouting, and other resemblances of the senseless merriment of an English hunting-club.

We found our boat near Koum-Kapoussi, and embarking, rowed under the walls. We passed Ahour-Kapoussi, the gate near the Grand Signior's stables, where the walls of the Seraglio commence, and Balik-Hane (the fisher's house), a small green kiosk projecting from the walls of the Seraglio, to which it has been usual to send the deposed Viziers through a garden-gate close behind, to await their sentence. The execution is performed in a little chamber running out by itself, and forming, as it were, an upper wing of the kiosk. A removal to Balik-Hane has generally been the forerunner of death ; but a more fortunate minister has sometimes been led, not to the fatal chamber, but down to the shore, where a boat has been waiting to convey him to the place

of banishment. Balik-Hane is not the only spot chosen for the punishment of the Sultan's enemies: a dark chamber at the gate of the second court of the Seraglio, called *Mabein*, where the Viziers' heads are always exposed, is allotted to the same purpose, and is the permanent station of the royal executioners.

In situations where a minister is said in England to lose his place, and, under the old French regime, was called a disgraced man, a Turkish Vizier not unfrequently loses his head, and when only banished, is deprived of nearly the whole of his wealth. Reckoning on an average, deduced from a hundred and fifteen Grand Viziers who successively governed the Ottoman empire, to the time of the siege of Vienna, the place of the prime minister of the Porte may be esteemed worth three years and a half purchase*.

The instability of every powerful individual in Turkey, may be judged by the events of fifteen months, from the year 1622, during which time there were three Emperors, seven Grand Viziers, two Capudan-Pashas, five Agas of the Janissaries, three Tefterdars or High Treasurers, and six Pashas of Cairo†. The power of the Vizier Azem continued unrivalled until the reign of Mahomet the Fifth, when it was decreased by the influence of the Kiskar-Aga, or Chief of the Black Eunuchs, and has since that period been occasionally shared with the Aga of the Janissaries, the Capudan-Pasha, and others of the great officers of state. Abdallah Pasha, Vizier Azem under Sultan Abdulhamid, was not only raised to the vizierat by the Selictar-Aga, but deposed and strangled in the prison of Ronmeli-Kavak by the intrigues of the

* Marsigli, *Stato Militare*, &c. &c. p. 13. *Decline and Fall*, cap. lxxv note 89, p. 375, 4to.

† Knolles' *Hist. Turks*, p. 1387.

same minister. Nevertheless, the ostensible authority of this Pretorian Prefect is still absolute over every subject of the empire; and, as far as his responsibility is concerned, the burden which he has to bear* is not less grievous than that of his predecessors.

After Balik-Hane, we passed by Indogouli-Kiosch, Mermer-Kiosch, and Yali-Kiosch—the Pearl and Marble Pavilions, and the Kiosk of the Landing-place. From near the second there is a view of the summit of the Corinthian pillar of white marble, fifty feet high, in the gardens of the Seraglio, with the inscription

FORTUNÆ REDUCI OB DEVICTOS GOTHIOS.

This has been erroneously supposed the column of Theodora. Pococke mentions that it was taken from some other part of the town to the Seraglio gardens†. It is surmounted by a handsome capital of verd-antique. The latter kiosk, which is covered on the outside by a screen of green canvass or cloth, contains a long chair or sofa of silver; and on this the Grand Signior seats himself to take public leave of the Vizier Azem or Capudan-Pasha, previously to any warlike expedition, and also on certain occasions of rejoicing, when tents are pitched for the grandees of his court and for the foreign ministers, and games and fireworks are exhibited in the open space between the pavilion and the sea.

Between the kiosks we landed, and walking along the shore, passed a range of monstrous cannons laid up under a line of sheds. Over the gate of the Seraglio near this spot, are some large fish-bones suspended by chains, which the 'Turks say are those of a

* Vizier is from a Persian word, signifying a porter; as Bailo, the title of a Venetian ambassador; and Baillif, a French and English municipal officer, are derived from *bajulus*.—See *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Vazir.

† Observations on Thrace, p. 132.

giant. A similar story was formerly told of some immense bones in the royal palace of Ben-Hadad at Damascus*.

Close to Yali-Kiosk we saw the boat-houses containing the barges of the Seraglio, and that of the Grand Signior, burnished in every part with gold, and provided with a covered recess of lattice-work at the stern for the retirement of the Emperor. The barge is rowed with six-and-twenty oars, and the helm is held by the Bostandje-Bashe, except during a conflagration, when the place of that officer, in the event of the Sultan crossing the water, is occupied by the Hassekis-Aga, the Chief of the Second Guard. From this place we passed over to Tophana, having in boats, on horseback, and by walking, made the circuit of Constantinople; an expedition which, including stoppages, employed us from nine in the morning to half after four in the afternoon.

* Je vis la côte d'un Geant suspendue dans le même palais, long de neuf paumes, et large de deux. On pretend que c'est celle d'un Roi de l'ancienne Race des Geants, nommé Abchamas.—Voyage de Benjamin, Fils de Jonas, p. 28. Voyage fait principalement en Asie, tom. i.

LETTER XLIX.

The Atmeidan—Antiquities of the Hippodrome—Theodosian Obelisk—The Colossus Structilis—The Delphic Serpentine Column—The Burnt Pillar—Note on the Historical Column—Three other Columns—The Ancient Cisterns—The Aqueduct of Valens—The Fountains and Baths—The Hans—Encouragement of Commerce in the East—Bezesteins and Bazars of Constantinople.

IN our several walks to Constantinople, we saw the antiquities of the Atmeidan, the cisterns, and the aqueducts; and we visited the hans, the bezesteins, and the bazars.

It would be very difficult to recognize the ancient Hippodrome, even such as it existed a little previously to the last conquest of Constantinople, in the present Atmeidan, or Horse-course. Onuphrius Panvinius remarked the change which had taken place in its appearance during the hundred years preceding the description of Gyllius; and the devastations of time and barbarism have been proceeding with an equally rapid pace since the age of that learned traveller*. It is now no longer a circus, but

* *Ejus Circi descriptionem ex antiqua Constantinopolis topographia, quæ paulo antequam Urbs in Turcorum potestatem venisset facta fuit, excerptam, adjecei, parum his quæ a Petro Gyllio dicuntur quadrantem. Fieri enim potest ut centum annorum intervallo, Circi sive Hippodromi Constantinopolitani aspectus mutatus sit; Turcis cum in dies demolientibus, et vastantibus,*

an oblong open space, two hundred and fifty paces long and one hundred and fifty wide*, flanked on one side by the magnificent mosck of Sultan Achmet, and on the other by the dead wall of a hospital, under which there is a line of low buildings and sheds, or stands for arabats. The granite obelisk of Theodosius, the broken pyramid of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, stripped of its bronze plates, and the base of the Delphic pillar, were all that remained, even in the time of Sandys†, of the many noble monuments with which this spot was formerly adorned; and were it not for these antiquities, which are yet to be seen, it is probable that the site of the Hippodrome would be covered with houses, and become in a short time the object of controversy. The djerid playing is less frequent there now than formerly: the surface of the ground is uneven, and of a hard gravelly soil. Part of the base of the Theodosian obelisk is hidden in the ground, so that the fourth and fifth line of the inscription, which record the name of the Pretor during whose year it was raised in the reign of Theodosius the Elder, and the time employed in its erection, are no longer visible‡. This appears to have been the case so early as the beginning of the last century§.

ac ad suos usus preclarissima marmora, et columnas vertentibus."—De Ludis Circensibus, lib. i. p. 61. Bandurii Comment. in Antiq. CP. lib. iii. p. 664, tom. ii. The view leaves out the Delphic column, and in some respects seems made from conjecture.

* Wheler makes the length five hundred and fifty and the breadth one hundred and twenty paces.—A Voyage, &c. book ii. p. 183.

† Relation of a Journey, &c. lib. i. p. 34.

‡ TER DENIS SIC VICTUS EGO DOMITUS QUE DIEBUS.

JUDICE SUB PROCLO SUPERAS ELATUS AD AURAS.

Inscript. Const. Band. Imper. Orient. lib. vi. p. 189

§ Lady M. W. Montague's Letters, xli.

Supposing that this obelisk was one of the original ornaments bestowed upon Byzantium by Constantine, and that being shaken down by an earthquake, it was only transferred by Theodosius to the Hippodrome, it may appear surprising that a single mass of fifty feet long, although of the hardest granite, should not have been broken by the fall; yet the first line of the Greek inscription on the north side of the base, given by Sandys and Wheler, seems to show that it had lain some time on the ground, and was not transported directly from Rome or Egypt by that Emperor*.

It is observed by Gyllius, that there is no mention of an obelisk in the Hippodrome in the ancient description of the regions of the city, although a square pillar of Egyptian stone is noticed in the fifth region, which he might have been inclined to think was this identical monument, removed after its fall by Theodosius, if he had not discovered that the same work had made some omissions in the detail of the many antiquities of the capital, and that it was written after the date inscribed upon the granite†. By the sculptures on the pedestal, representing the Hippodrome, it appears indeed that there were two obelisks in this place.

The marble pyramid, called by the old topographers the Colossus Structilis, raised by Constantine the son of Romanus, had been stripped of its brazen plates before it was seen by Gyllius‡; and Sandys describes it as *greatly ruined*. The last measurement makes it ninety-four feet in height§. Gyllius, upon the occasion of a grand festival, saw a man ascend to the top of it

* ΚΙΟΝΑ ΤΕΤΡΑΠΑΙΕΤΡΟΝ ΑΕΙ ΧΘΟΝΙ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ ΑΧΘΟΣ
ΜΟΤΝΟΣ ΑΝΑΣΤΗΣΑΙ ΘΕΥΔΟΣΙΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.

† De Topog. Constant. lib. ii. cap. xi.

‡ De Topog. Constant. lib. ii. cap. xii.

§ Const. Anc. and Mod. p. 69.

and descend without injury, when it was higher than the obelisk. Another person, who made the same effort immediately afterwards, was so giddy when he arrived at the summit, that he leapt from it with a violence sufficient to carry him beyond the base of the pyramid, and although he lighted upon his feet, and sinking deep into the earth, remained upright, was found to be dead.

Le Chevalier is the last traveller, who, following 'Thevenot's pretended voyage, describes the serpents' heads forming the capital of the Delphic column of bronze, as having been struck off by a blow of Mahomet's battle-axe. That such a story should ever have prevailed is extraordinary, since every traveller, from Gyllius to Wheler, who has given a picture of it, describes the column as entire. The reputation of this monument has been various. Gyllius established beyond all doubt its identity with the column supporting the Plateæan tripod at Delphi; Sandys noticed it without any remark; Smyth does not mention it at all; Wheler disputes its actual history, and supposes it to have been placed on the Colossus Structilis. In 1700, as 'Tournefort relates, the heads were gone, one having been struck off by the Sultan Mourat; meaning probably, Amurath the Fourth, who died in 1639, and who could not have performed the exploit any more than Mahomet, as Wheler saw them entire after that period. The French traveller adds, that the others had been broken off, and the pillar thrown down, and afterwards placed in its present situation: he in a great measure restores the monument to its ancient credit. Lady M. W. Montague beheld the heads again in 1717; but they had disappeared when the Hippodrome was seen by Lord Sandwich, who mentioned the story of Mourat, and disputed the antiquity of the column. Pococke notices the ruin of the capital, but without adding the story; and

Chishull avers that the serpents' heads which *lately* terminated the pillar, were taken off privately by the servants of the *late* Polish ambassador. It is difficult to discover the precise period to which he alludes, and I presume that he speaks only of the two heads. Subsequent travellers have revived the story of 'Thevenot; but by way of compensation, the well-known decision of our last great historian has stamped the authenticity of this venerable relic*. It is now generally believed at Constantinople that it has been removed, as Tournefort relates, from its former site; and it is not agreed whether the bottom or the top of the pillar is now inserted in the ground: the upper part does not diminish so much as from the representation of its ancient shape it might be supposed to do near the summit, where the serpents' heads began to branch off. It has before been noticed as being about seven feet above the surface of the ground, hollow, and filled with stones†. The brazen column at Sant. Ambrogio, which is believed to be the serpent of Moses, was brought, if we may credit the Milanese historians, from Constantinople, and may have been some way or the other confounded with this serpentine pillar.

The column which was raised by Constantine, and repaired by Manuel Comnenus, subsequently to the great earthquake in 1150, and which is commonly called the porphyry or burnt column, is near the Atmeidaq. We entered a house to see the base of it, but found that the Turks had built a stone facing round the bot-

* See Gyll. lib. ii. cap. xii. De Topog. Constant.; Band. Comment. in Antiq. CP. tom. ii. p. 668; Sandys, A Relation of a Journey, lib. i. p. 34; A Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages, tom. ii. chap. v.; Wheeler, A Voyage, &c. book ii. p. 185; Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, pp. 511, 512, tom. i.; Lady M. W. Montague, letter xli.; Lord Sandwich, A Voyage round the Mediterranean, p. 128; Pococke, Observations on Thrace, p. 131; Chishull, Travels in Turkey, p. 40.

† P. 253, of this volume.

tom of the monument. This happened after the fire in 1779*. The shaft is black, from repeated conflagrations, and this circumstance, together with the hoops of iron encircling the pillar, has concealed the joints of the blocks, and gives the column the appearance of a single mass. It is now an unsightly structure, ninety feet high, and thirty-three in circumference.

From a mention of this antiquity by Busbek, in the same notice with the famous historical column in Aurat-Bazar, it has been thought by some writers to be one of the two hollow pillars-†

* Const. Anc. and Modern.

† Τὴ δὲ αὐτῇ ἔτι ἕστησεν Ἀρκάδιος τὸν κίονα τῷ Ξηρολόφῃ.—Theophanes. ap. Band. Comment. in Antiq. CP. lib. i. p. 507, tome ii. Both of these were adorned from the base to the capital with figures sculptured in relief, representing the triumph of Theodosius over the Scythians, and other barbarous nations. They were both standing when the city was taken by the Turks, and Mahomet (so foolishly calumniated as an enemy to the arts) employed Gentilis Bellinus, a Venetian, to copy the sculptures, all of which, the designs being deposited in the Royal Academy of Painting at Paris, were carefully engraved under the inspection of Claude François Menestrier, the Jesuit, and afterwards under that of Banduri, in the second volume of whose Imperium Orientale they are found divided into eighteen plates. Ducange also has given an engraving of one of the columns. The column of Theodosius was taken down, it is said, by Bajazet the Second, to build a bath, about forty years before Gyllius visited the city, that is to say, in 1505. That of Arcadius was measured by him: the ascent to the top was by two hundred and thirty-three steps, and the height of the structure was one hundred and forty-seven feet. A plan of it was taken by Busbek, which has never been published, but there is one of the whole column in Sandy's Travels, copied apparently with great minuteness*. It was taken down in the year 1695. Now a doubt has arisen, whether the drawings of Gentilis Bellinus represent the sculptures of the Theodosian, or of the Arcadian column. Banduri, in whose time the latter monument was standing in Aurat-Bazar, could not solve the difficulty, but inclined to the Theodosian. He compared the elevation in Sandys, with the detail of the Venetian, which I have

* Relation of a Journey, lib. i. p. 35.

which were seen in the ancient city. But it is not hollow, and those two columns were those raised by Theodosius the Second,

also done with some pains, as far as any comparison can be made between the two. There is just such a resemblance between the minute confused figures in Sandys, and the plates of Bellinus, (such as a ship, soldiers and men on horse-back), as would be sufficient to decide the question, were it not that the two columns were alike in the subject of their sculptures, and in every other respect*.

Mr. Le Chevalier is decidedly of opinion, that Bellinus copied the Theodosian column†, and founds his notion upon a discovery which he made at Constantinople, that the pedestal still remaining in Aurat Bazar, answers in some of its ornaments to the description of Gyllius; and he might have added, the picture of Sandys, but not to the drawings of the Venetian artist. It will be observed, that in the eighteen plates of Bellinus, no drawing is given of the pedestal, and that the picture of the entire column in Banduri, is from Ducange. The other remark of Mr. Le Chevalier, relative to the quality of the sculpture, apparently too excellent for the fourth century, and superior to that on the fragment in Aurat-Bazar, is not confirmed by the observations of Wheler and Tournefort, both of whom describe the figures on the base, as of a style superior to that of the age in which they were executed, and, what is worthy of remark, similar to those in Ducange's picture, which Banduri suspected to be not a faithful representation. The French traveller, indeed, corresponds so exactly with that picture, that I cannot but think his description taken from it, rather than from an actual view of the monument‡. Mr. Tournefort is not, in fact, always to be depended upon, and in some instances he appears to have written hastily. For example, in translating the inscription on the Colossus Structilis, he calls Constantine Porphyrogenitus the father, instead of the son, of Romanus. I find no assistance from any of the accounts or designs already noticed, but, on the contrary, much confusion; yet on the whole I conclude, that as the Arcadian column was probably in a state of much better preservation than the Theodosian at the taking of Constantinople, it was therefore the model of Gentilis Bellinus, who however did not refrain from improving upon the original, and must be understood to have only copied the sculptures on the shaft.

* Ότι ο Επιλόφος ἔργον ἱστῆν Ἀρκადίης, ὁμοίον κατὰ πάντα τῷ Ταύρῳ, are the words of Cedrenus.

† Voyage de la Propontide, &c. p. 158.

‡ Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, p. 513, tome i. Lett. xii. Wheler, a Journey, &c. book ii. p. 189.

in the forum of Taurus, in the eighth year of his reign, and by Arcadius in the ninth year of his reign, on the place called Xerolophus. Aurat-Bazar being burnt down in the last rebellion, we had not a view of the base of the Arcadian column, which was about fourteen feet high when seen by Dr. Dallaway, but mutilated and entirely defaced. The granite column of Marcian, discovered by Wheeler, now standing near the mosck of Ibrahim Pasha, and called Kistach, that near Yeni-Kapoussi, and the one in the Seraglio-gardens, are the only ancient monuments of this description remaining in Constantinople.

The Turks never having suffered the siege of their capital, have neglected the cisterns of the city. Remains of several of these useful structures are still to be seen, but I believe that only one is applied to its original purpose. The largest cistern is called Binderik, or *the thousand and one pillars*, and has now the appearance of a suite of gloomy underground dungeons. It is occupied by a number of half-naked pallid wretches, employed in twisting silk through all the long corridors by the glare of torches. The roof of this reservoir, apparently that of Philoxenus, was supported by a double tier, consisting altogether of four hundred and twenty-four pillars, of which only the upper half are now cleared from the earth.

Dr. Dallaway, it seems, did not recognize the double set of columns so exactly described by Gyllius*, as he simply mentions that the number of those in Binderik is two hundred and twelve†.

* Cujus concameratio quadringentis et viginti quatuor columnis marmoreis sustinetur duplicatis, nempe ducentis et duodecim supra se ducentas et duodecim columnas habentibus.—De Topog. Const. lib. ii. cap. xxy

† Const. Anc. and Mod. p. 110.

Le Chevalier says, that the Imperial Cistern of Constantine, of which only the site is now visible, is at Yere-batan, which may lead a traveller into an error, as Binderik is called also Yere-batan Sarai, *the under-ground palace*; and so far from having disappeared, is that which he names Cisterna Maxima*, and which has been just described. It is a little distance from the burnt column, in a quarter of the town anciently called Lausus.

The cistern Asparis, constructed by Aspares and Ardaburius in the reign of Leo, who destroyed the founders of it in the reservoir itself†, may be that of eighty columns, near the mosk of Taleli, on the third hill. 'Tschukour-Bostan, now a herb-garden within a high walled inclosure between Tekkuri-Sarai, and Ederne-Kapoussi, is supposed by Le Chevalier to be the eastern called from a neighbouring church, *Mocisia*; but it corresponds more precisely with that which was constructed by Bonus, a Patrician, in the time of the Emperor Heraclius‡, at the back of the Hebdomon (Tekkuri-Sarai), and which had lost its columns and chambers, and was a garden when seen by Gyllius§. The same person mentions another cistern, containing cultivated ground, near the mosk of Sultan Selim, on the back of the fifth hill||. A subterranean corridor of twenty-four columns near the Seven Towers, and some ancient remains between the public bath, 'Tschukour-Hamam, and the mosk called *Seirek-Dgiamissi*, belong also to three other cisterns.

* Voyage de la Propontide, p. 106.

† Anonymi. pars tertia. Antiq. CP. lib. iii. p. 49, ap. Band. Imp. Orient.

‡ Anonymi. ibid.

§ De Topog. Const. lib. iv. cap. iv.

|| Ibid. cap. ii

Bosdoghan-Kemerî, the aqueduct of Valens, before noticed, is in a thinly-inhabited part of the town near At-Bazar, the horse-market, connecting what are called the third and fourth hills. The double row of forty Gothic arches seems to have been rebuilt by Solyman, out of the old materials of intermixed stone and tile, and probably in the ancient form. Although still used to convey water, it is half in ruins, and has the decay, without the grace of antiquity; but these *mighty arches*, these *airial chambers**, the admiration of the Byzantines, have, as an architectural monument, nothing either grand or agreeable.

The style of the numerous fountains at Constantinople is extravagant and fantastic; but the profusion of gilding, the variety of glaring colours, and even the taste of the whole structure, are consonant with the gay dresses of the people, and the gaudy air which spreads itself over every object of the Turkish capital. Two exact representations of them are given in the annexed views of Tophana and the Gate of the Seraglio. In the court of St. Sophia is a fountain, erected by a Persian architect, after the fashion of his own country.

The public baths, of which there are no less than one hundred and thirty within the walls, do not add to the external beauty of the city. Their low flat domes have a poor effect, but they are mostly built of marble, and the interior of them is handsome and spacious, and affords in a degree superior to the baths of the provincial towns, every accommodation requisite for the perfect enjoyment of the first of Oriental luxuries. The best in the city is near

* 'Ο ἀγωγὸς τῶν μεγάλων ἀψίδων, ἦται αἱ εὐραιαὶ καμάραι ἐπὶ Οὐχάλετος ἐκτίσθησαν, ὡς ὁράται.—Anonymi. *ibid.*

the church of the Armenian Patriarch, and not far from the Atmeidan.

The hundred and eighty *Kans* of Constantinople, are so many immense stone barracks or closed squares, which have, like the *bachs*, every recommendation except architectural elegance. The court of Valide-Kan which we visited, and which is reckoned one of the best in Constantinople, is ornamented with a thin grove of trees with two handsome fountains, and the building, besides warehouses and stables on the ground floor, has three stories or galleries, one above the other, with ranges of small chambers, each of which is kept neat and clean by the servants of the *kan*, and fitted up for the time with the carpets and slender wardrobe of the several occupiers. The generality of the *Kans* are for travelling merchants; but the chambers of the one we visited, were let out as counting-houses to some natives whose dwellings were in Galata, Pera, or some distant quarter of the city. These useful edifices are the work of the Ottoman Sultans, and of other munificent individuals, so that strangers, except a small gratuity to the servant at departing is taken into account, are gratuitously lodged, and are, during their residence in the city, masters of their rooms, of which they keep the keys. *They are for all men, of whatever quality, condition, country, or religion soever; and there the poorest have room to lodge in, and the richest have no more*^{*}. The construction of them has contributed to attract the merchants and the merchandize of the farthest boundaries of Africa and Asia to the capital of Turkey.

The commercial intercourse of distant nations seems congenial

* Wheeler, a Journey, book ii. p. 192.

to the spirit of the Mahometan religion, and it has been promoted not only by the chief injunction of that system, the pilgrimage to Mecca, but by various other regulations of useful piety, which facilitate the progress and contribute to the comfort of travellers. Hospitality in the East is still a duty, and the Mussulman esteems the construction of a fountain, or a caravan-sarai in the wilderness, as an act of devotion no less sincere than serviceable. Thus also he cherishes the camel, not only as the favourite of his Prophet, but as *the ship of the desert*.

The Oriental travelling merchant, a character with which we become acquainted in the very outset of history*, is the favourite and the friend of Islamism: for the few days of the annual pilgrimage, the fair of Mecca, until the late disturbances of Arabia, was the greatest perhaps on the face of the earth†. From that centre, a constant and abundant supply of a thousand useful and luxurious commodities diverged in a variety and abundance sufficient for the real or fancied wants of every region of the eastern hemisphere. The communication of the commodities of distant regions by land-carriage has, notwithstanding the progress of navigation, increased instead of diminished in modern times, a curious fact illustrated and explained by the eloquent and learned author to whom I have just referred. The same person will carry sulphur from Persia to China; from China to Greece, porcelain; from Greece to India, gold stuffs; from India to Aleppo, steel; from Aleppo to Yemen, glass; and from Yemen to Persia, painted

* Genesis, xxxvii. 25.

† Robertson's Historical Disquisition concerning India, &c. in. p. 169, edit. quart.

calicoes*. It is by the aid of the caravan that the shawls of Cachemire, the muslins of Bengal, and the diamonds of Golconda, as well as the gold and ivory of Southern Africa, are to be met with in the Bezesteins of Constantinople.

The life of an eastern merchant is spent upon his camel, or in hans, and the institution of these buildings is not only commendable, but absolutely necessary for the existence of trade. During fires or insurrections their iron gates are closed, and they afford complete security to the persons, as well as the goods of the merchants.

Whilst we were at Constantinople, the commercial intercourse of the East being interrupted by the Wahaubees, it was not easy they told us to procure foreign articles of real value in the market. A man asked me four hundred and fifty piasters for a Damascus blade, which a connoisseur informed me was, after all, not the true steel, nor of the proper age; for it is pretended by the Turks, that no swords manufactured within a century, I believe, even at Damascus, are of the requisite quality; and the report that a sabre of the true sort is to be sold, brings as many chapmen as a valuable picture or piece of genuine porcelain in England. Not a few travellers have been deceived in their purchase of shawls and ottar of roses. However, the great Bezestein, or covered exchange, was hung round with goods of the utmost brilliancy and apparent richness, and the immense crowd of men and women in splendid habits, together with the active busy air of the merchants, would not suffer one to suspect there was any unusual dullness of trade. We did not see any of those brokers selling old clothes, who frightened Wheler out of this place, but only a crier or two

* *Paroles Remarquables des Orientaux.* Galand.

squeezing through the crowd, and proclaiming the price of a muslin or other article which he held in his hand.

The covered Bazars of Constantinople have more the appearance of a row of booths in a fair, than a street of shops. Yet the arrangement and exposure of their various and gaudy articles, would astonish a person acquainted even with the splendour of London: one alley glitters on each side of you for an hundred yards with yellow morocco; you turn into another fringed with Indian shawls, or cast your eye down a long vista lined with muslin draperies, or robes of ermines and fur. The crowd in the Bazars, consisting chiefly of ladies, renders it difficult to pass through them, especially as more ceremony is required than amongst the well-dressed mob of an opera-house: and such is the extent and intricacy of these covered ways, that it would be a tiresome task to roam through the half of them in one morning.

Not only these Bazars, but those which more resemble open streets, are severally allotted to particular trades and merchandize, after the manner of Athens, Rome, and of this city when under the dominion of the Greeks. The shops of jewellers, and engravers of precious stones, occupy one quarter; those of the goldsmiths another. The curriers and leather-workers, as well as horse-dealers, all live at At-Bazar. Misir-Tscharchi is a long line of drug repositories. All the Mocca coffee is ground by hand in Tahuis-Bazar. The ancient Charto-Pratia of the eastern capital may be recognized in Tusuk-Bazar, which is tenanted by the sellers of paper, and the copiers of manuscripts.

The artists are all Turks; we saw them at their labours; some were copying, others illuminating books, and many of them were employed in giving the gloss which is found on all their writing

paper, and which they effect by placing the sheets in box frames, and perseveringly rubbing the surface with a Chalcedonic amethyst, or piece of jasper let into the end of a short stick—a contrivance which is applied by our own artizans for polishing other substances. Those acquainted with oriental literature would naturally resort to the shops of Tusuk-Bazar, and, as I understand, would meet with most of the books in any repute in the East; but as curiosity without skill would be of no avail, I did not myself make any researches in this quarter.

LETTER I.

The Dgiamissi Selatyn, or Royal Moscks—St. Sophia—The Mosck of Sultan Achmet—Little St. Sophia—Nourri Osmànîè—The Tomb of Constantine—and Prediction of the Fall of the Otoman Empire—Suleymanîè—Other Moscks and Public Buildings.

ST. SOPHIA may be seen without a firman; a few shillings procure admittance, but the other moscks cannot be visited without such permission. The case seems to have been exactly the reverse in the time of Lady M. W. Montague*. It is usual to grant a firman for this purpose to strangers, upon the arrival or departure of an Ambassador, and other occasions are sometimes found by the foreign ministers, in order to gratify their friends.

The Dgiamissi Selatyn, or royal moscks, which are fourteen in number, are, with the addition of a syllable, called simply, in some cases, by the name of the founder. The Suleymanîè, Osmànîè, Muradiè, signify the churches of Solymàn, Osmàn, and Amurath; but in all other instances, the word Dgiamissi is added to the distinctive appellation, as in the case of Daoud Pasha Dgiamissi and Yeni Dgiamissi, the mosck of Daoud Pasha, and

* Letter LXL.

the New Mosck. It is not lawful even for a Sultan to give his name to any other building; and Cantemir remarks, that no town of Turkish origin, except Othmanyick, retains the name of its founder*.

It is required of strangers to pull off their shoes, or to cover them with the yellow papouches or short boots of the country, on entering the moscks, a preliminary of which they have no right to complain, as it is not dispensed with by the Turks themselves. However, if they grudge this respect to Islamism, they may retain their hats when they part with their shoes; for amongst the many customs which run counter to our own, it may be observed, that to uncover the head in company, is esteemed amongst the Turks an indecent familiarity, and want of respect†.

The necessity of an observance of forms in visiting the moscks, was evinced, in a manner very disagreeable to the parties, by a disturbance which is still the subject of conversation at Pera, and which might have been fatal to the supposed offenders. The late

* Ottoman Hist. Part I. book i. p. 37. Tindal's translation.

† The reader will find in a passage of Mr. Thorntou's valuable book, before referred to, a general allusion to the pointed difference between Frank and Oriental manners and customs. I will put down as many instances as I recollect, in which the Turks not only differ from, but are just contrary to ourselves. Some have been mentioned before, but when arrayed together, they will make the contrast more striking. They turn in their toes—they mount on the right side of the horse—they put their guests into a room first and out of it last, serve themselves at table first; take the wall, and walk hastily, in sign of respect—they think beheading disgraceful in comparison with strangling—they cut the hair from the head and leave it on the chin—they invite with the hand, by throwing it backwards not drawing it towards them—their mourning habit is white.

Russian Minister, Mr. De Tamara, and a large company of gentlemen and ladies, were assaulted in the Suleymaniè, first by the students of the mosck, and afterwards by the assembled crowd. Madame de Tamara and two other ladies knocked hastily at the door of a neighbouring house, and were taken into the harem. The gentlemen were some of them much bruised, and with difficulty saved themselves by dispersing through different streets. A body of Janissaries arrived too late to quell the commotion ; but on a complaint from the Russian Minister, several of the students were bastinadoed, and two of the assailants, as is reported, were hanged*.

One story says, that they refused to put on the papouches, walked arm in arm with the ladies, and laughed at the Turks at prayers†. But the first and last of these offences were impracticable when we saw the moscks ; and we heard an account less discreditable to the visitors. The disturbance originated in some involuntary breach of decorum, joined to a little imprudence in the younger part of the strangers.

Between twenty and thirty Englishmen proceeded to take a view of the moscks on the 15th of June, accompanied by Janissaries and other attendants ; but whether from the long demand for constant admiration, or the formality of the visit, or want of taste and curiosity, we were satisfied with seeing St. Sophia,

* Two Russian officers had been shot at Galata just before, and two Greeks hanged, as peace-offerings rather than as culprits. The Turks will not destroy their Mussulman subjects readily, and they appease the complaints of their Christian allies by the same vicarious compensation, as the envoy of the mighty Tottipotimoy received from the American Elders commemorated in Hudibras.

† Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur. Paris, 1809.

the Mosck of Achmet, the Little St. Sophia, the Osmaniè, and the Suleymaniè.

I know of no monument of antiquity which has excited so much curiosity, both amongst the learned and the unlearned, as St. Sophia. For its dimensions and integrity it may be thought incomparably more curious than any other relic of former ages ; but in every other respect it must disappoint any sanguine expectation. Its external appearance is that of a vast building, whose ill-assorted construction requires a proportionate heaviness of mass to preserve it standing and entire. The weighty buttresses, and the attached compartments of the temple, falling, in a succession of pent-houses, from the spring of the arch to within a few feet of the ground, nearly conceal, and totally ruin any effect which might otherwise be produced by the height and expanse of its far-famed dome.

The interior, to which you descend by five steps, seems at first sight magnificently spacious, and not broken with the aisles and choirs, nor deformed by the railings and tombs of modern churches ; but your admiration diminishes as you proceed with your inspection. The beauty of the variegated marble floor is concealed by a covering of mats, and the dome, as well as the body of the building, is spoilt by a thousand little cords depending from the summit within four feet of the pavement, and having at the end of them lamps of coloured glass, large ostrich eggs, artificial horse-tails, vases and globes of chrystal, and other mean ornaments. The columns appear too large for the arches which they support, and the carving of their capitals can scarcely be more painful to the eyes of an architect, than to those of a common observer. Grelot knew not to what order they belonged, or by

what name to describe their style, unless he called it a sort of Gothicised Greek*.

From a change in the arrangement of the sanctuary, the line of the nave does not seem at right angles with the large circular recess, called in former times *Cyclion*, in which the Christian altar was placed; for the marble pulpit of the Imaum, with its attached flight of steps, projects from the left side of it, and the mats, together with a descent of two steps, being so ranged as to give another direction to the cord of the arc, the whole of one wing, and the grand diameter of the base, have an appearance of distortion. The alteration has been caused by the desire of the Mahometans to point the centre of the sanctuary directly towards Mecca, which being formerly due east, is by the above contrivance drawn a little to the southward of that quarter. At this new centre is a niche, with a large chandelier on each side, called the *Mirabe* or *Maharabe*, which is the repository of the Koran. The upper part of the walls is defaced by miserable little squares of red, white, and blue paint. The great eight-winged seraphims are fading fast away. The tesserated mosaic with which the concave above the windows and the dome are encrusted, and specimens of which taken from the cieling of an adjoining oratory are sold to strangers, is not visible to those standing in the body of the mosek. It is composed of very minute squares formed of some vitreous substance gilded and tinged with paint. The upper part of the walls is heavy and dark, and the *heaven-suspended vault* scarcely rises into an arch, but shows,

* *Il est difficile de dire de quel ordre ils sont, si ce n'est qu'on leur veuille donner le nom de Grec Gothisé.*—Grelot, ap. Baud. in *Comment. in Antiq. CP. lib. iii. p. 748.*

indeed, an inward depression from the summit towards the centre of the cupola. With a diameter of one hundred and fifteen feet (fifteen feet more than that of St. Paul's church), it is only eighteen in depth, and not more than one hundred and eighty from the pavement. The closing of the arcades of the upper Gynaikonition, or female gallery, where there is now only a railed ledge large enough to enable the servants of the mosck to walk round and light the lamps, has contributed to the heavy darkness of the dome. Banduri added the plans and pictures of Grelot to the description of this temple by the anonymous author of the Constantinopolitan Antiquities, whose details could not, he thought, be understood without the aid of some such representation*.

To attempt any account of St. Sophia at this time, without a similar advantage, would be a fruitless task, and it is rendered almost unnecessary by those accurate delineations, and other valuable notices on the same subject, contained in the *Imperium Orientale*, and more particularly by the masterly description inserted in the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

When in order to rouse our unwilling admiration we resort to the measurement of areas, cupolas, and columns, and the enumeration of ornaments and other architectural details, we must on the whole have found no *work to wonder at*. Being disappointed by the general effect of St. Sophia, I did not examine whether it contained one hundred and seven columns, or if the length of its base was two hundred and sixty-nine, and the breadth of it two

* Comment. in Antiq. Constant. lib. iv. p. 748. *Imperium Orientale*, p. 748.

hundred and forty-three feet. My general impression was, that the skill of the one hundred architects, and the labour of the ten thousand workmen, the wealth of an empire, and the ingenuity of presiding angels*, had raised a stupendous monument of the heavy mediocrity which distinguished the productions of the sixth century from the perfect specimens of a happier age. The general style of its ornaments showed that it was calculated for nocturnal illuminations. All was gilt and gaudy colouring, and the emperor would have inlaid the pavement with solid gold, if his astrologers had not warned him that the building would be dilapidated by his needy successors†. It must indeed have a brilliant appearance when lighted by its myriads of lamps, and its vault may *glitter like the firmament*; but this is the excellence of a theatre rather than of a temple, and may be found where the skill of the architect and sculptor is required in vain.

The only modern curiosity in the mosck is the two banners suspended above the pulpit of the Imaum, which were carried before Mahomet at the taking of the city. The private gallery of the Sultan in the sanctuary, and the seat of the Mufti, are pointed out to strangers. The opening into the cistern in the body of the area, is the site probably of the holy well, the mouth of which was brought from Samaria‡. The crosses, although

* Καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆ νᾶς κατ' ἑναρ ἔδειξε τῷ βασιλεῖ ὁ ἄγγελος Κυρίου—*and the Angel of the Lord showed to the Emperor, in a dream, a plan of the temple.*—Anonymi. de S. Sophia Antiq. Const. lib. iv. p. 69, ap. Imp. Orient. tom. i. Another Angel, whom Justinian knew to be one by the form of his oath, appeared also in the shape of an eunuch, and took an active part in superintending the building, and providing for the exigencies of the Emperor.

† Ibid. p. 75.

‡ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΦΡΕΑΡ. *ibid.* pp. 67, 75.

great pains have been taken to deface them, are still visible on the brazen gates of the Gynaikonition.

The mosck of Sultan Achmet is of a magnificent exterior. The founder is said to have expended three aspers upon every stone of the edifice, and to have employed his Imperial hands upon the work for one hour every Friday. The court which ranges along one side of the Hippodrome is shaded with trees, and provided with handsome fountains for the ablutions of the Mussulmans. The six minarets (a number with which no other mosck is furnished) are too tall for the building, but their distant appearance is imposing and agreeable. Ascending by a flight of thirteen marble steps into a fine vestibule or ambulatory, paved also with marble, and surrounded with an arched cloister of granite colonnades, you anticipate something more striking than the interior of the building, where a dome, much smaller than that of St. Sophia, is supported by four gigantic ill-proportioned piers, spoilt also by tawdry fresco paintings, and the cords of the lamps and consecrated vases. The windows of stained glass are a rich and suitable ornament to the building. In this mosck is the curtain, or cloth door of the Kibleh, which is renewed annually, the new one being sent with great pomp from the Grand Signior, and the old one brought from Mecca and suspended in the temple of Sultan Achmet for a year.

In the court of this Dgiamissi a number of cats are fed twice every week, according to the bequest, and out of the provision, left by one of the Sultans. Mr. Pope, when he ridiculed the legacy of his Duchess, could not expect that a royal example would be ever adduced to sanction the endowment of cats. But the cat was a favourite of Mahomet, and a story is told of his cutting off the skirt of his robe, that he might not, by rising from

his seat, awaken one of these animals who was sleeping upon it by his side.

Little St. Sophia (Kutchuk Agia Sophia) is a small moscok, which deserves notice from its having been a Christian church dedicated to St. Bacchus and St. Sergius, and built in the reign of Justinian. It is a small round temple, covered with a dome standing on eight pillars, of a mean appearance, and in the interior is remarkable only for two rows of eighteen and sixteen Ionic columns, fourteen of which are of verd-antique, and twenty of white marble suffused with red spots. The capitals of the pillars are ornamented with vine-leaves; for the former of the illustrious saints* has retained the attributes of his namesake in the heathen mythology. The same holy person seems also to have preserved his divinity not only in Greece, but in Italy and Spain, where it is common at this day to swear by Bacchus. A Greek inscription, in letters a foot long†, runs round the whole of the building. It contains a mention of the Imperial founder. Procopius assures us, that the brilliancy of this temple exceeded the splendour of the sun, and that it was loaded with gold and ornaments. He launches out into other expressions of admiration, which confirm the opinion before expressed of the architectural beauties which were in most repute during the reign of Justinian.—Kutchuk Agia Sophia stands near Thatladi-Kapoussi, a gate on the shore of the sea of Marmora, not far from the moscok of Sultan Achmet.

The Osmaniè, called also Nourri-Osmaniè, the light of the Ot-

* *Sane etiam Templum aliud construxit illustribus Dixis, Sergio et Baccho.*—Procop. de *Ædific. Just.* ap. Gyll. de *Topog. Const.* lib. ii. cap. xiv.

† *Et Zoophorus grandibus literis versuum Græcorum sculptus ambientium totius ædis circulum.*—De *Topog. Const.* *ibid.*

tomans, is well worthy attention, as a decisive proof that the taste of the Turks is at least equal to that of the Greeks in the latter periods of their empire. The plan of the Osmaniè, whatever may be its real merit, is, in my eyes, far preferable to that of St. Sophia. A noble dome crowns the whole temple, not spreading its heavy arch in the centre of many diminutive cupolas, but swelling into a light and lofty vault immediately from the walls of the edifice. The plan of it was selected out of many others by Mahomet the Fifth*, and the superintendence of the work entrusted to Greek architects. That Emperor did not live to see it finished, but it was completed in the reign of his brother and successor Osman the Third, in the year 1755. The whole pavement of the mōsck is of white marble: the windows are of painted glass; and where there is any gilt or gaudy colouring, it is disposed with appropriate elegance and splendour. A range of columns of Thebaic granite, twenty-two feet in height, add to the ornament, at the same time that they contribute to the support of the edifice; and the general appearance of the Osmaniè is that of a magnificent saloon, the graces of which the eye at one glance can comprehend, without the labour of a divided and minute inspection.

There are two sarcophagi of porphyry at Constantinople, shown for the tomb of Constantine: one of ten feet long, six feet wide,

* In Constantinople Ancient and Modern (p. 62), it is said to have been planned by Mahomet the Fourth, who died in 1687, and completed by his brother Osman the Third. Mahomet the Fourth lived five years after his deposition, and died in 1688. He had no brother Osman: his immediate successors were Solyman his brother, and Achmet the Second, Mustapha the Second, and Achmet the Third, his sons. Osman the Third succeeded Mahomet the Fifth, his brother, in 1754, and died in 1757. Le Chevalier has copied the mistake.

and eight deep, and of one mass, is close to the mosck of Seirek, or Klisse Dgiamissi (the mosck of the churches), near the At-Bazar; the other, nine feet in length, seven in width, and five in depth, also of one stone, is to the north of the court surrounding the Osmaniè. The covering of each is lost, and the latter serves as a cistern for rain-water. Whence the pretensions of the sarcophagus near the Osmanic originated I know not, but there appears no reason to doubt, that the one near the mosck of Seirek, which I did not see, is that which the citizens of Constantinople, at least three centuries ago looked upon as the tomb of Constantine.

It will be seen from Gyllius, that the site of the church of the Apostles, in which, according to Socrates and Eusebius, the remains of that Emperor were deposited, was at or near the At-Bazar; and we find that, in his time, the mass of hollowed porphyry without a lid, the alledged tomb in question, was near the same spot, *close to the highway leading from St. Sophia to Adrianople gate**. The dimensions of it were ten feet in length, and five and a half in depth. The difference between the latter part of the measurement, and the depth which I have given from the last authority†, may arise from the cavity being alluded to in the one instance, and the whole stone in the other. The claims of the sarcophagus of the Osmaniè, appear then to be totally inadmissible; and it is certain that the tradition, whether true or false, was attached to that near Klisse Dgiamissi. Gyllius was sceptical with respect to the tomb; but the story prevailed at the taking of the city, at which time the operculum of the sarcophagus

* Gyll. de Topog. Const. lib. iv. cap. xi.

† Voyage de la Propontide, tom. 1. p. 119.

seems to have been entire, and to have contained those detached letters, which were filled up and explained by the Patriarch Gennadius, judge of the Imperial court under John Palæologus, and which gave birth to the famous prophecy relative to the expulsion of the Ottomans from Constantinople.

The letters were alledged to have been inscribed upon the tomb by some sage contemporaries of Constantine; but nothing can be more clumsy than the adjustment of Gennadius, or can so completely expose the imposture; for, according to the Patriarch's exposition of the prediction, the letters of the inscription must have been designed to represent Romaïc, and not Hellenic words*. Yet on the faith of this absurd story, not only the Greeks have persuaded themselves of the approaching downfall of the Ottoman empire, but the Turks themselves have looked towards that fatal event, and some of them at times have confirmed their belief by inventing additional predictions.

When Leonart Rauwolf travelled in the East, the Mahometans

* ΤΗΤ ΤΙΤΔ ΗΒΣΑ ΤΙΜΑ ΟΚΑΜΝ ΜΑΘ ΜΑ.

τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς Ἰνδίκτου. ἡ βασιλεία τῶ Ἰσμάελ, ὁ καλούμενος Μωάμεθ. μέλλῃ.

Δ Ν ΤΡΗΩΣ ΓΝ Τ ΠΑ ΟΛΓ Τ. ΕΠΤΑΦ ΚΡΤΣ ΕΣΘ

διὰ τὰ τροπῶση γένος τῶν Παλαιολόγων, τὴν Επτάλοφον κρατήσῃ, ἔσωθεν, &c.

Without quoting any further, it will be seen that the last word of the first line, and the three first words of the second, are according to the modern Greek construction, and that one of the words (τὰ) is purely Romaïc. The whole prophecy may be rendered as follows:—

In the first Indiction, or term, the kingdom of Ismael, which is called Moameth, shall overthrow the race of the Palæologi, shall become master of the seven-hilled city, shall reign therein—shall govern many nations, and shall lay waste many islands as far as the Pontus Euxinus—shall depopulate the banks of the Danube; in the eighth term shall subdue the Peloponnesus;

entertained a notion that the term of triumph (the one thousand years) granted to their religion, was nearly expired, and had a custom on their holidays, of shutting up the gates of their great towns and camps at nine o'clock in the morning, thinking that they were then to be attacked by some general insurrection of the Christians. The good Doctor was himself convinced that *they had not quite eighteen years to come*, they having passed nine hundred and eighty-two years of their term when he lived amongst them in 1573*. The comet which appeared in the reign of Osman the First, was thought prognosticative of the fall of Islamism, which the opinion of Mahomet himself was quoted to certify; for the Prophet

in the ninth term shall carry war into the regions of the north; in the tenth term shall overturn the Dalmatians; and again for a time shall turn upon the Dalmatians, and shall excite great wars, and shall in part overwhelm them. Then the multitudes and tribes of the West collected together, shall make war by sea and by land, and shall overturn Ismael: his posterity shall reign but for a little time: THE YELLOW RACE, together with the first natives, shall overturn all Ismael, shall take the seven-hilled city with its sway. Then they shall raise a civil war, until the fifth hour, and a voice shall exclaim thrice, STAND, STAND FROM YOUR FEAR. HASTEN SPEEDILY, ON THE RIGHT YE SHALL FIND A MAN, NOBLE, WONDERFUL, AND STRONG; HIM TAKE FOR YOUR MASTER, FOR HE IS MY FRIEND; AND TAKING HIM, MY WILL SHALL BE FULFILLED.—See Matthiæ Cigala Cyprii de Sepulchro Constantini Magni Narratio, &c. Band. Antiq. Const. lib. vii. pp. 184, 185.

The prophet, whoever he was, evidently trusted for the accomplishment of his prediction to some events which were to occur not long after the conquest of the city; and his allusion to the Dalmatians, points most probably to the struggles of Scanderbeg, which Gennadius, or any contemporary of Mahomet the Second, may have witnessed.

* Travels into the Eastern Countries, chap. vi. part iii. p. 311. Ray's Collection of Curious Voyages and Travels.

foretold, that ignorance and avarice would be fatal to his religion. In the reign of Mustapha the First the calamity was thought to impend, and was repeatedly in the mouths of the 'Turks* : since that period the prophecy has at times been revived, and in late years a belief in its speedy accomplishment has become very prevalent in Turkey; so that when we were there a copy of the Gennadian inscription was handed about by the Greeks with much mysterious importance, and an air of complete faith.

The sarcophagus of Constantine has detained me on my progress to the Suleymaniè, the most magnificent of all the Imperial moscks, which was built out of the ruins of the church of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon in 1556. It is not so large as St. Sophia, but much lighter and better coloured. The dome is less elliptical than that of the other mosck, and the four columns of Thebaic granite, sixty feet high, and each of a single stone, which contribute to its support, are preferable to the ill-assorted masses collected by the architects of Justinian. The four piers on which the dome is raised, are indeed of an enormous bulk, but they are all of the same size, and correspond with the scale of the whole structure. It is nearly a square, the length being two hundred and sixteen and the breadth two hundred and ten feet. The pavement is of white marble, and on one of the sides of the mosck is a range of latticed bronze doors or easements, inclosing a collection of books attached to the college of the Suleymaniè. The ambulatory, or court of approach, which is paved with marble, is inclosed by a grand cloister of twenty-four columns, each cut from a single mass. The gate of entrance is of a singular taste, of fret-work, like the top of

* Knolles, p. 1387.

an episcopal cathedral chair. The ascent to it is by a flight of at least twenty marble steps. At the back of the mosque is an inclosed court, shaded with trees, which contains the mausoleum of Solyman. This was the most regular and best made of the sepulchral monuments seen by Grelot at Constantinople, and has not been surpassed or equalled by any subsequent structure of the same kind. "It is an octagon, surrounded without by a gallery, the pent of which is supported by fifteen small columns of marble: within it has a little octangular corridor, each of whose corners contains a serpentine column, with the base and capital of white marble; so that in the interior of this sepulchre there are eight arcades, for the support of the dome. In the middle of the mausoleum is the tomb of the Sultan, and that of his son, at the foot of which there is a large wax candle, and several wooden reading-desks, where the books are placed when the softas put up their prayers for the deceased*." Beyond the mausoleum of Solyman is that of Roxalana his wife. A sum is set apart to maintain a certain number of readers, who, at stated times, pray for the soul of the Sultan; and this, as well as the other royal *Turbes*, is visited occasionally by the Grand Signior, who offers up his addresses at the foot of the tomb. The mausoleums are built open at the top, that the rain may fall upon the flowers and herbs which are planted round the grave, but they are guarded from the birds by a net of brass or gilded wire. In some instances the bier is above ground, and the sepulchre is inclosed only by an iron railing: such is the *Turbe* of Sultans Mustapha and Selim. A large co-

* Grelot—De Celebrioribus urbis, CP. monumentis hodiernis, Band. Imp. Orient. p. 1011.

loured turban, covered with ornaments, is fixed at the head of each bier.

The Suleymaniè is placed in a spacious rectangular court, inclosed by low walls, pierced with a row of open casements, which are latticed with iron-work. The Turks do not allow their temples to be encroached upon by the immediate vicinity of meaner edifices.

In the moscks which we visited, we saw several people studying in one recess, boys reading aloud to their Hogia in another; here a man stretched out asleep, and there a party of three or four idlers lounging round the area, or through the long colonnades.

The foundation of a royal mosck comprises also that of a college, a hospital, and an alms-house. The number of students in the Medressé of the Muhamadiè, built by Mahomet the Second, is at least four hundred*. The colleges of the moscks of Solyman, Bajazet, and Selim, maintain an equal number of scholars, whilst the Medressés of Mustapha, Osman, and Achmet, educate five hundred pupils. The establishment of St. Sophia amounts to about one hundred and fifty. The students are under a certain number of *softas and mudderis*, tutors and professors, and are educated either for the secular priesthood, or the honours of the Ulema. Besides the Medressés there are also *Mektebs* or free-schools, for the poor of the quarter, the expence of whose education, as well as the board and lodging of some of them, is defrayed out of the revenues of the mosck. In 1782 there were more than five hundred schools registered in the books of the Stamboul-

* In Const. Anc. and Mod. p. 63, the number is four hundred and eighty; but all these establishments have diminished during the last twenty years. Mr. Le Chevalier, who I suspect copied Dr. Dallaway, and mistook his meaning, gives an immense proportion to all the Medressés.

Effendissi*.— To complete the notice of these truly noble foundations it must be added, that of the thirteen public libraries in Constantinople, nine or ten belong to the *Dgiamissi Selatyn*, and are part of their attached establishment.

The mosck of the Valide Sultan, mother of Mahomet the Fourth, of which there is a drawing and description in the *Itinerary* of Grelot, and that of Bajazet the Second, containing ten columns of verd-antique, four of jasper, and six of Egyptian granite, are usually visited by strangers; but the Muhamediè being reputed of peculiar sanctity, is not shown without a specific order. Its ornamental architecture was taken probably from the ruins of the Church of the Apostles near At-Bazar, in the neighbourhood of which it was built.

When it is recollected that each of the edifices here noticed is adorned, and chiefly composed of rich marbles, and that the domes are covered with lead; and when it is also considered, that there are more than two hundred similar structures, built with materials more or less rich, and all protected by the same costly covering, the Turks will not be accused of neglecting the splendour of their capital. Their admiration of the dome displays itself in all their edifices, not only the moscks and the mesdjidis or

* Const. Anc. and Mod. p. 64. It must be observed, that some writers add the *ssi* to names in which it is left out by others; for instance—Top-capou, or any other gate, is often called Top-capoussi; and Effendi, is made Effendissi. I have added the *ssi* in most instances, but it should be known that it is the Turkish article: thus, *Yenitcheri-Agassi*, is the Aga of the Janissaries; but *Yenitcheri-Aga*, is only Aga of the Janissaries; so that, although in compliance with common usage I have prefixed *the* to the Turkish names, the English article is gratuitously inserted where the additional syllable is retained.

chapels, but the hans, the bezesteins, and the baths are crowned with cupolas ; and as they are known by this distinction from the dwelling-houses, Constantinople appears to the distant spectator to contain as many public as private buildings. I consider the present city to be infinitely superior to the metropolis of the Greek Empire in the reigns of the latter Emperors. The streets are, it is true, narrow, and either ill-paved or not at all ; but, except in Ballat, the Fanal and the Armenian quarter, they are much cleaner than those of Pera, and, unless compared with the neatness and regularity of an English town, are far from deserving those epithets of disgust and contempt which are usually bestowed upon them by travellers. Constantinople, however, is distinguished from every other capital in Europe by having no names to its streets, no lamps, and no post office. Of the two last the Turks do not feel any want : they are all within doors after sun-set, and their epistolary correspondence is not too frequent to be conveniently carried on by the assistance of travelling friends, or other casual conveyances.

LETTER LI.

The Ambassadors' Audience of the Caimacam—The Ottoman Grandees—Audience of the Grand Signior—The Janissaries—The Nizam-Djedid, or New Institution—Short Account of the Three Revolutions which dethroned the late Sultans Selim and Mustapha, and destroyed the Grand Vizier Bairacter—The Conclusion.

ALTHOUGH the forms with which an Ambassador is received at Constantinople have been often minutely detailed, I hope to be pardoned for taking some general notice of the two last audiences of his Britannic Majesty's late Plenipotentiary at the Porte. The first occurred on the twenty-eighth of May, 1810, and his Excellency then took leave of the Caimacam, the representative of the Grand Vizier during his absence from the capital. The whole of the Levant Company, the Officers of the Frigate, with about one hundred sailors and marines, with the interpreters, and a long train of servants, proceeded with the fortieth orta of Janissaries to Tophana. There the Chiaus, or chamberlain, deputed to serve as a master of the ceremonies, embarked with his Excellency, and the whole party crossed the water to Constantinople. On landing, a visit of ceremony was paid to the Chiaus-Bashe in a small apartment near the water's

edge ; after which the procession mounted horses richly caparisoned, provided by the Porte for the occasion, and after a tedious ride in great state for half an hour, arrived at the Little Porte, or new government-house, built by Yussuf Aga, the intendant of the finances to the Valide, mother of Sultan Selim. The original palace of the Porte was burnt down in the last rebellion. As we passed along the streets, the windows were filled with heads, but the Janissaries, another orta of which corps of about two hundred had met us on this side of the water, prevented any impediment to our progress from the assembled multitude. Dismounting in the court-yard of the palace, we all hurried up stairs, an immense crowd of Turks pressing round us on every side without the least ceremony, and paying attention only to the Ambassador ; for the etiquette of the Turkish court recognizes no one but the representative of the king, and as there are no introductions of travellers or other individuals at the Seraglio, those who attend the minister are without distinction taken for his suite or his slaves.

We were pressed forwards through two or three apartments, to the door of the audience-chamber, where the Ambassador was detained a short time, that it might be contrived that he and the Caimacam should enter at the same moment. The Ministers of the Porte were standing in lines on each side of a sofa reserved for his Highness. A door opened to our right as his Excellency entered the room, and the Vice-Vizier appeared : immediately a shouting or short exclamation burst from the whole company, who bowed also their heads to the ground as their master advanced between the rows of state-officers to his seat. As the Vizier and the Ambassador walked up the step to the higher part of the cham-

ber, another loud prayer was recited, and as they took their seats, there was a third and still louder exclamation. I was much struck with this ceremony, and did not recollect at the time, that the custom of offering up a short prayer for prosperity and length of years, obtained amongst the Romans, and was found in the formularies of the Byzantine court. Luitprand relates, that he heard the Emperor Nicephorus saluted with the song or exclamation of *πολλά ἔτη*, “many years;” and it appears that a phrase or word was invented to express this musical compliment*.

The Caimacam being seated on the sofa, not in the common oriental fashion, but with his feet upon the ground, and the Ambassador placed in an arm-chair opposite to him, in virtue of a privilege belonging only to the highest order of Plenipotentiaries, his Excellency proceeded to the business of the day, by repeating a speech, of which, for the convenience of the Dragoman, he held a copy in his hand. Prince Maroozi, standing on the left hand of the Vizier, and officiating as chief Dragoman to the Porte in the place of his brother, interpreted this oration, but in so low a tone, that it was impossible to catch a word of what he said. His address lasted at the least three times as long as that of his Excellency. The Caimacam then made a speech, which he endeavoured to recite by heart, but was obliged frequently to look at his paper, and repeated, as I heard, some words three or four times over, with the boggling and hesitation of a school-boy. He was, it seemed, eighty-four years of age, and in his dotage. This speech was also interpreted in a low tone to his Excellency by the Prince Maroozi in French.

* Τὸ ψάλλειν τὸ πολυχρόνιον—τὸ πολυχρόνιζειν—πολυχρόνισμα, are used by Codinus.—See a Collection of curious Voyages and Travels, tome ii. cap. 5.

Sherbets, sweetmeats, and perfumes, were now served up to the Vizier and the Ambassador, but to no one else. A pelisse of honour, of sables and gold tissue on a white ground, was placed on the Ambassador, and the Prince Maroozi, who almost touched the ground with his head on the receipt of it, was also arrayed in a miserable imitation of the same robe, composed of a stuff like sackcloth. Seven pelisses of cloth and dark fur, ten of ermine, and four or five of a common sort, were distributed and placed on the visitors by the chief Dragoman of the Embassy, who from a paper called over the names of those to whom they were allotted; a ceremony sufficiently tedious and humiliating. After being thus cloathed and fed, the Ambassador rose at the same time with the Caimacam, and the whole party bustled from the audience with as little form as they had entered the room.

The chamber was very small, and quite filled by the croud who pressed round us, treading on our toes with the utmost perseverance and unconcern. No one was seated except the Ambassador and the Caimacam. The various members of the Turkish cabinet were ranged on each side of him; and at his left hand stood the Reis Effendi, whilst the Kiayah-Bey, or Home Secretary of State, was on his right. Each of these Ministers, when addressed by his Highness, answered him with every mark of humility and respect, kissing the hem of his garment.

It is remarked by Montesquieu, that in a despotic government power is deputed and descends entire*. This transmission of absolute authority displays itself in Turkey by the total annihilation of every lower dignity in the presence of superior rank.

* *Dans le gouvernement despotique, le pouvoir passe entier dans les mains de celui à qui on le confie.*—De L'Esprit des Loix, liv. v. chap. xvi.

Command amongst the Turks is sole and individual, and admits no visible contiguity of either similar or second power. The Caimacam would in an instant lose his supremacy before the Vizier Azem, and bend with his companions in slavery to the skirt of his master's robe; whilst that absolute prince is himself shorn of his beams, and degraded into a nonentity by the appearance of the Sultan. There are no gradations of subserviency. There is one master—the rest are slaves, without individual or aggregate dignity. When Sultan Achmet the First, in 1614, made a platform from the Seraglio into the sea, every house in Constantinople sent forth a man to forward the undertaking. Not only the Spahis and Janissaries, but the chiefs of families, and the grandees of the empire themselves, assisted at the work, under the inspection of the Grand Signior, who animated and dignified their exertions by his presence and his praise*. The reader of Xenophon will be reminded of the eager alertness with which the most noble of the Persian satraps, at the command of Cyrus, threw off their robes in the mud, set their shoulders to the wheel, and evinced a praiseworthy emulation in extricating from a quagmire the baggage-waggons of their master†.

It is almost unnecessary to repeat a fact so well known, as that the Ottomans acknowledge no hereditary power in any subject of the empire. It is mentioned by Cantemir, that the Ibra-

* History of the Turks. Knolles.

† De Exped. Cyri, lib. i. p. 257, edit. Leunclav. Xenophon however does not remark upon the principle of despotism apparent in this personal effort, but rather admires it as a portion of military discipline—*ἔνθα δὲ μένος τι τῆς ἐνταξίης ἦν διδάσκειν*.

ham Khan Ogli, or the descendants of Ibrahim Khan, who concealed the death of Sultan Mahomet the First for forty-one days, are treated with much respect by the Grand Signiors*; and possess the inspection of moscks founded by their ancestors, and the exemption from offices. The Emirs, the supposed posterity of Mahomet; are also a privileged class; but generally speaking, dignity of blood is unknown to the Turks. The succession of power in the family of Cara Osman Oglou, Pasha of Magnesia, can only be called a tolerated usurpation. The sons of Ali, the Albanian, will probably form another exception to the general rule. The *Malikiane*, or fiefs held possessively, disused for many ages, and revived by Mustapha the Second, only allow a resumption of the father's lands by the son, at a price one-fourth less than any other purchaser, and cannot be called a stable hereditary tenure. The pashalik of Magnesia, and the agaliks of the Ghavrinos who conquered Macedonia, although descending from father to son, have not created a Turkish nobility†. The possession of the Vizirat by the three Kioprilis, is always quoted as a solitary instance; and so little are the favours of the Emperor confined to any distinct class or order, that Mahomet Pasha, who was made Grand Vizier in 1614, was the first native Turk ever raised to that pre-eminence.

The greater part of the prime ministers of the Ottoman Sultans have been purchased slaves, and have owed their rise to personal accomplishments. Yussuf, the Vizier Azem in our time, was a Georgian, carried off in his youth by the Lesguis Tartars, and sold to the Pasha of Erzeroum, who made him his chief pipe-

* Ottoman History, Part I. book ii. p. 76, Tindal's translation.

† Cantemir, Ott. Hist. Part I. book iii. page 153, *ibid.* Present State of Turkey, page 130.

bearer, and after giving him his liberty, appointed him governor of the town. Whilst Muzzelim of Erzeroum, he enriched himself by some gold and silver mines, and conciliated the favour of Yussuf Aga, before mentioned as intendant of finances to Sultan Selim's mother, who ordered him to Constantinople, and made him in 1798 the successor of the deposed Vizier Mehemmed Ised Pasha*. After his dismissal and a retirement of some years, he was, by a fortune of which there has been, I believe, scarcely another instance, again raised to his former dignity in 1808, and, at the age of seventy-eight, was at the head of the Turkish armies when we left the country.—Few of the Vizier Azems have been indebted for their power to any other merit, or may be traced to a more respectable origin, than that of Yussuf.

The posts of honour and profit in the Ottoman court are principally filled by persons who have received their education in Galata Sarai at Pera, to which boys of the lowest extraction are committed by the Pashas of the provinces, as presents to the Grand Signior; who, after their noviciates as Itch-olans, or children of the chamber, admits them to the employments of the Seraglio. The pages of the first three of the four chambers into which the Imperial Itch-olans† are divided, after some previous service under the Chief of the White Eunuchs, and about the person of the Sultan, are raised to the honours of the household, and become the bearers of the sword, the cloak, the stirrup, the ewer, and the turban, as well as the masters of the wardrobe, the buttery, the hounds, and the cranes. One is the first barber:

* Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur, pp. 98, 99.

† The word is more properly *Itch-oglans*, but is pronounced as it is spelt above.

the second, controul of the privy purse; a third, the chief secretary of the Sultan*. Each of these officers may possess himself of such influence over his master, as will lay the treasures and honours of the empire at his feet, and either as favourite or minister, controul the measures of the Ottoman government. The barber of Bajazet the Second was made Grand Vizier†. In a despotic monarchy the approach to the person of the sovereign is an advantage which no merit can easily counterpoise; and the rays of Imperial bounty not unfrequently shine through the mutilated minister of the Sultan's pleasures, the Chief of the Black Eunuchs.

From the fourth division of the pages, the Khasnè-Odassy, or the chamber of the private treasures, many of those state officers are chosen who are entrusted with the administration of public affairs; and the Tefterdar-Effendi, or Grand Treasurer of the empire, has for the most part been an Itch-olan of this class‡.—

* The Turkish names of these twelve personages, are, *Selictar-Aga*, *Tcho-kadar-Aga*, *Rikiabtar-Aga*, *Ibriktar-Aga*, *Dulbendtar-Aga*, *Kemissar-Aga*, *Tchesnegir-Aga-Bashe*, *Zagardar-Bashe*, *Tournadgi-Bashe*, *Berber-Bashe*, *Muhasebedgi-Bashe*, *Teskeredgi-Bashe*. Besides these officers, there are five others, who, together with the first four of the last-mentioned, compose the *Ars-Aghaleri*, or Lords of the Memorial, through whom petitions are presented to the Sultan: these are the *Khasnadar-Kehayassy*, or the Vice-Treasurer; the *Kiler-Kehayassy*, Intendant of the Confectionary; the *Doghandgi-Bashe*, or Grand Falconer; the *Khas-oda-Bashe*, the Chief of the First Chamber; and the *Capou-Agassi*, Chief of the White Eunuchs, or guards of the palace-gates.

† Cantemir, Ottoman History, Part I. book iii. p. 123.

‡ The first chamber is called Khas-Odassy (the Master's Chamber), and is composed of forty pages, who are near the person of the Sultan, and from whom the first five of the household officers above-mentioned are selected; the second chamber is the *Kiler-Odassy*, or Chamber of the Confectionary; and

Such is the policy of the Turkish court, whose chief dignitaries are so free from the ties of consanguinity, and the duties of civil life, as well as from all other dependence, pretension, and object, than the favour of their master, that there is nothing invidious in their rise, nor hazardous in their ruin.

On July the 10th, the day of the Ambassador's audience, the procession, in much the same order as on the former occasion, moved from the palace to Tophana, about half after four in the morning; and the sun rising over the hills of Asia, glimmered through the clouds of dun smoke which burst from the cannon of the Salsette, as we passed under the broadside of the frigate. On landing we visited the Chiaus-Bashe, as before; and whilst we were sitting in his chamber, heard the ship saluting the Sultan in his passage from the Sarai of Dolma-Baktche to the Seraglio. The frigate was dressed, and her yards manned; and as the Imperial barge laid upon her oars for a short time during the discharge of the artillery, the sailors flattered themselves that the Grand Signior took an opportunity of admiring the trim of the vessel.

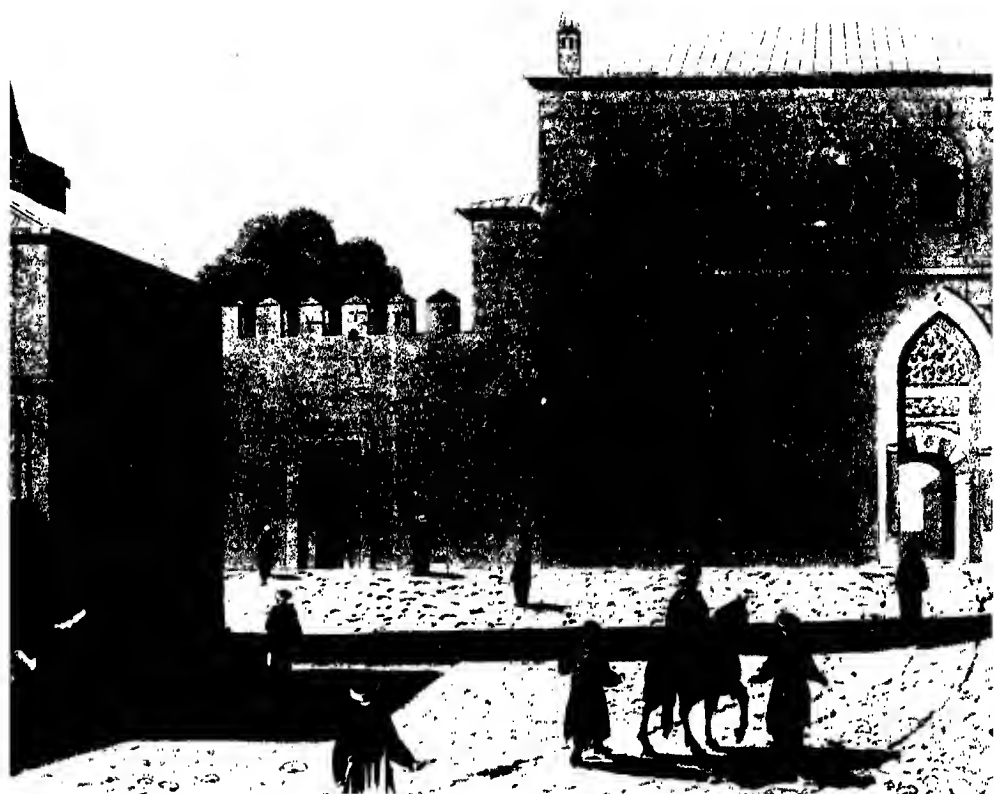
The salute was the signal for our departure, and mounting the horses which had been sent from the royal stables, we began our procession, headed by the Chiaus-Bashe himself, who was dressed in a superb robe and caftan of flowered gold. We rode slowly for half an hour, until we came to an open space and a large tree, where we waited for the Caimacam, who soon arrived with a nu-

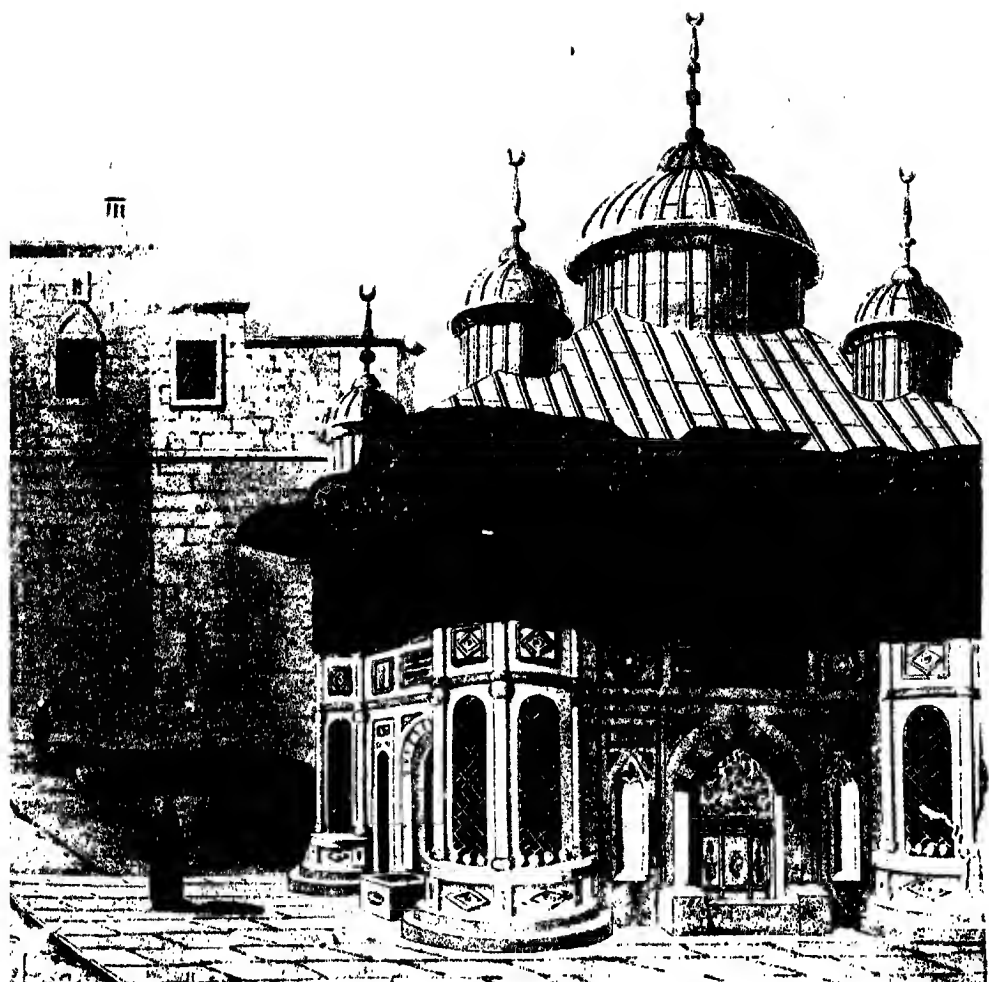
the third the *Seferly-Odassy*, or the Chamber of the Warriors, who are entrusted with the arms of the Sultan, and amuse him with the bow and the djerid: they pass after some probation into the first chamber. —The latest and best account of these particulars is contained in the *Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur*, by J. E. Beauvoisins, Paris, 1809.

merous train, in his way from the Porte, and passed before us towards the Seraglio. He also was dressed in his court suit, a satin robe of bright green, and wore his turban of state.—The head-dress is the distinguishing mark of the various orders and ranks, and it is said that not less than two hundred different turbans are to be reckoned in Constantinople.

A short time after the passage of the Caimacam we moved forwards, and in nearly half an hour arrived at the entrance of the Seraglio. The Baba-Humayun, or Sublime Gate, is accurately represented in the annexed plate. In the niches on each side of the porch are placed the heads of state criminals; on the right hand is a dunghill, on which the bodies are thrown. The fountain is built over a tomb or sarcophagus, which is shown in Grelot's picture of this gate*.

* Band. Imp. Orient. p. 1016. From the Baba-Humayun has been erroneously supposed to originate the title of Sublime Porte; but the term is a favourite Oriental metaphor, and is used also in other designations. Thus a hospital attached to a mosck, is called *Darush-shifa*, the gate of health. The entrance to a royal palace, *the King's gate*, was, as we learn from sacred history, the seat of petitioners at the court of the Assyrian monarchs; but the unsightly porch of the Seraglio did not furnish the magnificent epithet applied to the Ottoman government, although being the entrance to the usual residence of the Sultan, it is called Sublime. The Porte (if it has any substantial existence) is the palace of the Turkish Cabinet, but, more properly speaking, it is the point of access and communication through which the decisions of the supreme power pass and are promulgated. Mr. Thornton, p. 119, quotes Cautemir, as hinting that the Porte follows the person of the Sovereign; but although I find in that historian, that the governor of Babylon, Elkasib-Mirza, is ordered to be *sent in irons to the Porte*, it seems that the capital is alluded to; for Mehemmed-Pasha, who was dispatched to act against him, is said just afterwards to depart for Constantinople, to give an account of his proceedings; so that Sultan Solyman the First was most probably at the Seraglio, and not in the provinces.—Ottoman Hist. p. 209, Part I. book iii.





We entered the Baba-Humayun on horseback, and rode up a gentle ascent towards the second gate, the entrance to which was lined on each side with rows of Capidges or porters, and other officers of the palace, whose splendid attire, and diversified head-dresses, produced at a distance an admirable effect. The first square of the Seraglio contains 'Tarap-Hane, the royal mint, and the ancient church of St. Irene converted into an armory, which, according to report, is filled with curious specimens of the military engines of the Byzantine Greeks, and the armour and weapons worn by the companions of Godfrey of Bouillon*. We dismounted about a hundred yards from Baba-Salâm (*the gate of Health*), upon entering which all our state vanished, for we were shown into a dirty chamber on the left hand of the porch, where we remained in darkness for some time, all huddled together in this and another room, appropriated to very unsavoury purposes. This is the executioners' lodge, and it seems that we were detained here in order that we might enter the second court at the instant that the Janissaries run for their pilau, which is placed in innumerable little pewter dishes, and, at a given signal, scrambled for and seized upon by the soldiery assembled for the occasion, to the number generally of four thousand.

The second court is considerably smaller than the first. It is colonnaded on three sides, and the middle space is a green, thickly shaded with rows of cypress tress. On the right are the Seraglio kitchens, and on the left is an open walk, with a fountain and the hall of the Divan.

The third gate, Baba-Saadi (*the gate of Happiness*), and the walls of the interior palace, front the entrance to the court. The Divan is a small vaulted saloon, with three windows in the dome

* Const. Anc. and Mod. p. 24.

which admit but little light; it is richly ornamented and wainscotted with a plaister or stucco well polished, and representing a pink variegated marble. On the left of the saloon is a second chamber, also vaulted, and about the same size as the first, divided from the council-hall by a division only breast-high: this is filled by the clerks and attendants of the court. A cushioned bench, something like that of our Court of Chancery, ranges along the back of the chamber, and in the middle is the seat of the Grand Vizier, a little raised and immediately under a small latticed casement, through which the Sultan himself inspects, or is supposed to inspect, the transactions of the Divan. On the left side of the room is another cushioned bench, and on the right a lower bench without any covering, attached to the wall. On entering we found the Caimacam in his seat; on his left hand, at a little distance, were the Cazy-askers of Romania and Natolia, and on the bench on the same side, were the Tefterdar-Effendi and two other officers of the treasury. On the small bench to the right was seated the celebrated Cheliby Nichandgi-Effendi, a minister of the first repute, and well known to all the foreign missions. He was employed with his hair-pencil and the other implements of his office. A stool was placed for the Ambassador near the keeper of the cypher, but the remainder of the company were obliged to stand, except when sheltered behind the robes of the dragomans of the mission, they ventured to rest themselves at the lower end of the bench near the corner of the room.

After the adjudication of a cause by the Caimacam, which consisted of reading several papers, and the affixing of his signature, the payment of the Janissaries was commenced, and continued until nine o'clock. The money was brought forward in yellow purses, containing nominally five hundred piasters each, but in

reality not so large a sum ; for the 'Tefterdar-Effendi contrives by the deficiency to put about one hundred and fifty thousand piasters into his pocket at each general payment. The purses were heaped up in two conical lines or wedges from each side of the Caimacam to the door of the saloon. After the bags had been told out the first time, they were again numbered aloud ; and being carried out by fifties into the yard in front of the Divan, were laid upon the pavement at a little distance from the door. As each of the fifties was so deposited, the teller exclaimed with a loud voice, "*Oda, come !*" mentioning the number of the chamber ; and instantly a body of Janissaries, who were stationed at about a hundred yards distant, started at the same moment, and racing towards the money, fell one over the other in their scramble for the bags. Each soldier who carries off a purse, receives one piaster upon delivering it to his Captain. This distribution of their payment to the Janissaries lasted so long, that we were heartily fatigued before the conclusion of the ceremony, which, according to an established usage, was, however, designed to captivate and astonish us by a display of Ottoman wealth.—An hour was passed in giving audience to some officers of the Janissaries ; each of whom, on his name being called, came forward and kissed the hem of the Caimacam's garment, returning thanks for his respective corps.

At ten the dinner was served, and the Ambassador, attended by Prince Maroozi*, sat at a table with the Caimacam. Some of the gentlemen of the embassy, with my fellow-traveller and

* Maroozi is mentioned as Dragoman to the Porte in page 515 of these Letters : I have since found out that he was acting for his brother. He was afterwards raised to the principality of Wallachia, and being suspected of some intrigues, was beheaded at Bucharest, in the course of the last year (1812).

myself, were placed at another table with Cheliby-Effiendi. There were one or two other tables and some seats brought into the room, but the greater part of the company were obliged to stand. Any person may join an Ambassador's suite on these occasions, and there were several raggamuffins in the Frank habit amongst the crowd, who seemed to have been collected purposely to disgrace the embassy. The table-furniture consisted of a coarse cloth, on which a wooden spoon and a crumplet were set before each guest. The first we dipped into the soups and sherbets promiscuously; the latter article served us instead of a plate, after we had torn off the meat with our right hands. Two-and-twenty dishes were served up, one after the other, and we tasted of each; but some of them were suffered to remain scarcely an instant on the table, and were borne off as if under the influence of Sancho's dread doctor and his wand. Rising from dinner, we were sprinkled with rose-water, and the Ambassador was served with an ewer to wash his hands.

In a short time a message arrived from the Sultan, intimating that he would receive the Eltchi, whose arrival and humble request of an audience had been before communicated by an officer of the Divan. The Ambassador accordingly, and the whole party, left the council-chamber, and were conducted towards the third gate of the Seraglio, but were directed to wait under a wooden shed at the right hand of the approach, where there was a dirty stone seat for the accommodation of his Excellency. Two common-looking ill-dressed fellows brought two bags full of pelisses, which were distributed without ceremony to seventeen or twenty of the party, who at the same time took off their swords. We continued for some time under our shed, totally unnoticed and overlooked, until we saw the two Cazy-askers proceed from the Divan

through rows of Janissaries, and take their seat on a bench at the right of the third gate, where there was also a line of state officers. At this time the left of the gate was covered with a crowd of Bostandges, Hassekis, Baltages, and others of the body guard*, without arms; and facing it, at some distance, there were three rows amounting to twenty-one, of the household soldiers called *Peiks*, crowned with plumage. The Cazy-askers passed into the third gate, but soon returned, and at last the Caimacam marched from the Divan in great state, preceded by two officers with large staves of silver and gilt, which at each step they rung upon the ground. The Janissaries, the guards, and the chamberlains,

* The Bostandges have been before noticed. The Hassekis are the Imperial messengers, a body attached to the Bostandges, which are employed in executing the secret commissions of the court, and sometimes carry the firmaus. The Baltages are properly the wood-cutters of the Seraglio, and the servants of the kitchen; but they are now a species of corps, whose weapon and distinguishing mark is a hatchet (*balta*), and who have another body called *Zulufus-Baltages* belonging to them. The *Peiks* are the guard of the second court, wear a beard, and are armed with a bow and arrow: they walk on each side of the Sultan's horse on processions, and shade him with plumes from public view. The *Solaks* belong to the interior court; they walk before the Sultan with a halbert. The *Capidges* or porters are a numerous corps also belonging to the Seraglio. The *Capidge-Bashes* usually carry the death-warrants of the Sultan to the offending *Pashas*, an office formerly entrusted to the forty mutes of the court: three hundred Black Eunuchs, and as many White Eunuchs, the body of the *Salahors* or equerries, all the pages, and the attendants not enumerated, the females, and the separate corps just mentioned, are supposed to raise the number of persons inhabiting the Seraglio to ten thousand. When Julian reformed the Imperial household, he is said to have found one thousand barbers, one thousand cup-bearers, and one thousand cooks; besides Eunuchs innumerable. I should fancy these retainers to have been like those of the Ottoman princes, separate corps preserving the name of, without being actually employed in, their original occupation.

bent to the earth as he passed. After stopping for a few seconds, his Highness entered the porch, and in ten minutes an order arrived for the Ambassador to advance to the presence.

Just as we entered the gate, there was much unseemly squeezing and jostling, and those who had not pelisses of fur were pushed away by the attendants. We afterwards moved forwards with more regularity, each of us being accompanied and pressed upon the shoulder by one or two of the guard. My attendant was one of the White Eunuchs, a crowd of whom were standing within the gate. We went through a court, or rather a large saloon, open on both sides, and passing on our right several rows of the Solak guards, in white robes and pointed caps of gold, mounted a low step into a passage, covered with rich carpets, which brought us into the presence-chamber. The room appeared quite full when we entered, but my Eunuch pushed me quickly forwards within ten paces of the throne, where he held me somewhat strictly by the right arm during the audience. He had not forgotten the assassination of Amurath.

The chamber was small and dark, or rather illumined with a gloomy artificial light, reflected from the ornaments of silver, pearls, and other white brilliants, with which it is thickly studded on every side and on the roof. The throne, which is supposed the richest in the world, is like a four-posted bed, but of a dazzling splendour; the lower part formed of burnished silver and pearls, and the canopy and supporters encrusted with jewels. It is in an awkward position, being in one corner of the room, and close to a fire-place.

Sultan Mahmoud was placed in the middle of the throne, with his feet upon the ground, which, notwithstanding the common form of squatting upon the hams, seems the seat of ceremony.

He was dressed in a robe of yellow satin, with a broad border of the darkest sable: his dagger, and an ornament on his breast, were covered with diamonds: the front of his white and blue turban shone with a large treble sprig of diamonds, which served as a buckle to a high straight plume of bird-of-paradise feathers. He for the most part kept a hand on each knee, and neither moved his body nor head, but rolled his eyes from side to side, without fixing them for an instant upon the Ambassador or any other person present. Occasionally he stroked and turned up his beard, displaying a milk-white hand glittering with diamond rings. His eye-brows, eyes, and beard, being of a glossy jet black, did not appear natural, but added to that indescribable majesty which it would be difficult for any but an Oriental sovereign to assume: his face was pale, and regularly formed, except that his nose (contrary to the usual form of that feature in the Ottoman princes) was slightly turned up and pointed: his whole physiognomy was mild and benevolent, but expressive and full of dignity. He appeared of a short and small stature, and about thirty years old, which is somewhat more than his actual age.

On each side of the throne was an embroidered cushion: that on the left supported a silver purse, containing the letter from the Grand Signior to the King of England, and near it was a silver inkstand adorned with jewellery: a sabre, partly drawn from a diamond scabbard, was placed nearly upright against the cushion on the other side of the Sultan.

It seems from Busbek, and other authorities, to have been the custom formerly for Ambassadors and their suite to kiss the Sultan's hand*; and that their whole reception was more courteous

* *Posteaque veluti deosculata ejus manu ad parietem oppositum ite sumus reducti, &c.*—Busbeq. Epist. i. p. 62, edit. Oxon. 1610; and the traveller in

than. at the audiences of the present day : amongst other points, it was usual for the Sultan to address a word or two to the minister, which he now never deigns to do*.

The Ambassador stood nearly opposite, but a little to the left of the throne ; and on his left was the Prince Maroozi, who acted as his interpreter. On the right of the Sultan the Caimacam was standing between the throne and the fire-place, with his head bent, and his hands submissively crossed in front of his vest. There were only a few feet of an open circular space between the Grand Signior and the audience, the rest of the apartment being completely occupied by the crowd. His Excellency laying his hand on his breast, and making a gentle inclination of the head, now addressed the Sultan, in a speech delivered in a low tone of voice, which was interpreted still less audibly by the Prince Maroozi. The Sultan then said a few words to the Caimacam, who proceeded to speak to the Ambassador, but hobbled repeatedly, and was prompted aloud several times by the Grand Signior. He seemed also to stop before he had concluded his oration, which, however, was a very immaterial circumstance, as the Dragoman was previously acquainted with it, and had

Hakhyt, Richard Wrag, says, "*The Ambassador thus betwixt two which stood at the door, being led in, either of them taking an arme, kissed his hand ; and so backward, with his face to the Turke, they brought him nigh the doore again, where he stood untill they had likewise done so with all the rest of his gentlemen.*"

* Solyman the Magnificent, after hearing Busbek's speech, said, "*Guisel, guisel*"—*Well, well ;* and the above English traveller relates, that on the Ambassador, Sir Edward Barton, making his three demands to Amurath the Third, the Sultan said, "*Nolo ;*" which (as he adds, somewhat to the surprize of the learned in the Latin) is in Turkish as much as, IT SHALL BE DONE.

learnt it by heart. The answer of the Caimacam being interpreted in French, there was some little hesitation in the proceedings, and his Excellency seeming as if about to retire, the Sultan whispered something to the Caimacam, who began hobbling another speech, and was again prompted by Mahmoud. This address being also interpreted, and received like the preceding, with a bow, the Sultan taking the purse in his hands, and saying a few words, delivered it to the Caimacam, who, having first kissed the sleeve of his *caftan*, received the letter upon it as it covered both his hands, and saluted also the purse with his forehead, bending humbly to the earth. He then spoke a short sentence, and presented the purse to Prince Maroozi, who repeated the reverence of the Caimacam, and, interpreting the words, put it into the hands of the Ambassador.

Immediately afterwards his Excellency bowed and withdrew, the audience having lasted twelve or fifteen minutes. On retiring, my attendant Eunuch hurried me briskly along, and dismissed me with a gentle push down the step of the anti-chamber. The embassy, and the whole suite, then passed through the third and the second gate of the Seraglio, where we mounted our horses, and waited for nearly an hour under a scorching sun covered with our fur robes; and were not permitted to move before mid-day, nor until the Caimacam with his suite had proceeded from the Divan on his return to the Porte, and all the Janissaries had issued from the second court. They came out roaring and running, many of them being children, and all, in appearance, the very scum of the city.

I did not through the whole of the ceremony, observe any of that silent sedateness and well-regulated conduct in these soldiers,

which attracted the admiration of early travellers, and rendered it doubtful whether they were men or statues*. But every merit which enabled Busbek to draw a comparison between the brave and disciplined Turks of the age of Solymán, and the *courtiers* of Christian princes, and to couch, after the manner of Tacitus, the reproof of his contemporary fellow-subjects under the praise of barbarians, has long vanished, and ceased to adorn the character of the Janissary.

The decline of this corps, whose name alone filled Europe with terror, and to whom the Ottoman Sultans have been more indebted for their successes and their sufferings, than ever were the Roman Emperors to the Pretorian cohorts, may be dated from the reign of Amurath the Third, who permitted these soldiers to enroll their children in their order, and thus gave them an individual interest as citizens, as well as an independence of their sovereign totally foreign to the nature and design of their original institution. When, from being *children of the tribute* and of the Sultan, they acknowledged another father than their Emperor, they began to be equally dangerous to the government as to the enemies of the Porte; and accordingly we read, that having previously to this great change confined their tumults to the times of an interregnum, they broke into open revolt for the first time, and murdered the governor of Cyprus, in the reign of the prince who was the author the impolitic innovation. In the time of his immediate successor they raised a rebellion in Constantinople, and attempted to depose Mahomet

* *Digna erant precipue quæ spectarentur, aliquot gianizarorum millia, qui longo ordine sejuncti a reliquis tam immoti stabant, ut me diu judicii incertum redderent homines ne essent an statuæ.*—Busbeq. Epist. i. 64.

the Third: subsequently to that period they have several times disposed of the Turkish sceptre, and have been the origin of, and the actors in, a quick succession of bloody commotions, which, were it not for the standing example before our eyes, might be judged incompatible with the existence of any empire. Many fruitless attempts have been made to destroy their power. Bajazet the Second, even whilst they were at the height of their discipline, and the first military body in the world, seems to have foreseen the future ill-effects of their predominance, for he is said to have planned their extermination. Nassuff-Pasha, Vizier-Azem to Achmet the First, employed the Spahis and forces of the provinces for their subjection, but was finally sacrificed, and being too fat to be strangled, was ignominiously beheaded.

Delavir-Pasha, the Vizier of Osman, in the year 1620 proposed the organization of a new militia amongst the Curds, at the head of whom the Sultan was to march from Damascus, and entirely destroy the whole body of the rebel soldiers; but the same Vizier added to this scheme a plan for the abolition of the Spahis or feudal horse, for the change of every establishment, even to the name of the city, and for the subjection of all Europe. He was cut in pieces, and one of his legs was seen at Pera by Sir Thomas Rowe the English Ambassador. Osman himself was deposed and murdered.

That deterioration of discipline and order in the Janissaries, which is said to have been connived at by Mahomet the Fourth, was more probably the effect of their increasing insolence and independent power. Those of the present day are most of them artisans, who have been enrolled either as children of these soldiers by their fathers, or have entered into the corps for

protection, and an increase of individual importance. The number of those who receive their pay (amounting to about three pence daily for each man) at the Seraglio, is said by the last authority* to be forty thousand; but in the year 1798 all the Janissaries enrolled in the capital and the provinces amounted to more than four hundred thousand†. A late traveller, quoted by the same writer, thinks they are the *most select and regular of the Turkish troops, better dressed, and more regularly equipped*; but whatever may be the order of their camp, which seems to have been the point considered by Dr. Witman, their prowess in battle is comparatively despised, even by the Turks themselves, and has been proved by recent events inferior to that of the provincial soldiery. The vast dominion still possessed by the Ottoman Sultans, is upheld neither by the real nor reputed vigour of the Janissaries, which is felt most, and may be almost said to be formidable only at Constantinople.

The inferiority of the army of the Turks to that of any Christian power, may be caused, perhaps, more by the improved tactics of the latter, than by the decay in the military discipline of the former nation. Whatever respective proportion we give to these two efficient principles, the total inequality of a contest between the Ottoman troops and a disciplined European force, has been of late years decided in a manner that may justify our belief in the victories of the Greeks, of Alexander, and of the Romans themselves.

From the founder of the dynasty, each of their successive sove-

* Present State of Turkey, p. 174.

† Tableau des Nouveaux Reglemens de l'Empire Ottoman, composé par Mahmoud Rayf Effendi, &c. Constantinople, 1798, p. 17.

reigns, during a period of two hundred and sixty-five years, had led his armies in person to the field: their career of victory, scarcely interrupted by the misfortunes of Bajazei, seemed to promise universal dominion; and, whether from their own strength or the weakness of their antagonists, they continued in the reign of Solyman still to flourish, to predominate, and to extend daily the boundaries of their empire*. Kioprili Mustapha Pasha avowed, that all the successors of that Sultan had been tyrants or fools†; but the spirit of the people survived that of the sovereigns; and the Turkish power has generally been supposed most formidable during the administration of Achmet Kioprili, who held the government for twenty years, and died in the year 1676. In the war which began in 1672 and ended in 1680, the Ukraine was conquered and Poland made tributary; and in the second Imperial war of the same reign Vienna was besieged, and only not taken. From that time the terror of the Turkish arms has gradually subsided, and subsequently to the victorious massacres of Eugene, which dictated the peace of Carlovitz in 1699, and restored Transylvania to the empire, the powerful states of Europe have, in the opinion of most writers, been prevented from the expulsion of the Ottomans from Europe, only by their interested jealousies and mutual dissensions. Yet although the existence of this barbarian power in the most flourishing regions of Europe, confined on every side by hostile kingdoms, or by an element possessed by Christians, has been for a century regarded

* *Ergo illi rebus gestis florent, dominantur, imperii fines quotidie profuerunt.*—Busbeq. epist. i. p. 63, edit. Oxon. 1610.

† Marsigli, Stato Militare, p. 28. Decline and Fall, cap. lxx

as a reproach to all civilized nations, and a standing wonder, it must be acknowledged, that the decline of the Ottoman empire has by no means been so rapid, nor its disgraces so repeated and uninterrupted, as casual observers are apt to believe.

In the reign of Achmet the Third the Russians were worsted by the Turks, and lost by the peace of Pruthi. The Austrians have gained but little honour or advantage in any of their late wars with the Porte; and notwithstanding the splendid successes of Callézin and Romanzow, and the cessions of the peace at Kainargi in 1774, the Sultan withstood with honour and success the united arms of Catharine and Joseph in the succeeding war, when all Europe expected that the partition of his dominions was inevitable and at hand. The Prince de Ligne, who served in the campaign, by asserting in his memoirs that there was nothing formidable in the Turks, if their bare right arms and their shouts were disregarded, implies that they had not lost all their terrific qualities. The incredible exploits and slaughters of Suwarrof seemed the forerunners of their fall; and the peace of 1790 was considered a permission for them to exist and linger a little longer on the confines of the European continent. Since that period, however, they have had to contend with the same foes, and with the two most formidable of existing nations, neither of which had before been known to them as enemies. After losing a kingdom, for Egypt may be so denominated, and after beholding a hostile fleet under the walls of their capital, they were rather triumphant than worsted; and, with respect to ourselves, were equally unsubdued by our attacks as they were successful by our assistance. It seemed fated that they should gain no less by our weakness than by our strength, and that when we were to com-

mit a folly, and sustain a solitary discomfiture, both the one and the other were to conspire to their advantage. The English could conquer Egypt for the Turks, but not for themselves, and their victorious fleets were for the first time disgraced, in a contest with a nation against whom it was impossible to anticipate a failure*.

The mismanagement, forbearance, policy, and mutual rivalry of the English, French, and Muscovites, are looked upon as having been the best protectors of the Ottomans: no one imagines that the inherent strength of the people can oppose any obstacle to immediate subjection. Let the cause be what it will, the fact is the same: the late peace at Bucharest has intrenched but little on the dominions of the Sultans, who, with neither a fleet, nor an army that can command respect, retain the fairest islands, and the most favoured regions of southern Europe. The justice and wisdom of expelling them from that portion of the continent which they have so long possessed, may be discussed by any one accustomed to similar speculations; but the question of the facility with which this object might be accomplished, is more competently handled by those who have studied the character of the Turks on the spot, and have enjoyed the advantage of some personal intercourse with their paradoxical nation.

The internal dissensions of the Porte, and the rebellion of the provinces, although they invite the invader, would not contribute to his success. If the crusade which Mr. Eton and other writers have thought it their duty to preach against the Turks,

* See in the Appendix the paper in which the expedition to the Dardanelle is noticed at length.

should be ever attempted by the united forces of the Christian kings, the standard of Mahomet would unite all the children of Islamism, and the march of regular and finally victorious armies would be impeded by obstacles which their confidence in themselves, and their contempt of their enemies, would not permit them to foresee. The obstinate fury of religious zeal, and the valour of despair, would arouse the sleepy vigour of their character, and call forth efforts which, without proving equally formidable, would be as spirited and unanimous as those which led them on to conquest, and founded their mighty monarchy on the ruins of the four empires*. Without an ally, their capital and their islands must at any time be at the mercy of a maritime power, and it can hardly be thought that any resistance to a regular army by land, would be so effectual as to save them from the necessity of final submission. But even supposing that the partition of Turkey should be amicably settled by the Christian powers, it appears to me that the struggle would be protracted and sanguinary, and that the Mussulmans, like the volunteers of Mecca who attacked the French in Egypt, would to a man quit the defence of their country and their religion only with their lives. I say nothing of the extreme improbability of any arrangement of contending interests, by which they would be left without a friend to defend themselves against the union of all Christendom. The report that the division of their European dominions was finally agreed upon at Tilsit, is now understood to be altogether unfounded; and had such a treaty been concluded, late events must show how many

* Grimstone, the continuator of Knolles' History, says, that the Turkish monarchy is founded upon the four empires, the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman.

accidents may intervene to prevent even the commencement of the attempt. It may be added, that in case the effort had been made, the British cabinet, whose successful diplomacies in the East and the West, with the Persians and the Four Nations, evince that they have no squeamish aversion to barbarous and unchristian alliances, would, most probably, have stood firm by the Mussulmans, and exerted every effort to oppose the partition.

The French, who have been supposed to look with a greedy eye upon all the shores of the Mediterranean, were the cause and first movers of a project to retard the decline of the Ottoman power, and to introduce such reforms into its military and naval establishments, as should enable it to keep pace with the improving tactics of its Christian enemies. Hence the origin of the Nizam-Djedid, and the new constitution of Selim the Third.

This Sultan, who succeeded to the throne on the death of his uncle Abdullamid in 1788, evinced at an early period of his reign, a determination to attempt some change in the organization of the forces of the empire, and in the internal administration of the government. The cabinet, or great council of state*, was

* It is composed of the Kehayah-Bey, the Testerdar-Effendi, the Reis-Effendi, the Chians-Bashe, the Capndan-Pasha, the Ters-Hane Emini, the two Ex Cazy-askers and those in office; the Stamboul-Effendi, the Nakib-Ulsheraff, (Chief of the Emirs), the Aga of the Janissaries, the Gebege-Bashe (Commander of the Military Stores), the Topge-Bashe, the Arabulge-Bashe (Chief of the Waggon Train), the Aga of the Sipahylers, an abolished corps; the Selictarler-Agassy (Commander of the Swordmen, also abolished), the Nichandgi-Effendi, the Tarapa-Emini (Master of the Mint), the Coumbaradgi-Bashe (General of the Bombadiers), Laghoumdgi-Bashe (General of the Miners). The reader may consult *Tableau de la Cour Ottoman*, p. 108, for other details of the ministry of the interior.

more frequently assembled than in former reigns, and diminished the labours as well as the importance of the Grand Vizier. Yussuf-Aga, the intendant of the Valide, and Hussein, the Capudan-Pasha, were in possession of the confidence and the power of their master, and they had an active coadjutor in Mahmoud Rayf-Effendi, a virtuous and enlightened minister, who, after passing through all the subordinate degrees of office, and receiving the more important benefit of an intercourse with civilized society at Vienna, Paris, and the Court of London, where he was attached to the Turkish Legation, was raised to be Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and as Reis-Effendi was entrusted with the execution of those projects of which he had been the most strenuous adviser, and had arranged the original plan. The Sultan himself is said to have received the suggestions of the French and other Frank residents of the capital, and his ministers availed themselves of their skill and personal service.

It would be impossible to find an instance in the annals of any country, of an attempt equal to the new constitution of Selim, either in the magnitude of its design, or the decisive originality of its bold innovations. The re-establishment of an immense empire upon its former basis was the proposed result, and this was to be accomplished by a total change of national character. The efforts of Peter the Great, stupendous as they were, had been directed to an amelioration of his subjects, which, compared to the reform intended by Selim, was slow and partial. Inveterate prejudices were to be forcibly and suddenly corrected; ignorance established and protected by religion and law, was to be dispelled by the introduction of suspected sciences and dangerous arts. The Mussulman was to become the friend and the pupil of the Infidel. But Selim was unequal to the

task, and although deficient neither in virtue, nor perhaps in power, he was not possessed of that commanding genius which alone can dare to violate the habits of a whole nation. He was wanting either in prudence or in resolution ; he was too hasty, or not sufficiently decisive. Others may think that the Turkish character is not susceptible of the intended improvement, and that the end was no less unattainable than the means were imprudent. Should, however, a more fortunate master persuade the Turks of some future age to consent to their own aggrandisement, the successors of the present generation will revere the memory of the sovereign, who lost his crown and his life in the noble endeavour to give force and stability to his empire, by improving the moral capacity of his subjects.

Fortunately we are able to judge of the several provisions of the Nizam-Djedid, by the account of the institution written by Mahmoud Rayf-Effendi, composed in the French language, and printed at the Imperial press*. The introduction of printing has always been violently opposed by the Ulema, and the copiers of Tusuk-Bazar. Achmet the Third attempted the establishment of a press near the kiosk of Kiat-Hane, but his Armenian printers were obliged to desist ; and the buildings fitted up for the establishment, were converted to other purposes. Selim erected a large edifice at Scutari, and the necessary materials were procured, as well as an adequate number of persons qualified to super-

* The following is the full title of the treatise : *Tableau des Nouveaux Reglemens de l'Empire Ottoman, composé par Mahmoud Rayf-Effendi, ci-devant Secrétaire de l'Ambassade Imperiale, près de la Cour d'Angleterre. Imprimé dans la Nouvelle Imprimerie du Génie sous la direction d'Abdurrhaman Effendi, professeur du Géometrie et d'Algèbre, a Constantinople, 1798.*

intend the establishment, and to execute the mechanical part of the labours. Whether from the want of attention or of a demand for the commodity, only forty different books were produced in twelve years. The building was spacious, and well adapted for the purpose, but contained only one press. There were, however, six presses in the School of Design at Ters-Hane, whose principal productions were a Greek grammar, and a dictionary of the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian languages.

The first attention of the Sultan was directed to the renovation of his armies and navies: indeed it was his principal aim; and as his subjects were Turks and a nation of soldiers, it must not be considered as a mere change of tactics in the forces of the empire. As the regulations were intended for a people who had every thing to learn, some articles of the new constitution may raise a smile in the unwary reader, who is accustomed to the establishments of civilized states; and those who decide on the merit by the success of an innovation, may think the details of abolished ordinances scarcely deserving of regard. But a view of the proposed improvements might be valuable, if it was only to convey to us the clearest notion of the deficiencies which they were intended to correct, and which are, in fact, the existing errors of the Turkish system.

The new regulations of the Ottoman empire bear the date of 1796. The levy of twelve thousand men, who were to be disciplined according to the principles of European tactics, and armed in every respect like the soldier of France or England, although inserted at the end of Mahmoud's treatise, was the chief arrangement. The new troops were to wear a uniform, and they were to be taught the manual exercise, of which the regulations con-

tain a minute detail, and a representation in one large plate. In order to detach them as much as possible from the Janissaries, it was resolved they should belong nominally to the corps of Bostandges, whose red bonnet they were to wear when at home, although they were to change it for a lighter cap of the same make and shape upon actual service.

For these Bostandge fusileers (Bostany Tufenkitchissy) as they were called, were erected handsome barracks in the middle of a down, three miles to the north-east of Pera, capable of containing fifteen thousand soldiers. Levend Tchiftlik was supplied with an exercising-ground, shaded on every side with avenues of limes, a marble kiosk for the reception of the Sultan, a mosck with baths fountains and reservoirs, a spacious saloon or refectory, a powder-magazine, and rows of shops for armourers and sutlers.

For the same purpose barracks were constructed also at Scutari for thirty thousand men, with a railed enclosure for the exercise of the soldiers, and all other conveniences similar to those of Levend Tchiftlik. Near these barracks Selim built a mosck, and the range of wide regular streets for the cotton and silk manufacturers which have been before noticed.

The inspector of the new troops was one of the principal men of the empire: their commander was a Capidge-Bashe, assisted by an intendant, two commissaries, and two clerks. Each regiment, commanded by a Bin-Bashe, consisted of one thousand and eighty privates, divided into twelve companies; and to these were attached ninety-six Topges (or cannoniers), sixty Arabdges (or carmen), twenty-four Sakas (or water-carriers), and seventy-two attendants, called Cara-Colloutches, with their proper officers. Each company had a field-piece, and was commanded by a captain,

two lieutenants, an ensign, a tchaouchi (or serjeant), and ten corporals*.

That the military bodies attached to the regular troops might be effective, a reform was introduced into all their departments. The Topges were improved in every respect: their old barracks were demolished, and new ones were built on a regular and better plan. Large quarters were assigned to them for their daily exercise. The Topge-Bashe, or commander of the corps, was regularly paid, and received the honours of the tail: a Nazir (or intendant), with a Kiatib (or commissary), were added to their establishment. New regiments were raised, with proper officers and fusileers, and the uniforms of the officers and men were furnished by government, and were different from each other. A commandant, an assistant, eight cannoniers, and ten fusileers, belonged to each cannon. In firing, the captain of the gun stood with four topges on the right, the lieutenant with four on the left, and five fusileers were placed on either side of the cannon. Every day, excepting Tuesdays and Wednesdays, they were exercised by five regiments at a time; and the artillery was practised with shot in the valley of Sweet Waters. The exercise with the unloaded cannon took place on each holiday in the barracks. Surgeons were added to the corps. The guns themselves, of every class, were improved, and cast on a new model. They were allotted separately by distinguishing marks to their different regiments; and the whole service was so contrived, that three days were sufficient to prepare any portion of the artillery for immediate activity†.

* The details in the treatise are much more minute than those given above, which contain rather the spirit of the regulations than the regulations themselves.

† Mahmud Rayf concludes the regulations for the Topges with the follow-

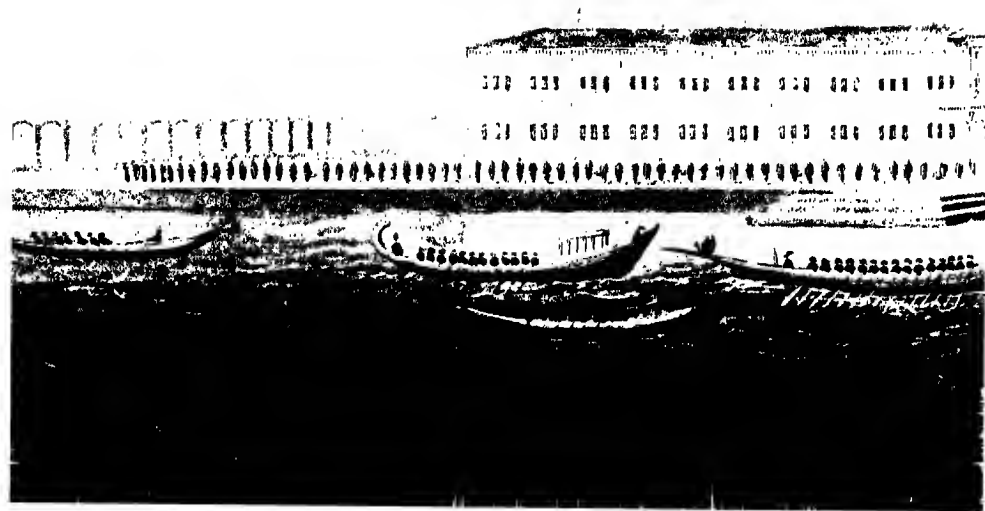
The Arabdges, or troops of the waggon-train, were also reformed. The Bashie was allowed a regular salary, and the same distinction as the commander of the Topges; whilst new regiments of men and officers, paid and clothed by the government, were enrolled in the former corps, and attached to the cannoniers, with whom they always exercised. To every gun-carriage were assigned one officer and five privates; and to every tumbril the same number. Barracks were built for them near those of the Topges, with shops and stables, the repairs of which were superintended by the principal officers in quarters. They had a body of carpenters, smiths, saddlers, and farriers, besides a mounted corps, with a commandant and subalterns, for dragging the cannons, which were under the same regulation as the Arabdges, and were taught to act on foot with the cannoniers. The tumbril followed the gun, with five privates and an officer, who learnt to halt at a word. On the march provisions were regulated by a commissary.

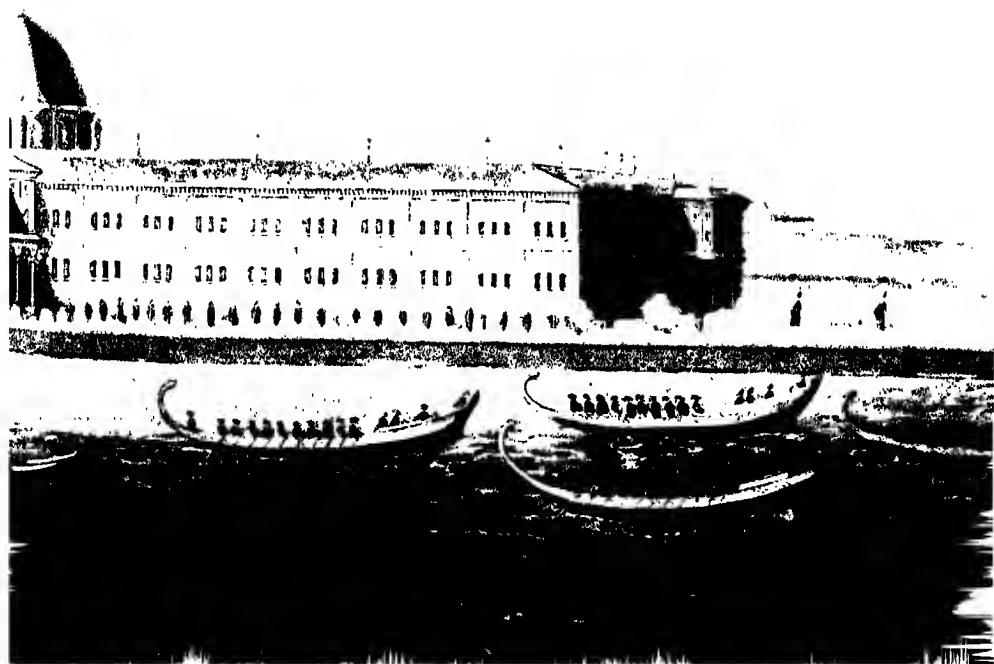
An important officer of state was named (not by rotation as before, but for a permanency) Inspector of the powder magazines. Formerly not half of the three thousand quintals of powder which should have been furnished by the three manufactories of Constantinople, Gallipoli, and Salonica, were supplied by those establishments, and the quality had been daily deteriorating in such a proportion, that it was unfit for any purpose but saluting; so that although Turkey produces saltpetre in abundance, the powder used for service was purchased from the Franks at sixty and seventy piasters the quintal. The price of this article was there-

ing encomium: *Les Reglemens de Sultan Selim III. pour le Corps des Topchiys sont d'une sagesse consommée.* Page 24.

fore doubled, and expert artisans were hired for the construction of mills as well as for the service of the manufactories. The magazines of Constantinople were repaired and augmented, and a large similar construction was built at Kutchuk-Chemedge, near the capital. The salaries of the workmen were tripled, and foreigners were paid from five hundred to a thousand piasters a month; and that the necessities of the state might not impoverish the subject, wool and all other articles were bought at the current price. Ten thousand quintals of powder, eight times stronger than that of the ancient manufacture, were soon furnished by the new mills; and if this quantity had not been sufficient, the supply might have been increased to thirty or forty thousand quintals.

The Bombadiers, anciently furnished from the Ziameths and Timars, or military fiefs, underwent a total change by the new regulations. They were all to have a fixed pay. A noble barrack, containing a refectory, a mathematical school, a foundery, workshops, magazines, and a mosck, was built for them at the lower end of the harbour, below the arsenal. An inspector, taken from the great officers of state, and the Reis-Effendi, were charged with their superintendence; and they were under the orders of a commandant, an intendant, and a commissary. Ten bombadiers, five cadets, and one lieutenant, were allotted to each mortar: five mortars made a company, and were under the command of a lieutenant-in-chief: fifteen mortars composed a brigade, and the brigades were known by separate marks. The lieutenants and cadets wore uniforms different from those of the men, and the whole corps was to be distinguished from the Miners by a red ribbon in the turban. They were ordered to exercise every day during summer at the barracks, and study at the mathematical





school; and finally, the commissary of the body was obliged to read aloud all the regulations, both old and new, at the barracks every month.

The Miners, a corps much neglected, were increased, and attached by the new constitution to the Bombadiers, in whose barracks they occupied two sets of quarters. They were divided into two classes; one of which studied the art of mining, whilst the others applied themselves to every branch of military architecture, and might more properly have been called engineers. They were governed by a Bashe and an Intendant; and were instructed by the professors and assistants of the mathematical school, who were directed to write instructive treatises. The miners furnished by the old system, that is, those who were possessed of military fiefs, and the cadets raised by the new constitution, employed themselves daily (excepting on Tuesdays and Fridays) in drawing plans and designing models in wood and plaster, the most ingenious and best constructed of which were presented to the Grand Vizier. In summer they were exercised in exploding real mines, and in laying out intrenchments and camps. Once in every six weeks they underwent a general examination, of which an exact report was presented to the Grand Vizier; and each month the secretary recited the regulations in presence of the students, subjoining an exhortation to strict duty and good conduct.

The marine was put under the superintendence of a ministry, formed on the plan of the European admiralties; and the official details, which had been formerly entrusted to the Capudan-Pasha alone, were conducted by the Ters-Hane Emin and his assistant officers. The command of vessels had usually been set up to sale; but Hussein-Pasha undertook the examination of the can-

didates; and retaining such only as were fit for the service, placed the unemployed on a list, to be elected in rotation to the vacant ships, and to attend in the mean time to the fleet in harbour. The pay of the captains was increased, and the invalids were allowed a permanent provision. None of them were either degraded or punished without being found guilty of a capital crime. The officers of each ship were ordered to be in active employ during summer and winter, and their pay to be according to their rank, their rank according to their merit. A Captain of the Port was chosen from the active commanders; and it was required of him that he should be thoroughly acquainted with the regulations of the Admiralty, and know how to write and read. The same officer was, together with the Captain, furnished with an account of the ammunition, stores, and the whole outfit of each man-of-war. He was assisted by an intendant in victualling and refitting the fleet; and all embezzlement was punished with adequate severity. For the same end, the sails, cables, and every article of each vessel, were distinguished by a particular mark. The stores were no longer bought at a fixed low price, but according to their current value by the intendant, whose purchases and accounts were inspected by the Captain of the Port and the Commissioners of the Admiralty. Five hundred carpenters, one hundred and fifty borers, and forty apprentices, retained at the former salary of twelve paras a day, and payed monthly, were raised and attached to the fleet; and a certain portion of them were distributed into the ships during the summer cruise, whilst the remainder were reviewed daily, and exercised at the arsenal. To these were added two hundred Egyptian calkers, fed and clothed at the expence of the state, and lodged in barracks behind the admiralty. The ships

were formed on a plan entirely new, and so strongly as to keep the sea four years without material repair : they were coppered ; and the powder-barrels were also changed for large copper canisters. Instead of the thirty or forty fires which were formerly seen in a ship of the line, one large furnace was provided for cooking the provisions of the crew, who were no longer served with six months' provisions individually, and allowed their Maltese slaves for attendants, but received a breakfast of olive salad, and a ration of pilaf on Fridays and Mondays, and of soups on other days, from the ship's store.

Dry docks, calking basins, a harbour for fifty new gun-boats, and all the necessary appurtenances of a great arsenal, were built at the edge of the water at Ters-hane, and designs for similar contrivances were to be applied to the other principal harbours of the empire. A line-of-battle ship of three decks, a frigate, a corvette, and a brig, all copper-bottomed, were launched in one day during the year 1797, from the docks of Ters-Hane. It was provided that two ships should perform their manœuvres once a year in front of Beshik-Tash, or Ain-Alay-Kavak; in presence of the Sultan, who was to distribute rewards to the most expert of the officers and the crew ; and it was also enjoined that the grandees of the court engaged in commerce, should purchase foreign-built merchantmen capable of standing the sea at all seasons of the year, and accordingly of instructing the Turkish sailors in the more difficult branches of practical navigation. An academy was built at the arsenal for the education of cadets, who were furnished with competent professors, and were divided into two classes, the one being instructed in naval architecture, and the other in navigation. This, and every other department of the marine, were confided

to the superintendence of Messrs. Rhodes and Benoit, the gentlemen before mentioned in these Letters.

In addition to these institutions for the formation of the new troops and their attached corps, and the improvement of the Ottoman navies, a general regulation provided, that the Janissaries, amounting it was supposed to 400,000 men, should be exercised in the use of the musket, with their Sakas and other assistants, by four regiments at a time, twice in every week, from the 4th of May to the 6th of November, and as often in winter as the weather would permit. Once a year they were to march either to the downs of Daout-Pasha, three miles from the capital, or to the valley of Sweet Waters, to be reviewed by the Sultan in person. The Gebeges, a sort of veteran battalion, for the guard of the depôts, being more in number than sufficient for that purpose, were to be exercised and reviewed with the Janissaries. Lastly, for victualling the armies, magazines were constructed on the Danube, and other points near the seat of war, and a sum of 12,500,000 piasters was appropriated for purchasing grain at the current price, and not at that fixed by the laws of the Miri, or Imperial Treasury, for the supply of the capital. The office of this department was built of stone in the first court of the Seraglio, and the management of it was assigned to a minister adequately remunerated, and supplied with assistants.

In order to provide for the increased disbursements of the public exchequer, it was found expedient to create a new revenue, as well as to appropriate a portion of the former income of the state exclusively to the purposes of the recent institution. To this end a treasury was formed, under the controul of a great state officer, chosen from amongst the chief men of the empire, with the title

of Treasurer of the New Bank (Iradi Djedid Tefferdary), and Inspector of the New Troops (Ta-alimlu Asker Naziry). To increase his emoluments, the office of Second Minister of the Finances, which had always been held by a person of importance, and conferred the honours of a seat in the Divan next to the Chief Treasurer, of a scarlet pelisse, and of a led horse, was incorporated with the new place in the person of this Minister, to whom a sufficient number of secretaries and other official assistants, all of them enjoying honourable appointments, were assigned.

The revenues of the new treasury arose from a sale by auction of the tenths belonging to the Malikiane, (or fiefs held possessively), under the annual value of fifteen thousand piasters, upon the death of the respective proprietors by whom they were farmed, and by an absolute appropriation of the tenths above that value, to be managed according to circumstances, for the benefit of the new bank. The duties on the merchandise of Constantinople, and on the tobaccos throughout the empire, instead of being let out as formerly, flowed immediately into the treasury, and caused at once a considerable augmentation of revenue. The military fiefs (Ziameths and Timars) in the hands of unserviceable owners, were confiscated, an estimation being made according to the census of these proprietaries collected in 1790; and a rule was established for filling up all future vacancies, by cadets capable of actual service in the cavalry of the Ottoman armies. The fiefs originally granted for the equipment of the ancient marine, were applied to the benefit of the new bank. The new taxes were a duty of two paras an oke on wine, and four on spirits for sale, levied on all Christian subjects, and of one para a head on sheep and goats. The tax on cotton, which was formerly an asper on every oke, and

was farmed, was raised to one para for the raw material, and two paras for the thread, and was paid into the treasury. Gall-nuts were also taxed at one para, and currants at two paras an oke; and the revenues of the new bank amounted in the year 1798 to 32,250,000 piasters.

Such is the general outline of the Nizam-Djedid. It would require a whole volume, says Malmoud Rayf, to enter into the detail of all the statutes which have been enacted relative to the different branches of the public revenue; *but although a few only have been cited, this sample will make known the wisdom of the august sovereign to whom we are indebted for their institution; just as a single drop of water is sufficient to indicate the existence of the river from which it flows**.—It is not to be supposed that the designs of the Sultan were seconded by the vigour and alacrity of his subjects in every article of the intended reform. Mr. Browne reports, that when he visited the mathematical schools of the arsenal, there was a want of nothing but books and instruments, and that the professors met together to smoke; and yet Dr. Pouqueville speaks favourably of the performance at the Academy of Design, directed by Mons. Ricard, a French gentleman of Toulon, who taught a number of young Turks to draw charts and to engrave on copper, and had formed an incipient collection of some valuable materials relative to Asia Minor, and the countries on the borders of the Black Sea. The grand object, the raising and the discipline of the Bostandje Fusileers, proceeded with rapidity, although the number enrolled did not amount to more than twelve thousand, and was not sufficient to occupy one-fourth of the barracks designed for their reception. The Topges

* *Tableau des Nouveaux Reglemens*, p. 59.

evinced by their speedy improvement the efficacy of their recent instruction.

Selim, however, had been thrown upon evil times; and being the successor of a monarch who, during his feeble reign of thirteen years, had lost the Crimea, part of Bosnia, Sebatz and Cotzin, had to struggle against the misfortunes which usually forerun and prognosticate the fall of an empire. The rebellions of the provinces (which had been frequent since the reign of Mahomet the Third, when Carsan of Caramania raised the standard of revolt), were multiplied in his reign; and in the year 1797, Ali of Albania, Passawand Oglou of Widin, Mustapha of Mecca, and the Pashas of Damascus and Bagdad, held their governments in open opposition to the Porte. Arabia was desolated by the Wahaubees; Roumelia overrun with brigands. The convulsions of France were destined to shake the earth from the banks of the Seine to the borders of the Red Sea; and the dominion of the Great Nation was to be augmented by the dismemberment of the Turkish provinces. The capital trembled at the Syrian victories of Bonaparte; and at the moment of indecision, when it was doubted whether war should be declared against France, and the Mufti refused to issue his *fatwa*, the discontents of the people were declared by repeated conflagrations, and Selim tottered on his throne. The passage of the Russians from the Black Sea through the straits, and the anchoring of a Christian fleet under the walls of the Seraglio, were no less an object of horror than the fall of Egypt, and the Sultan was endangered equally by his allies and by his enemies*. The

* Admiral Utschakow passed with his squadron, and war was declared against France, on the 10th of September, 1798. Mehemed Ised Pasha, Grand Vizier, as well as the Mufti, who refused to sign the declaration, was banished.

exploits of Nelson and Abercromby recovered the Turks from the defeats of Gaza, Jaffa and Acre, of Aboukir and Heliopolis; but the triumphant return of their Christian allies from Corfu, and the second display of the Russian standard under the walls of the capital, renewed their jealousies and discords, which burst forth in the assassinations at Galata, and the disturbances (before related) in the Suleymaniè. The proceedings of the Sultan on these melancholy occasions, and the public punishment of the delinquents, at the same time that they exasperated his subjects, might have failed to appease the cabinet of St. Petersburg, had not a new turn been given to the politics of that court, and the face of Europe been changed by the death of the Emperor Paul*.

* Dr. Pouqueville, who was at Constantinople when the affair occurred, relates, that the Dragomans of the insulted nations were solemnly convoked, and that four of the offenders concerned in attacking Mr. De Tamara and his company in the mosck, were in their presence strangled, whilst thirty were severely bastinadoed (*Voyage a Constantinople*, p. 186). Mons. Beauvoisin, who was confined in the Seven Towers with Dr. Pouqueville, mentions, as has been before related, that two were hanged (*Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur*, p. 80), which I believe to be the actual number. But the effect produced on the Turks was equally prejudicial to the popularity of the Sultan; and it is certain, that when the two Greeks supposed to have been concerned in shooting the Russian officers at Galata, were hanged, their bodies were taken from the gallows, and followed to the grave by a large body of Mussulmans, and even some Chianses attached to the arsenal—"an unheard-of honour, when paid to the corpse of an Infidel, a dog, a Giaour." *Voir des Mussulmans derrière le convoi d'un infidèle, d'un chien, d'un d'giaour, est une chose inouïe! Je garantis positivement ce fait, que ne serait pas croyable si je n'eusse été sur les lieux, et si des témoins oculaires n'eussent à l'instant attesté son authenticité.*—*Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur*, p. 84.

That event, and the subsequent general peace, quieted the apprehensions which had been entertained from the external enemies of the Porte; but the recommencement of hostilities renewed the distresses of the empire, and it soon appeared that the two great belligerent powers were determined upon involving the Sultan in a war, whose features and general character were totally different from any contest in which Europe had hitherto been embroiled, and whose principle was, indeed, too universal to admit of the neutrality of any considerable independent state in any quarter of the globe. The intrigues which had before disturbed the civilized courts of the continent, were transferred to the palace of the Reis-Effendi, and the Porte was for more than two years distracted between allies two of whom pleaded in union their recent services, whilst the other advanced his existing preponderance: Russia and England were to try their strength against France in the Divan; and the Sultan was the sad spectator of a contest of which he was himself the unwilling umpire, the ostensible object, and the proposed prey. The victory of either party alike menaced him with ruin: he had to choose between the armies of France and the fleets of England. When the French Ambassador General Sebastiani, and the successes of Austerlitz, had destroyed the former equilibrium, and were found an over-match for Prince Italinski and Mr. Pole*, one of the threatened alternatives was at once brought into view: the Porte was then informed, *that the armies*

* A severe domestic calamity had rendered the Ambassador Mr. Arbuthnot, incapable of attending to his official duties, and the relations between Great Britain and the Porte were carried on by the Secretary of Legation, Mr. Long W. Pole.

*and fleets of the allies were to receive a new impulse**. The new impulse was the advance of the Russians in Moldavia, and the appearance of a British squadron at Constantinople. The war with Russia commenced: the distress of the Sultan was daily increased; and notwithstanding his affection for his favourite Sebastiani, he would willingly have retained the friendship of his other ancient allies. He had not, however, the choice of impartiality, and was not even to continue his attentions to the French Ambassador, the unprecedented honours paid to whom, was one of the particular grievances of which the English Plenipotentiary thought himself obliged personally to complain, as well as of the disgrace of those Turkish ministers who had been concerned in forwarding the triple alliance between England, Russia, and the Porte†.

Never was sovereign so situated between two negotiators, one armed with the power of the land, the other with that of the sea; both, to all appearance, able to destroy, but neither capable of protecting him against his antagonist. The precipitate flight of the British Ambassador had scarcely relieved him from the embarrassment of making a selection between one of the menacing parties, when his capital was alarmed for the first time by the

* Papers presented by His Majesty's command to the House of Commons, pursuant to their address of the 16th of March, 1808. Note from the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot to the Reis-Effendi, dated Buynk-dere, 28th August, 1806.

† See the same note to the Reis-Effendi, in which his Excellency Mr. Arbuthnot notices these points; but with the introduction of *I will omit to mention*, &c. and an avowal that he did not wish to interfere in the internal administration of affairs. Such forms of rhetoric are, I presume, fully understood by diplomatists as well as common writers.

presence of a hostile force, and the last of calamities seemed reserved for the reign of Selim.

The good fortune which interposed to save the seat of empire was not extended to the sovereign, and the evils which were inevitable from the triumph of either power, gathered fast around him, even from the day which saw the city of the Faithful delivered from the insults of a Christian flag. The success which freed his subjects from their fears dissolved also their union. The discontented of the capital began to murmur at a monarch whose reign had been a tissue of misfortunes, and they found subject for complaint even in the event which had contributed to their preservation. The employment of the Infidels for the protection of the Believers, and their subsequent honours, but above all, the increasing kindness with which the General Sebastiani was received at all hours in the Seraglio, and enjoyed familiar converse with the Sultan himself, became a constant topic of animadversion amongst the Ulema, who connected with this conduct the predilection which Selim had always evinced for the sciences and the arts of the Franks, and construed the whole series of his measures into a systematic attack upon the religion and the fundamental laws of the empire. The Janissaries united with the ministers of the law, and were with facility persuaded that the innovations of the Sultan had been directed principally against themselves. In the formation of the new troops, and all the regulations of the Nizam-Djedid, they felt the decrease, and foresaw the extinction of their influence, and being themselves determined upon revolt, they did not delay to furnish others of the military bodies of Constantinople with a plausible pretext for resisting the Imperial ordinances. They found a chief to encourage and direct their sedi-

tion in the person of Mousa-Pasha, the Caimacam. This man had been for twenty years the sport of the ruling Turks, had repeatedly lost his pashaliks, and been deprived of his honours, and as he had borne all his disgraces with a patient shrug, had acquired a reputation for submissive humility and resignation, which but ill-accorded with the ferocity and turbulence of his natural character. The real sentiments of his ambitious mind, however nicely concealed by the habitual dissimulation of his carriage, were discerned by the penetrating eye of the famous Djezzar Pasha of Acre, who foretold of him that he would be the cause of many troubles. The ministers of the Porte and the Sultan had not the good fortune to make the same discovery, and at the period that some suspicions were entertained that the grandees of the empire might oppose the innovating measures of the cabinet, Mousa was chosen to fill the important post of Caimacam, as a person who, free from ambition, would hazard no intrigue, and would be content with the pageantry without aspiring to the power of his office. Scarcely was he invested with the caftan, when he resolved to pay himself the debt of revenge, and contrived, though without throwing off the mask, to fulfil the prophecy of Djezzar, and to act the most unworthy part in the most disgraceful revolution which has stained the Ottoman annals. Retaining his outward devotion and obedience to Selim, he privately fomented the discontents of the Janissaries, and employed the apprehensions of the one, and the menaces of the other, to destroy such of his fellow ministers as he had long considered the objects of his hate, and had singled out for proscription and punishment.

The first symptom of the general disaffection was displayed amongst the garrisons in the castles and forts of the Bosphorus,

the protection of which had not been forgotten, amongst the numerous reforms of the new constitution. The old forts had been much improved, and new defences raised on each side of the canal. The guards at each battery were augmented, and a Nazir with honourable emoluments was appointed to inspect their discipline, besides an officer (Ou-Bashe) for every ten men, who should attend to the vigilant and regular discharge of their duty. Two sentinels were to watch at each castle during the night, and in the event of any ship attempting to force the passage, *the garrison was by no means to go to sleep*. They were to be employed daily in exercising the artillery, except on holidays, when they were to clean and inspect their guns. They were also to learn the use of the musket, and be manœuvred after the manner of the troops of Levend Telihtlik*. The garrisons of the canal had always been composed of Bostandges, and notwithstanding the contrivance by which, *in order not to infringe upon the ancient usages of the empire*†, the new troops were attached to their corps, they were not disposed to co-operate with the Sultan, and even the trifling addition to their military duties required of them, seemed an intolerable slavery and violation of their ancient privileges. Infinite pains were employed to reconcile them to exertions which were not to be dropped when there was no instant and visible cause for activity; and it was found more feasible to form a new body of men altogether upon the improved system,

* Nouveaux Reglemens de l'Empire Ottoman, &c. pp. 51, &c.

† *Pour ne point porter atteinte aux anciens usages de l'Empire, ces nouveaux corps ont été réunis à l'ancien corps des Bostandges et ils sont connus sous la denomination de Bostany Tufenktchissy Odaghy.* Such are the words of Mahmoud Rayf-Effendi.—Reglemens, p. 86.

than to engraft a part of the recent regulations upon any of the corps belonging to the ancient establishment.

A suspicion prevailed that these Bostandges were to be united to the new troops, and it was confirmed by the order for clothing them in the uniform of the Fusileers. On the 25th of May, in the year 1807, in less than three months after the discomfiture of the English fleet, the garrisons burst into open mutiny, and the virtuous Rayf-Effendi* was the first to fall a sacrifice to their fury. On the morning of that day he carried the commands of the Sultan to the castles, and finding the troops not disposed to obey, retreated hastily towards Buynk-dere. His Excellency Count Ludolf, the Neapolitan minister, from his country-house in that village, saw him pass in a kirlanguish with one attendant, and bowed to him as he rowed along the shore. Not three minutes elapsed before another boat full of armed men pulled swiftly down the bay, and the immediate event was the murder of the obnoxious favourite. The slave threw himself round his master to protect him from the Bostandges, and was instantly cut to pieces, whilst Mahmoud, without resistance, and in silence, fell at the same moment under the sabres of his assassins.

On the same day Halili-Aga, Nazir of Hyssar castle on the Asiatic shore, was also killed; and the report of the insurrection having reached Constantinople, the Sultan, not acquainted with the extent of the mischief, early on the next morning (the 26th) dispatched his commands for allaying the commotion, and punishing the mutineers. These were rejected with disdain, and

* A very tolerable full length picture of Mahmoud Rayf, drawn by W. Miller, and engraved by Sciarvonetti, junior, may be found in the print-shops in London.

the insurgents assured of the co-operation of the Janissaries, deserted their respective stations, and assembled to the number of three thousand in the meadows of Buyuk-dere, choosing for their general Katchaya Oglou, one of their own body, and a prominent leader in the revolt. The rebels were now considered to have assumed an appearance sufficiently formidable to justify an offer of negotiation from the Sultan, which was accordingly transmitted from the Seraglio, and met with a rejection as decisive as that which had been given to the preceding orders. Receiving an accession of force from every quarter, they marched directly to the capital. The Janissaries rose on the 27th, and carried their kettles to the Etmeidan, or place of feasting, an open square near the aqueduct of Valens, which is allotted to the distribution of provisions to the soldiers, and has been the immemorial camp of their rebellious predecessors*.

On this decisive signal of revolt, the inclinations of the various orders began gradually to develop themselves, and it soon appeared that the Ulema, if they did not declare against the Sultan, were determined at least to remain neuter in the contest; for the Mufti, as if in concert with the Janissaries, and whilst the melancholy clanking of the kettles in their passage to the Etmeidan still sounded in the streets of Constantinople, issued an edict to the inhabitants of the capital and its neighbourhood, intreating

* The two large copper kettles in which the *tchorba* or soup of each oda is cooked, are placed in front of the respective tents of the chamber to which they belong. They are carried between two men on a pole, preceded by two other soldiers of the oda, one of whom bears a long skimmer, and the other a ladle; and as they pass along the streets, the Janissaries rise and make a reverent obeisance to the procession. The cook of each oda is a person of some importance, being a sort of provost-marshal or gaoler, and the Tchorbaji or Colonel, derives his name from the inspection of the rations.

them to take no part in the disturbance, to furnish the daily supply of provisions for the markets, and to consider the contest as a struggle in which they were totally unconcerned. The Franks of Pera were also exhorted to remain tranquil, and to feel assured that their lives and properties would be secure under every event.

The Sultan was now awakened to the sense of his danger: he assembled his ministers at the Seraglio, and the 28th of the month was passed in negotiation with the insurgents in the Etmeidan. During that day the fate of Selim was on the balance: he transmitted to the Etmeidan an offer to abolish the new institutions; to which the Janissaries returned no other answer than a demand for the immediate execution of all the ministers who had advised and presided over the Nizam-Djedid. Then it was that the Caimacam insidiously assured him, that the sacrifice was necessary, and would appease the rebels. All was not yet lost—if at that moment the gates of the Seraglio had been shut, a cannon had been fired, and the head of Mousa Pasha himself had been struck off and thrown over the walls, Selim would have triumphed, and retained the throne of his ancestors. But the instant peril, and the presence of his enemies, bewildered the faculties, and so absorbed the resolution of the Sultan, that he seems to have despaired of resistance, and to have placed all hopes of safety in submission alone. It was not suggested to his mind, that with the new troops of Scutari and Tchiftlik, and other soldiers in the vicinity of the capital, he might speedily assemble thirty thousand men, no less devoted to himself than inimical to the Janissaries, and that until their arrival he could maintain the Seraglio against the rebels, by arraying the forces of his numerous body guard. Yet the testimony of all the reports prevalent at this

day in Constantinople, concurs in the persuasion that such an opposition, with the instant death of the Caimacam, would have dismayed the insurgents and crushed the rebellion. But the traitor prevailed, and with a cruel ingenuity, contrived to include in the proscription, the names of two old and innocent men, the Kehayah Bey and Reis-Effendi, who were called to a conference with Mousa, and on leaving the room, unsuspecting of their danger, were carried away to the second gate, and strangled. The number of heads presented to the Janissaries early on the morning of the 29th, was seven; but the ruffians rising in their insolence, were not satisfied with the bloody offering, and recognizing the aged victims of the resentment of Mousa, declared that they had required another sacrifice. "*The heads were not those of the enemies whose punishment they had demanded.*" The Sultan hearing this last intelligence, sent for the Mufti, and on learning that he withheld his advice, found that he had ceased to reign.

The Janissaries, headed by the traitor Mousa, had already found their way into the Seraglio, when the Sultan retired to the mosek of the palace, and wrapping himself in the robe of Mahomet, took his seat in the corner of the sanctuary. Here he was found by the Mufti, who intreated him to submit to the wishes of the people, and to resign his crown. Another report says, that previously to this moment, he had told his attendants that he would reign no more, and ordered them to bring his successor before him. The circumstances of his actual deposition were not exactly known; but on the evening of the same day (the 29th) it was understood in all the quarters of the capital, that Selim, the most injured if not the best of the Ottomans, had stepped from a throne to a prison, and that the reigning monarch

was his cousin Mustapha the Fourth, eldest son of Sultan Abdulhamid.

This prince, when he was drawn from the luxurious obscurity of his harem to gird on the sword of Mahomet, was thirty years old; but not being possessed of a capacity sufficient to supply the defects of his education, the maturity of his age did not qualify him for the throne which he had been compelled so unexpectedly to usurp. From his advancement to the empire, he appeared the servant rather than the master of the armed multitude to whom he was indebted for his elevation; and the period of his short reign is not marked by any act of the sovereign, but only by the successes and defeats of the various individuals and parties of his subjects, in their continued struggle for predominance.—The beginning and the close, are the only transactions of his reign in which he himself may be said to have played any part. The Janisaries were in possession of the sceptre, and their enemies fell by the sword or the bow-string. The new institutions were abolished; and the new troops, after the execution of their principal officers, dispersed.—Their triumph was but of a short duration; and the lawless exercise of their usurped authority filled the capital with complaints, and spread from the centre to the farthest provinces of the empire. It was in vain to hope for a suppression of their insolence from the feeble and intimidated Sultan; but the ambition of a daring subject effected that which should have been accomplished by the virtue of the sovereign.

Mustapha, Pasha of Rudshuk, retained in the surname of Bairactar (*the Ensign*) a memorial of the humble rank which he had originally held in the Turkish armies, and carried about him, affixed, as it were; to his person, a visible instance of that exalta-

tion of merit of which the Turkish history can furnish so many and such extraordinary examples. He was rude and illiterate, but of a vigorous genius, which supplied the expedients as well as the suggestions of ambition, and rising with every exigency, proved equal to the accomplishment no less than the creation of the most daring projects. His rise was as rapid as his endeavours were unremitting; and after repeatedly distinguishing himself in the armies of the empire, he attracted the notice of Selim, and was honoured with a pashalik.

It was the boast of Bairactar, that he owed his advance to the personal regard of the Sultan, and his subsequent conduct evinced that he respected Selim as his patron and his friend; but he was averse to the innovations of his master, and either from a suspected attachment to the Janissaries, or a confidence in his military prowess, was dismissed to the command of a body of forces on the frontier, and to the distant government of Rudshuk. From the moment he was informed of the deposition of Selim, it appears that he contemplated the bold design of seizing upon the government; and convinced of the pernicious measures of the Janissaries, or seeing no other way of raising himself than by depressing that lawless body, determined upon opposing the hardy troops of the provinces to the enervated militia of Constantinople.

So early as the October of the same year in which Selim had been dethroned, Bairactar dispatched to the Sultan a formal notice, that he should advance to the capital to reform the abuses of the state, and assist him in the administration of public affairs. Accordingly, he collected a force of nearly forty thousand men, composed chiefly of Albanians from the garrisons of Roumelia, and marching to Constantinople about the end of the year, encamped on the plains of Daout-Pasha, four miles from the walls

of the city. His arrival was the signal of submission. He convoked the chief men of the empire, and depositing the banner of Mahomet, which he had unfurled to give a sanction and support to his enterprise, made them swear to the gradual abolition of the Janissaries, and a restoration of the good order and tranquillity of the state. The Sultan was an unnoticed spectator of the arrangement: even the semblance of power was transferred from the Seraglio to the camp at Daout-Pasha; for the ministers of the Porte, and the missions of Pera, directed their visits of ceremony to the tent of the triumphant general, who, without any acknowledged title or specific office, was thus for several months in full possession of the Imperial power. But the Pasha, aware that the Mussulmans, accustomed to revere the representative of their prophet, might experience a renewal of favour for their degraded sovereign, resolved upon the elevation of a Sultan, who, in return for the crown, might render his authority legitimate, and give a sanction to his ambition.

The 28th of July, of the year 1808, was fixed upon by Mustapha for a hunting expedition to the forests of Belgrade, and it was determined by Bairactar to enter the Seraglio on the same day, during the absence of the Grand Signior, and preventing his return to the palace, finally to exclude him from the throne. Selim was yet alive in those apartments of the Seraglio which the crimes and misfortunes of the Ottomans have set apart for the confinement of their dethroned princes, and it was the preservation of the Sultan whom he resolved to restore, that prompted him to attempt by stratagem that which he might have accomplished by force. Unfortunately the secret of his intention was not confined to his own breast, but was entrusted to several of the ministers of the Divan, and the Grand Vizier, though a friend, was suspected

to have betrayed him to the Sultan; for on the appointed day, when Bairactar marched into the city, he found the gates of the Seraglio closed, the pages and body guard under arms, and every preparation for a determined resistance.

The victorious rebel disappointed, but not intimidated, gave orders for an immediate assault. The contest lasted only a short time, but the interval was fatal to Selim. On the sound of the first shot, the emissaries of the Sultan were dispatched to his apartments, where they found, as is reported, the dethroned monarch at his devotions, and attempted to surprize him whilst in the attitude of prayer. He discerned their purpose, and before the bow-string could be fitted to his neck, wounded one of the mutes with his hangiar, but being thrown upon his back, was overpowered, and instantly strangled.

From the murder of Selim the executioners proceeded to the apartments of Mahmoud, the youngest son of Abdulhamid, and the only remaining prince of the blood royal. There was still some hope for the Sultan in the eventual death of his brother. Selim was no more; the rebels, the audacious Bairactar himself, would respect the last of the Ottoman race. The mutes rushed into the chamber of the confined prince; but Mahmoud was no where to be found: the fond fidelity of a slave had concealed him in the furnace of a bath. The feeble contest continued under the walls, and the assailants thundered at the gates, whilst the search for the prince was prosecuted with redoubled eagerness and anxiety. The place of his concealment had alone escaped the scrutiny, and the fate of the monarchy depended upon whether or not the gates should be forced before the royal prisoner was discovered. What must have been the feelings of Mahmoud, what the sensations of his faithful slave, when the shouts of the Albanians proclaimed that Bairactar

had burst his way into the Seraglio? The insurgents rushed to the interior of the palace, headed by their leader, and by the intrepid Seid Ali, the Capudan-Pasha. Advancing to the third gate, they called aloud for the instant appearance of Selim, and the eunuchs of Mustapha casting the body of the murdered monarch before them, exclaimed, *Behold the Sultan whom ye seek!* Bairactar, overpowered at the sight, threw himself on the corpse of his murdered benefactor, and wept bitterly; but being roused by the exhortation of Seid Ali, who told him that this was not the time for grief but for revenge, proceeded hastily to the presence-chamber. Mustapha never shewed himself worthy of his crown until the moment when he was compelled to resign it. He did not despair of awing the rebels into submission by the Ottoman majesty: at least he was determined to fall with dignity, and on the entrance of Bairactar, was found seated upon his throne in his usual state, and surrounded by the officers of the Imperial household. The indignant chief was not moved by the august spectacle, but advancing towards the Sultan, drew him from his seat, saying to him in a bold and angry tone, **WHAT DOST THOU THERE? YIELD THAT PLACE TO A WORTHIER!**

The account of the conduct of the Sultan is variously related in the different reports of this last transaction of his reign; but whatever was the measure of his resistance, it proved ineffectual; for on the same night the cannon of the Seraglio announced to the people the dethronement of Mustapha the Fourth, and the elevation of Mahmoud the Second.

The first act of the new reign was the instalment of Bairactar in the post to which he had aspired, and which, at the hands of Mahmoud at least, he well deserved. No sooner was the seal of the empire committed to his charge, than the Vizier com-

menced his projected reform with the punishment of those who had been concerned in the first revolution, and the deposition of Selim. The traitor Mousa Pashia lost his head. The officers of the castles on the Bosphorus, who had led the insurgents at Buyukdere, the most seditious of the Janissaries, and all those of the household who had opposed the deposition of Mustapha, were arrested and strangled. The last Vizier Azem was dismissed to the government of Ismael, to which place many others of the ministers, suspected rather than guilty of disinclination to the late transaction, were also banished. The savage order which destroyed the females of the harem near the shores of Prince's islands, was then obeyed and executed; and other acts of a complexion less inhuman, but equally decisive, convinced the inhabitants of the capital that the new minister was not to be deterred from the adoption of such measures as appeared to him calculated to restore the ancient vigour of the Turkish power.

The Vizier openly avowed his resolution of abolishing the Janissaries, or at least of reforming their system, and retrenching upon their privileges. He refused the disbursement of pay to any of the corps, except such as were in service, and performing either the duty of the internal police, or of an actual campaign against the enemy. The disorder and presumption which had so frequently disturbed the tranquillity of the capital, were entirely suppressed. Constantinople and its suburbs were protected by the presence of the provincial troops, and the peace and good order preserved by the Albanians of Bairactar, are still remembered with admiration and regret by the citizens of every denomination. Mahmoud was unable to oppose, and it may be thought that he approved the measures of his minister. It was natural that the

Janissaries should be the objects of his terror and his hate, and that he should be no unwilling instrument in the hands of the Vizier in promulgating the repeated acts by which their character was degraded and their influence undermined.

To restore the new troops of Sultan Selim, was thought too hardy and perilous an adventure, and by one of those errors which generally attend every temporising and middle system, it was judged more expedient to revive the military body of the Seimens, who might supply the place and be regulated according to the discipline of the former Fusilcers. The name, however, of the re-established corps was more odious to the Janissaries than even that of Selim's soldiery, as belonging to an institution more ancient than their own; and they were only the more resolved to ruin the author of the innovation. Their actual subjection, and their fear of the provincial forces, no less than the complete dissimulation which it is a part of Turkish capacity at any time to command, contributed to favour their projects of revenge, and to deceive the confident Bairactar, who fell into the usual error of prosperity, and began to despise the enemy whom he had irreconcilably injured. He even seems to have felt some compunction for the depression and disgrace of the ancient soldiery of the empire, to whom it owed all its former glory, and amongst whom he himself had commenced his military career.

Being persuaded that they had submitted and were reconciled to his administration, he relaxed the severity of his proceedings against them, and between the hope of making use of them as friends, and the contempt of their resistance as enemies, came at last to the fatal resolution of breaking up the camp at Daout-Pasha, and dismissing the greater part of the provincial forces.

Previously to their departure, he resolved to confirm the union which he fondly hoped had by his efforts been formed between the two contending parties, the Janissaries and the other military bodies of the empire; and for this purpose the valley of Sweet Waters was chosen for the scene of an imposing ceremony, in which the oblivion of all former enmities, and the peace of the empire, were to be solemnly proclaimed and finally ratified in the face of the Ottoman nation. The plain of Kiat-Hane was lined on each side with tents, and preparations for a repast were spread under the long avenues on the banks of the Barbysses. The camp of Daout-Pasha and the barracks of the Etmeidan were emptied of their troops, and fifty thousand soldiers gallantly equipped and in arms, assembled at the feast. Bairactar himself, surrounded by the ministers of state and the chief Pashas of either army, presided at a feast, of which, whether we consider the importance of the object, the number and character of the guests, or the circumstances of the occasion that called them to the same table, there is not, I believe, any parallel in the history of the world. It is not the least astonishing part of the event, that the half of a vast multitude chosen from the lowest class, should, in any nation, be found capable of smothering their emotions, and of concealing from their companions, through a long series of artifices and professions, the real state of their feelings, and the nature of their designs.

At the conclusion of the repast the chief officers of the Janissaries, and the generals of the provincial army, at the command of Bairactar, rose from their seats, and unsheathed their sabres: in an instant the plain from the kiosk of Achmet to the Golden Horn flashed with the arms of the intermingled troops, who crossed

their swords, and swore on them and by the name of the prophet, an eternal fidelity to each other, and a steady allegiance to the new constitution.

The Albanians began their march on the succeeding morning, and the number of soldiers attached to the Vizier who still remained in the capital, amounted only to four thousand; but Cadi-Pasha, the friend and associate of Bairactar, with eight thousand Asiatics, was encamped on the heights and in the barracks of Scutari.

Two days after the feast at Sweet Waters, on the 14th of November, 1808, after the *passevend* had commenced their nightly rounds, a large body of the Janissaries issued from their quarters, and surrounding the palace of the Porte, at that time the habitation of the Vizier and the ministers, immediately set fire to the building. Bairactar and his friends, on the discovery of the assault, contrived to escape and shelter themselves in Barut-Hane, a small powder magazine of stone; but those who were unable to fly, were either destroyed by the assailants, or consumed in the conflagration. The Janissaries rushed to the other dwellings in which their enemies were lodged, and laid the vicinity of the Porte in ashes. Barut-Hane they attacked in vain, but in the middle of the night a tremendous explosion shook all the quarters of the capital, and it was found that the magazine, with the Grand Vizier and his companions, had been blown into the air. Whether this event occurred by accident or design, is at this day unknown, but it decided the issue, although it was far from proving the conclusion of the contest. The *Sci-mens*, the armed populace, and the Albanians, who would have rallied under Bairactar and perhaps have overpowered their anta-

gonists, were dispirited by the fatal event; but seeing that they were destined for slaughter, prepared for a determined resistance. The streets of the city during the whole of the 15th were the scene of a continued action, in which the Janissaries were worsted, but the Seimens suffered severely in the loss of the nephew of their late master, a youth of distinguished bravery, whom they had placed at their head. The Janissar-Aga on the same day imprudently made his appearance in the Etmeidan in the turban of the new regulation, and was massacred by his own soldiers, who chose for their general the next in command. The Galiondges of the arsenal, although Seid Ali the Capudan-Pasha had declared against the Janissaries, and the Topges, remained under arms, but took no part in the struggle.

On the 16th Cadi-Pasha passed over from Scutari at the head of his eight thousand troops, and marching through the court of St. Sophia, proceeded to the barracks of the Gebeges, in the vicinity of the mosck, where five hundred of the Janissaries had taken their stand. Cadi surrounding the square, did not attempt to force an entrance, but setting fire to the building, retained his regiments at their stations until the quarters were consumed, and the whole of the five hundred were burnt alive. The Asiatics, leaving the ruins in flames, made no efforts to extinguish the spreading conflagration, but departed in search of their enemies, and filled the streets with carnage. The town was in a blaze from the walls of the Seraglio to the aqueduct of Valens, and a man-of-war, by the order of Seid Ali, continued at the same time to play upon the Janissaries' barracks. The event was doubtful on the night of the 16th, during which the shrieks of the women, the shouts of the soldiers, and the repeated discharges

of fire-arms, declared to the terrified inhabitants of Pera that the sanguinary struggle had not ceased in any quarter of the city. The fire had raged for four and twenty hours, and the artillery of the ship was still beating upon the barracks of the Etmeidan, when, on the ensuing morning, the forces of the arsenal and of Tophana, announced that they had united themselves to the Janissaries, and thus gave the victory to the least deserving of the antagonists.

Until that moment Sultan Mahmoud, having closed the palace gates, awaited within the walls of the Seraglio the event of the contest, but the decision of the seamen and the cannoniers, rendered it necessary for him to consult his own safety by an exertion of the Imperial authority in behalf of the triumphant party. His counsellors, for it is not known that Mahmoud himself gave the order, thought fit to secure him from the victors by the death of the imprisoned Mustapha, who was strangled, and that so secretly, that the circumstances of his execution have never transpired. Having therefore nothing to dread from the former partiality of the Janissaries for his immediate predecessor, and seeing that their cause had been espoused by the most powerful and entire of the remaining military bodies, he dispatched his mandate to the ship to cease the cannonade, and transmitted at the same time to the Janissaries an assurance that the cause of their complaints did no longer exist—*the Seimens were abolished for ever*. No sooner was the resolve of the Sultan made known, than the firing ceased in every part of the city, except where the successful soldiery still vented their rage upon the *unresisting* populace. Seid Ali and Cadi-Pasha, on seeing their adherents disperse, left the Seraglio point in two wherries, and rowing hastily

up the Bosphorus, fled with such speed, that although a coveit weighed anchor and proceeded in pursuit of them: in less than three hours after their departure, they effected their escape. The head of Cadi has subsequently been sent to the Seraglio.

The Janissaries were not suddenly appeased by the conciliation of the Sultan, and the submission of their opponents: they employed the 18th of the month in destroying every vestige of the invidious institution. A large body passed over to Scutari, and burnt the magnificent barracks of Sultan Selim on the heights above that suburb; whilst another division marched to Levend ~~Belik~~, and commenced an attack on five hundred Scimens, who with equal valour and success maintained themselves against a multitude of assailants, until their quarters were fired, and they perished in the flames. This was their last great massacre, and from this period, although some individual victims were afterwards sacrificed to their resentment, their fury appears to have been gradually allayed.

On the 19th, Mahmoud having issued a proclamation exhorting his subjects to keep the Bairam, which commenced on that day, in peace, they attended tranquilly and in good order the funeral of Mustapha, who was conveyed with much pomp from the Seraglio to the tomb of the Sultan Abdulhamid, his father. The same day the streets were cleansed and cleared of the dead, three thousand of whom were either buried or thrown into the sea. After a long search, the body of their great enemy, of the Vizier himself, was found under the ruins of Barut-Hane.

In an open space near one end of the Hippodrome, there are two trees standing by themselves, and at a little distance apart. Between these, by the feet, and with the head downwards, they suspended the disfigured corpse of Bairactar.

Such was the close of the most sanguinary of the three revolutions which occurred within the short period of eighteen months, and which, after dethroning two monarchs, and spilling the best blood of the empire, terminated in so entire a re-establishment of every former prejudice, that, for the Turks, the last twenty years have passed in vain ; or, it may be averred, have produced rather the confirmation of ancient errors, than any of the benefits usually derived from experience. The Janissaries, since the fall of Bairactar, have made no effort to disturb the government ; but having borne down all opposition, and not being agitated by any rival power, they cannot be said to have evinced a subordination either meritorious or unexpected.

The election of Yussuf-Pasha, a known enemy of their order, to the Vizierat, was thought an evidence that they had submitted to Mahmoud ; yet the general popularity and peculiar situation of this Sultan, who in 1810 was still the last of the Ottoman princes, may well account for their acquiescence in a measure which bespoke no actual hostility, and could not be decidedly injurious to their interests : in fact, Yussuf has since been dismissed. It is reported, that the bow-string thinned their ranks, but no open innovations were attempted during the period of his authority. Of the late military institutions not a vestige remains to excite their apprehensions ; for although the Topges retain a portion of that discipline which they learnt from De'Tott, they have dropped the new regulations ; and their services in the last revolution having produced the union of the two corps, every jealousy has been mutually laid aside. The schools of the arsenal, and the barracks of the bombadiers, are no less deserted than the exercising-grounds of Scutari and Levend Tchiftlik ; nor can the pious alarms of the Ulema be now raised by the unhallowed en-

couragement of Christian refinements. The presses of Ters-Hane are without employ; the French language has ceased to be taught in the Seraglio; and the palace of Beshik-Tash is no longer enlivened by the ballets and operas which amused the leisure of the unfortunate Selim.

I have in my own mind long fixed upon this point, for bringing the labours of the writer and the reader to a close; and indeed it is suitable that the observations made on this my journey to the Levant, should terminate with the notice of that which occurred a few days previously to my taking a final leave of the Turkish capital.—The Ambassador had his audience at the Seraglio on the 10th of July: on the evening of the 14th we embarked on board the Salsette, and after touching at the Dardanelles and the island of Zea, where Lord Byron left the frigate on his return to Attica, we arrived on the 28th of the same month at Malta; from which place it may be recollected that the foregoing Tour originally commenced.—Here then I beg leave to conclude, and with the avowal of a sentiment which I should have endeavoured to express in my own language, had I not found it infinitely better turned, and more completely conveyed in the Latin of Ovid

. . . . Veniam pro laude peto: laudatus abunde
non fastiditus si tibi, lector, ero.

